Socio-Cultural Development and Identity Formation of Metis Communities in Northwestern Saskatchewan, 1776-1907

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Abstract

This study is an analysis of how the Metis of Île à la Crosse negotiated their way through the demands of the fur trade and the Roman Catholic Church to create a distinct cultural worldview and identity rooted in family obligation and responsibility. Wahkootowin, Cree for "relationship," was utilized as a theoretical construct to evaluate Metis actions and reactions to both internal community relationships and to external stimuli. The adoption of wahkootowin as a theoretical concept permits an interpretation of Metis socio-cultural behaviour as part of a larger cultural worldview that informed the ways in which relationships were created and resources utilized. Examining the effects of Metis wahkootowin on the economic, religious, and socio-cultural history of the area was accomplished through a genealogical reconstruction and analysis of five generations. Forty-three Metis family groupings were identified as comprising the core of Île à la Crosse society and culture between 1800 and 1912 because they were traceable intergenerationally; were linked to each other through marriage, adoption, or socially constructed relationships such as godparents; were closely linked to Cree and Dene bands in the region; operated in a variety of economic niches in the fur trade and its associated operations such as hunting and fishing; and were members of the Roman Catholic Church.

The first area residents were a proto-generation in which men not indigenous to the region arrived and intermarried with local Cree and Dene women sparking Metis ethnogenesis. The children of this generation were actually the first generation of Metis who laid the socio-cultural foundation for their descendants. Subsequent generations were the result of intermarriages between Metis indigenous to the region, successive waves of incoming, outsider males new to the fur trade economy of the English River District, and/or arriving Metis and Indian men from other communities outside the District. An important

feature of these latter four generational cohorts was the establishment of a community-based interfamilial, intergenerational wahkootowin marked by regionally-based, female-centred family networks with strong patronymic connections to male surnames as the identifiers of familial groupings.

Acknowledgements

At a convocation banquet hosted by the University of Saskatchewan, a gentleman seated at my table casually asked me about my dissertation topic. I gave a rather vague answer about the social and cultural history of the Metis from the northwestern Saskatchewan community of Île à la Crosse and the use of genealogical reconstruction. His interest piqued, my seatmate then asked what the central thesis was about those particular Metis and their community. I replied that it was about how the Metis concept of family was not only a means of internal social organization, but a mechanism that permitted them to assert a level of autonomy against the Hudson's Bay Company and Roman Catholic Church. At this point, he looked at me with a somewhat confused but still interested look, and asked, "Didn't *anything* good happen in Aboriginal history?" Now I was confused. I thought that greater knowledge and understanding of Aboriginal constructions of family was not only positive but potentially transformative of our understanding of both fur trade and mission history. So I asked what he meant, what was so distressing about what I had said. He responded that it was unfortunate that Aboriginal history was so negative, and wished that people would talk about something positive. I was shocked and I am still not sure how I responded or where the conversation went from there. I was too busy thinking through what he had said.

Native Studies research certainly evaluates the colonial experience, but I do not place this work exclusively within that theoretical framework. Native Studies provides an opportunity to assess Aboriginal experiences, historical and contemporary, from within Aboriginal societies and from an Aboriginal perspective. It is a fairly straightforward statement, and yet it has taken many years for me to come to an understanding of what

it means to approach research from an Aboriginal perspective. Quite simply, Aboriginal cultural knowledge systems and understandings of how to establish relationships as a means of functioning in this world are the lens through which to analyze events. Native Studies places Aboriginal people at the centre, not the periphery or even topic of the discourse. This study, then, uses the lens of Metis family systems—wahkootowin—to examine how the Metis of northwestern Saskatchewan understood their relationships with fur companies and Christian churches. Taking this approach does not dismiss colonialism, oppression, exploitation, or victimization as outcomes of that relationship, but it does demonstrate that most of the time Aboriginal people were living amongst themselves and not always responding and reacting to external (and negative) forces.

Upon deciding to pursue doctoral work, I knew that my research would be on some aspect of Metis history, and I was fortunate enough to be involved in the research being conducted by my doctoral co-supervisor, Dr. Frank Tough, then chair of the Department of Native Studies at the University of Saskatchewan. Dr. Tough's research into the scrip claims of the Metis of northwestern Saskatchewan, a result of several Aboriginal rights cases being pursued by the Metis Nation of Saskatchewan, became the context in which this study was shaped. Specifically, I wanted to know more about the Metis communities: who were the ancestors of the current residents; how did they establish and understand their society; what was the role of the fur trade in their lives; how did they relate to the Roman Catholic Church? All these questions could be addressed through research into the genealogies of northwestern Saskatchewan's ancestral families via scrip records, Hudson's Bay Company post records, parish registries from Île à la Crosse, Portage La Loche (today just La Loche), and Green Lake, and Canadian censuses. Dr. Tough's experience and knowledge has been invaluable to the construction of this dissertation, as has the access that he has provided me to the scrip applications, and census records gathered and databased by the Matri-X (Metis Aboriginal Title Research Initiative "X") project. The 710 records for scrip applications were contained within the "AppiDB/8,

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There are some people who provided me with valuable financial and technical support for this work to whom I'm deeply indebted. Over the years, travel assistance to the archives in Ottawa as well as to northwestern Saskatchewan was provided by the Northwestern Metis Land Claim Committee, Matri-X, the Metis Nation-Saskatchewan, the Canadian Northern Studies Trust which awarded me a studentship in 1999-2000, and the University of Saskatchewan's Department of History which awarded me the Messer Fund in 1998. The maps for this work were produced by Elise Pietroniro of the Department of Geography at the University of Saskatchewan. The genealogies would not have been possible to produce had the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints not microfilmed the Roman Catholic Church registries for northwestern Saskatchewan. Those records were made available at the Mormon Family History Centre in Saskatoon where I was able to photocopy the registries in their entirety. The final formatting of the genealogies as they appear in this text was done by Karissa Hanson, an extremely creative individual whom I'm fortunate enough to have as a good friend.

Thanks must go to my colleagues in the Native Studies Department. They have unfailingly supported my research, assisted me when they could, and patiently listened to endless updates of my work and its accompanying frustrations and dilemmas. In particular, Ron F. Laliberte, Gail MacKay, and Roger Maaka shared with me their laughter, their praise, and the occasional cup of coffee. Additionally, appreciation is extended to other colleagues, some of whom have left the Department to pursue other projects or work in other departments: Leslie McBain, Rob Innes, Laurie Meijer Drees, Chris Andersen, Dorinda Stahl, and Signa Daum Shanks.

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Introduction
"I'm One of the Family"

> I'm one of the family, the family of those who grew up at Sandy Point, But acceptance was probably there for years and years and years and I just never understood it till today. It come back to me and said come to me actually. Because I am a part of this family. That what I do matters to the people that grew up in Sandy Point. Again when I think about my Grandfather and Grandmother I think of that work ethic they instilled in me and my brothers and sisters. Of what it means to look after yourself, what it means to be who you want to be, because that ability is within each and everyone of us. And so it was in that giving from my grandparents to feel so proud to call myself a person from Sandy Point. When I walked up today after coming from across the lake, I saw many people that I hadn't seen for years, I started shaking hands and the smiles were there. They acknowledged me, that I was a part of this family. Deep in my... Ahhh...what can I say, Its great that I have a good mind to see what I do here, even though I was only four when I first came here to live.
>
> As I look out across the bay here I see the house that I grew up in, it's not there any more but I see the house I grew up in. I see my grandmother washing clothes, I see my grandfather building a boat, I see all that because the work ethic was there, the need to survive, the connection with the land. And there is that continued need with us with our children with our grandchildren, to show them the importance of what is here. If we don't do it, nobody else will. Because you have to have that connection to this particular place, in order to be able to do that...
>
> (Lawrence Ahenakew, Sandy Point, Lake Île à la Crosse, August 1999, The Virtual Museum of Metis History and Culture, www.metismuseum.ca)

This description of community as situated in a particular place conveys Metis identity as encompassed in one's connection to home, land, and family. The narrator references his grandparents, establishing an ancestral connection to the other families of Sandy Point, and therefore their shared history. The values held by the narrator's grandparents are cited

as a source for personal growth and development, shaping his sense of self and self-worth as he matured. The narrator understands his responsibility for connecting his children and grandchildren to this cultural identity and community by passing on the values that he learned as shared through family responsibilities and obligations. Noting that his children and grandchildren would likely never live at Sandy Point, or even in the village of Île à la Crosse, memory and the maintenance of family relationships are a vital connection for future generations. Family is central to the narrator's sense of self—"I'm one of the family." Community is established through his responsibility to them, and theirs to him.

The setting is a reunion at Sandy Point on Lac Île à la Crosse in the summer of 1999. In the narrator's return to this place after many years, he feels an instant reconnection because "I was a part of this family." The Metis people who lived around Lac Île à la Crosse created for themselves a community defined by social obligation and mutual responsibility. This sense of self, as defined by ancestral ties and living family relationships, is not unique to Sandy Point, but is observable throughout the history of the Metis peoples who have lived in small settlements around the perimeter of Lac Île à la Crosse and in the village proper located on the lake's west end. The small family settlement at Sandy Point is a part of the larger Metis family in the community of Île à la Crosse as a whole—it is a part of a regionally established, extended family system that both shaped and defined a cultural identity linked to that place. All of those living around the lake are connected in a chain of history and memory defined by individual acceptance, one that is a part of a larger community narrative of relationships and mutual responsibilities. These combined elements were a part of a larger Metis worldview that placed family at its core and directed actions and behaviours in a manner that reflected the virtues, ideas, and manners regarding hospitality. In the Cree language, wahkootowin was the term used to express the sense that family was the foundational relationship, the cultural identity, for pursuing any economic, political, social, or cultural activity or forming any alliance. Family, in this instance, was the "style of life" that reflected a shared cultural

identity.[1] As much a set of values encompassed by an overarching worldview based on familial—especially interfamilial—connectedness, wahkootowin established appropriate social behaviours that, in turn, impacted economic and political interactions.

While wahkotoowin can mean, in the Cree linguistic tradition, "relationship" or "relative," dictionary definitions belie much of the meaning and sentiment that the term and its various derivatives are capable of expressing.[2] Wahkootowin provided a contextualization for how relationships were intended to work within Cree society. Within the following study, it will serve as more of a theoretical, as opposed to literal, construct that serves to explain Metis actions and reactions to internal community relationships that were expressed intergenerationally through the extended family, as well as those formulated with the two dominant institutions in northwestern Saskatchewan—fur trade companies (represented primarily by the Hudson's Bay Company) and the Roman Catholic Church. The adoption of wahkootowin as a theoretical concept allows an interpretation of Metis social development and behaviour as a part of a larger cultural worldview that informed the ways in which relationships were formed and resources utilized. The significance ascribed to familial relationships or the concept of relatedness was an idealized social value by which Metis people attempted to order their society. When this value became operationalized, it reflected behaviours that were evident in daily interactions, decision making processes, and treatment of one another.[3]

This study therefore, is an examination of how the Metis of Île à la Crosse utilized wahkootowin to negotiate their way through the demands of the fur trade and the Roman Catholic Church, to create a society based upon a cultural worldview and identity emphasizing family obligation and responsibility. Examining the effects of Metis wahkootowin on the economic, religious, and socio-cultural history of the area is accomplished through an analysis of the historical formation and interaction of families in the community, which is only possible through genealogical reconstruction. Genealogical information for Île à la Crosse is available from a variety of sources, including the

Roman Catholic Church's baptismal, marriage, and death records; fur trade records from the trading posts at Île à la Crosse; Canadian censuses from 1881, 1891, and 1901; and late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Metis scrip applications. Tracing family genealogies reveals the community wahkootowin, its cultural identity, and, in turn, its economic, socio-cultural, and religious history.

Metis history is typically posited in relation to either fur trade or mission histories, both of which had a significant impact on Metis history. However, neither truly address the role of the Metis in their own creation.[4] In fur trade histories, the Metis are often given cursory attention and are typically described in terms as inevitable by-products of the trade.[5] While this may be correct, it does not explain the development of a cultural worldview, social values, or even Metis family or community cohesion. Similarly, mission studies often describe the Metis as relying on Christian churches to bring stability to their otherwise nomadic and pointless existence.[6] As a result, the prevailing intellectual paradigm that posits that Aboriginal people are irrevocably changed through assimilation, and therefore damaged, through their contact experiences with non-Native peoples remains largely unchallenged. There are overriding issues as to whether the forces contributing to the creation of a Metis cultural identity are best described as syncretic, integrative, acculturative, or assimilative. Syncretism, acculturation, and integration are all processes that describe cultural modification by borrowing, blending, uniting, or combining elements of one culture with another as a means of establishing a coherent system that suits new needs or requirements of a people. Conversely, assimilation is a process by which one culture is absorbed by another. In this instance, then, wahkootowin served as the platform that facilitated, at various times, syncretism, integration, and acculturative forces that drew individuals into a world that prioritized familial concerns, obligations, and responsibilities to others.

Change to Aboriginal societies certainly occurred during the centuries of interaction with fur trade economies, Christianity, external nation states, and a host of other bodies

representing Western imperialism, and so the issue should not be whether transformation produces continuities or discontinuities. The process of change in any society involves a tension between old and new ways of thinking and behaving and so transformation is mediated at the intersection of this tension. There was a period of time (varying from one Aboriginal group to the next) when acculturation—as opposed to assimilation—was a two-way process and all parties involved in some way altered, adapted, and made concessions to the other as a means of accommodating a shared relationship. Examining the relationships with the fur trade and Church from the perspective of the Metis of northwestern Saskatchewan reveals that these quintessentially Western European institutions themselves were altered to accommodate Metis expectations of familial relationships and alliances. Within northwestern Saskatchewan, Metis people and communities were not united by external forces like the fur trade, the Church, or nineteenth century nationalist movements, but rather by the relationships created and nurtured through wahkootowin. Metis wahkootowin created and shaped identity, community, and society, which, in turn, forged their place within the fur trade and the Church.[7]

Metis definitions of family in the English River District are based on the Cree family structure of wahkootowin, which emphasized and relied on extensive interpersonal alliances between individuals, families, and communities. Just as wahkootowin mediated interaction between people, it extended beyond the corporeal world of human interaction to the natural and spiritual worlds, regulating relationships between humans and non-humans, the living and the dead, and people and the environment. Wahkootowin defined relationships, prescribed patterns of behaviour between relatives and non-relatives, and linked people and communities in a web of relationships. The nature of all of these relationships is part of a larger worldview, in this case nehiyaw tahp sinowin, which is the Cree way of seeing the world. Cree concepts of relatedness are utilized in this study largely because the Cree language (and therefore concepts) was the language of the Metis in northwestern Saskatchewan. Scholars of family life in colonial New France or British

North American will surely find similarities between the concepts of wahkootowin and their own subject matter, however it is not the intent to construct a comparative study but rather emphasize Aboriginal family construction as a means of understanding nineteenth century Metis socio-cultural formation.[8]

Consequently, Cree terminology, and therefore concepts of family construction, is privileged over both Francophone or Anglophone terms, phrases, or concepts of familial life for a number of important reasons. The Metis of Île à la Crosse and northwestern Saskatchewan were largely Cree speakers and did not, as in other areas of the Western Plains, develop a more typical dialect of the Michif language that blended Cree and French language structures to form a new, unique, language.[9] According to linguist Peter Bakker the language of northwestern Saskatchewan, and especially that of Île à la Crosse, "must be considered Cree, with some borrowings from French, whereas Michif is a mixed language."[10] Bakker posited that while French language elements were present in Île à la Crosse's Cree—indeed in the Cree spoken throughout northwestern Saskatchewan Metis communities—its introduction came after the establishment of the mission school late in the nineteenth century rather than from the French-Canadian traders who arrived in the late eighteenth century. As a result, Cree dominated the development of social and cultural concepts amongst the Metis who, according to Bakker's examination of their language, was more influenced by "Indian" rather than "French cultural influences."[11]

Cree terminology, therefore, is essential for describing Metis family structures in northwestern Saskatchewan even if it may have elements of composition and structure similar to the societies of their French and British paternal ancestors. Because language is a window on a society's worldview, Cree shaped and gave focus to the meaning(s) of family as a cultural expression. Wahkootowin and nehiyaw tahp sinowin were transmitted through language and infused real world concepts and institutions with meaning by establishing protocols and frameworks for interaction and behaviour. In short, wahkootowin was both a cultural worldview and the foundation of a Metis cultural identity in Île à la Crosse.

This then is an examination of how a people defined themselves in relation to each other and to the broadly defined communities around them through a regional genealogical reconstruction of the historic Metis community at Lac Île à la Crosse. The story of the socio-cultural development of the Metis community of Île à la Crosse is best understood from this perspective.

While wahkootowin was a Cree term reflecting nehiyaw tahp sinowin, the belief in family as central to all cultural, political, and economic behaviour, was not unique. For North American Aboriginal peoples, personal and cultural identity was primarily associated with the family relationships and alliances that served as the foundation for all social relations and, therefore, the framework for existence. The family framework regulated both internal community relations and those with outsiders. While blood and marriage are foundational in all cultures, Aboriginal communities also contained social relationships that mimicked blood and marriage ties in order to formally transform outsiders—potential enemies—into relatives. For Aboriginal peoples, family included those to whom an individual traced descent (extended to include clans and nations) and also individuals and groups recruited into kinship through naturalization, adoption, marriage, and political and economic alliances and, in anthropological terminology, these social relationships are defined as fictive kinship. Familial relations were all-important because they held individuals and communities together in an inclusive web throughout Aboriginal territories.[12]

The dictates of Aboriginal family relations demanded that relatives not harm one another whether physically, economically, or politically. When strangers met they often became relatives, thereby forging a deeply personal level of trust and responsibility. Extended social and familial relationships defined descent and inheritance systems and marriage and residence patterns. Extended family relationships went beyond a human or physical connection, and included relationships with all other forms in existence. No individual in a territory or community was to be without connections, and so a place was made for everyone to belong.[13] Throughout trading territories across North American,

this precept was extended to white fur traders when they arrived in Indian territories. As Metis families grew up in this social and cultural milieu, they incorporated Indian—in this instance Cree—systems of family relationships into their own families, communities, and territories. The Metis of Île à la Crosse subscribed to wahkootowin and patterned their economic, political, religious, and social obligations through the interplay of familial responsibility and obligation, fashioning a place for themselves in larger institutional frameworks of the fur trade and the Church that was uniquely their own.

At first glance, there is nothing remarkable about Île à la Crosse. It was not a large community like Red River, which was located at the confluence of the Red and Assinaboine Rivers in Manitoba and often stands as the focal point of Metis history in Canada.[14] However, Île à la Crosse was, in many ways, at the centre of early socio-cultural developments that contributed to the circumstances leading to the hallmarks of Metis nationalism. While no battles of nationhood were fought there, like those at Seven Oaks, Red River, or along the South Saskatchewan River Valley, knowledge of these events nevertheless reached Île à la Crosse. For instance, in 1816 James Sutherland reported that the "Half Breeds" of his region (Qu'Appelle) were celebrating the appointment of Cuthbert Grant as their Captain General, and that there was,

> likewise as a rejoicing for the news brought by Swan River McDonald that the Half Breeds in Athabasca, English River Saskatchewan & Swan River were collecting under the several chiefs & had sent information that they would all join Grant in the spring to sweep Red River of all the English.[15]

Several months later, Sutherland again cautioned that the Metis of Rupertsland were rallying against the Company. Reporting that the North West Company had sent emissaries to different fur trade districts to raise a force against the Selkirk Settlement, Sutherland noted that "the report is not unfounded, as a similar rumour is in circulation through the Saskatchewan and young Shaw is purposely sent to Isle a la Cross [*sic*] as a recruiting Sergant."[16]

Similarly, although there were no national Metis leaders from northwestern Saskatchewan who fought and died for the new nation, one of the first national leaders at Red River, Louis Riel Sr., was born in Île à la Crosse. While raised in Quebec by his father and paternal relatives after the death of his Dene mother, Riel, Sr. passed on knowledge of his family's connection to Île à la Crosse. Eventually, one of the Riel family would return to Île à la Crosse, when Sarah Riel, younger sister to Louis, was sent to northwestern Saskatchewan as a member of the Sisters of Charity in the mid-nineteenth century. The Riel connection to Île à la Crosse and the potential contribution of the community to Metis nationalism was the source of a great deal of anxiety in the 1880s.

As it had in 1816, Île à la Crosse became the subject of rumours in 1885 when it was speculated that the Metis of the English River District would support the Metis along the South Saskatchewan. The rumour, carried by a messenger from Green Lake in April 1885, warned the Île à la Crosse mission that Louis Riel might seek revenge on the priests because of Sarah's recent death at the Île à la Crosse mission in 1884. Apparently still distraught at his sister's death and espousing an anti-clerical ultramontane doctrine, Riel was said to be planning to travel north and destroy the mission. So intense was the clergy's fear that this rumour would become reality that they evacuated the Mission, and all its residents, including the children attending the school, fled to an island north of Lac Île à la Crosse in the English River, where they remained in hiding for a month.[17]

The Battle of Seven Oaks, the 1885 Resistance, and the Riel family are typically lauded as hallmarks of Metis history and national identity, and while Île à la Crosse was not at their centre, the impact of the community's early development had repercussions on those events no matter how tangentially. However, what makes Île à la Crosse compelling is that it is one of the oldest, most culturally homogeneous Metis communities in western Canada that rose to prominence during the fur trade when it was the central administrative depot of the HBC's English River District.

Île à la Crosse was in an area of northwestern Saskatchewan given the administrative name of the English River District during the fur trade era. Independent traders Thomas and Joseph Frobisher from the Montreal-based St. Lawrence trade network established Île à la Crosse in 1776 as an outpost for their anticipated Athabasca-based trade ventures. Following these first peddlars into northwestern Saskatchewan were Canadien, English, and Scottish traders from the XY, North West, and Hudson's Bay companies, respectively, who, as part of their trading experience, established intimate and often long-lasting relationships with local Cree and Dene women. The result of these unions between fur traders and Indian women was the "ethnogenesis" of Metis people and communities in the region.[18] The English River District consequently became home to a group of Metis people working within the fur trade as employees, and on its margins as freemen, free traders, and subsistence hunters and fishermen.

By the time that Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in the English River District in 1845 and established the first western mission outside of Red River in 1846, they encountered a population of people who already understood and practiced the blessings of the sacraments, observed the Sabbath regularly, and acknowledged the power of the Saints over their lives. As the Metis of the English River District worked as traders, they also developed a flourishing socio-religious lifestyle marked by periods of intense revelry and religious piety. Just as the fur trading companies had done before them, the Church worked to establish itself amongst these people, acculturating to the demands of Metis cultural identity while striving to improve the rudimentary teachings of Catholicism held by residents throughout the nineteenth century.

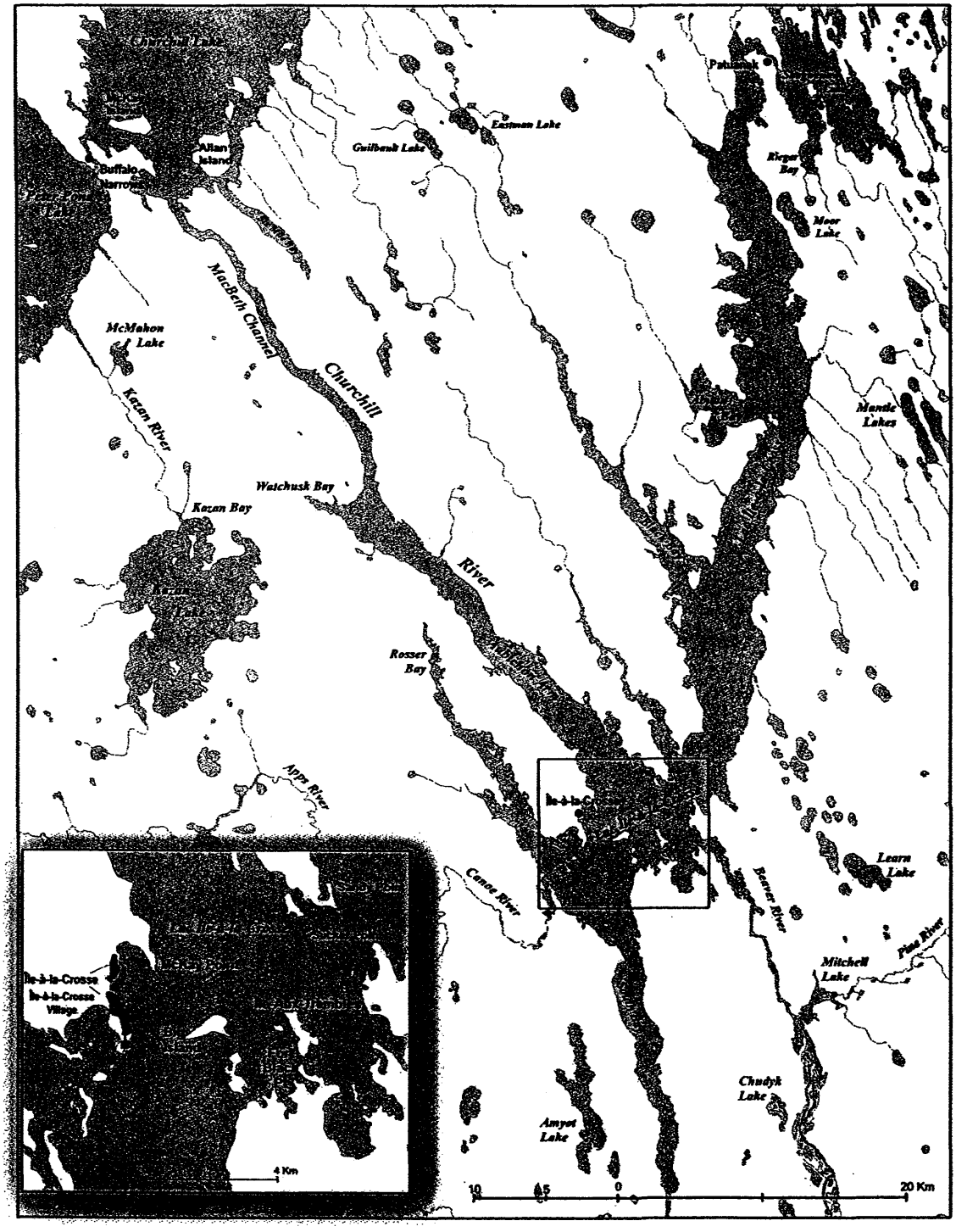
To understand the development of this particular Metis community, one must first have an appreciation for the place and how families organized themselves in relation to that place. Aboriginal concepts of land tenure, group boundaries, and rights of usage were enshrined in "narratives of ethnogenesis" in which territories became "a home area where life was lived, and as the final resting place of mortal remains."[19] Contemporary

Aboriginal writers and scholars often use the importance of land to express their feelings about community and acceptance, particularly as an expression of profound loss.[20] The use of land as a metaphor reflects a mood and imprint of family and community histories. The cultural identity of Aboriginal peoples hinged upon their ability to connect the present and future to the past, with land serving as that link. And so, it is in Île à la Crosse that this story must begin.

The community of Île à la Crosse is situated on Lac Île à la Crosse, a place where the Canoe, Deep, and Beaver rivers join, and then flow north into the English River (known today as the Churchill River). Lac Île à la Crosse is situated south of the Canadian Shield, and is a low-lying area with narrow, stony beaches backed by bush comprised mostly of aspen and some spruce. Due to the low-lying land surrounding the lake, the area is marshy and prone to spring flooding. This feature may appear to have been a good reason not to settle on the shores of the lake, but the positioning of the rivers made it an ideal location for a centralized trade depot that directed the movement of goods and furs between northern and southern regions. The lake itself is still rich in fish and water fowl that were a part of the local diet. The lake also served as a summer gathering spot for local Cree and Dene people due to an abundance of produce that could support large family gatherings for sustained periods of time (see **Figure 1**).

Lac Île à la Crosse is a long but narrow lake approximately fifty miles in length running north to south, although at any point across it is only two to two and a half miles wide. In good weather, canoeing is safe, with the shorelines always nearby in case of difficulty. However, winds can pick up quickly and often funnel down the length of the lake, creating strong, peaking, and extremely dangerous whitecaps. Under these conditions, it is necessary for people to take immediate cover, either on shore or one of the many islands that dot the lake. The Metis who made the area their home occupied many small, scattered settlements around the lake's edges as well as the village proper. Île à la Crosse, the village, was, and still is, located on the lake's west side on a southern peninsula

Figure 1. Map of Lac Île à la Crosse



Source: Map projection - UTM Zone 13N, NAD1983; Map source - Extract of the data set NTDB at 1:250,000 © Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada; Reproduced with the permission of Natural Resources Canada

on Aubichon Arm, and where the Roman Catholic Mission and cemetery as well as the Hudson's Bay Company Post were situated. Many Metis families lived in close proximity to the traders and missionaries, such as the Bouvier family, who situated themselves at the tip of the peninsula where the Roman Catholic mission was established. The Bouvier family's lengthy association with this place on the lake's edge has been such that the area itself came to be known as Bouvierville. However, more typically, most families lived around the lake in smaller family-derived communities, coming into Île à la Crosse only to trade, attend religious services, or participate in festivities during Easter, Christmas, and New Year's Day.

To the west of the peninsula, across Rosser Bay, is the mouth of the Canoe River. Aubichon Arm, to the north, is the entryway to the Churchill River, leading to Churchill and Peter Pond lakes. The community of Buffalo Narrows is situated at their junction. From here, one can continue traveling north up the Churchill River to Portage La Loche, an outpost of Île à la Crosse, and then to Methy Portage, the gateway to the Athabasca and Mackenzie trade districts. This gateway to northern fur regions was what helped solidify Île à la Crosse's position as the administrative centre of the English River District fur trade.

Rising out of the water, covered in aspen and spruce trees, Big Island is just across from the village of Île à la Crosse. No families lived permanently on Big Island, but it was a place where people—particularly the Dene—socialized in summer. Across from Big Island, Fort Black is another family settlement and the site of an old North West Company trading post. Many families, such as the Deschambeaults, lived here. To the north of Fort Black is Île aux Trembles, or Poplar Point Island, a large island where the Desjarlais and Kyplain families lived. A half mile east of Île aux Trembles is the mouth of the Beaver River, which connects Île à la Crosse to the more southern Metis community at Green Lake and subsequently joins Île à la Crosse to western trade posts such as Lac La Biche which connects up to those water systems eventually leading to Fort Edmonton. The Green Lake

site was a part of the pemmican provisioning posts and served as a supply depot for the northern outposts and transport brigades that heavily relied on this food source.

North of the mouth of Beaver River is Sucker Point, which today is part of the English River Dene Nation's reserve. In the nineteenth century, it was one of many Metis family settlement locations and home to, among others, the Natomagan family. Directly across the lake from Sucker Point is Sandy Point, where it is believed that an HBC post under William Linklater was located in the late 1700s/early 1800s.[21] The Morin, Lariviere, and Gardiner families lived here. North of Sandy Point is Belanger Point, home to the Belangers, a family that resettled at Lac Île à la Crosse in the first decade of the twentieth century although this surname appears in the community records late in the 1700s.[22] Naming and identifying the geographical landscape where particular Metis families lived is part of developing a better understanding of Île à la Crosse's history and people, and, in turn, wahkootowin.

Most of the families named thus far have a long history in the English River District and along the lakeshore, with many dating to the early beginnings of the fur trade there in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and all are recognizable in other western Canadian Metis communities. At that level, Metis communities share ancestral bonds based on interfamilial connections. Further, these names have been incorporated into the extended community social structure, and so studies of communities like Île à la Crosse must begin at this family level. Names, places, language, sacred histories, and ceremonial cycles unified individuals. This particular Metis cultural identity linked individuals, families, and communities to specific territories and represented the Metis style of life in northwestern Saskatchewan. As the families of Île à la Crosse lived, worked, and socialized together, they cemented their responsibilities and obligations to one another through alliances defined by wahkootowin.

There is precedent for understanding the internal workings of Aboriginal community as an expression of a worldview grounded in the conceptualization of family. In 1944, Sioux scholar Ella Cara Deloria wrote a pathbreaking treatise on Sioux family life entitled *Speaking of Indians*, in which she described the tiyospaye of the Sioux, calling it "the scheme of life that worked."[23] As one of the first Indian ethnologists, Deloria wrote intimately about the Sioux family structure and life known as tiyospaye—the Sioux equivalent of wahkootowin—in order to explain the intricate web of social obligation and responsibility that connected individuals and communities throughout Sioux territory. Deloria loosely translated the tiyospaye as the "camp circle," which she used as a metaphor to further reflect a system of relatedness that connected community members and the larger Sioux territory to one another as one large extended family. She defined the tiyospaye as family, but also noted that the term referred to a system of relationships that historically regulated Sioux social, political, economic, cultural, and spiritual/religious behaviour. According to Deloria, the tiyospaye held all Sioux people together in a great web of relationships designed to establish peace, decency, and order between a communal people. Being a part of the larger family structure gave Sioux people their humanity. Without the struggle to both maintain and gain relatives, that humanity was lost.[24] Within the tiyospaye, all individuals born into Dakota culture belonged, no person in the territory was unconnected.

Deloria's was the first account of Sioux family and social life written from the perspective of a cultural insider, bringing forth a fresh awareness of the intricate web of Sioux social obligations and responsibilities that connected individuals and gave meaning to their existence. At the time, Deloria's work served as a counterpoint to anthropology's kinship methodology devised by Lewis Henry Morgan in the mid-nineteenth century.[25] Despite her best efforts, however, Deloria's work went largely ignored by her contemporaries in the academy until more recently when anthropologist Raymond J. DeMallie observed in a 1998 article that "kinship"—that is, family—was the foundation of Native American—and

I would assert Native Canadian—society. DeMallie argued that "[t]he family, culturally defined and embedded in a social system of greater or lesser structural complexity, is basic to understanding Native American peoples."[26]

In many ways, this study borrows heavily from the techniques of new social history, which rose to prominence in North American scholarship under American historians of colonial New England in the 1970s.[27] Methodologically, new social history offered a tangible means of evaluating the history of those who were largely ignored in historical discourse by gathering all available quantitative historical records to better understand their lives. Women, labouring classes, slaves, Aboriginal peoples—in short, those who were marginalized in the discourse of the dominant classes—were the subjects of new social history.[28] Much was learned and new theories were advanced about human behaviour through this type of research. Importantly, proponents of the new social history sought to address how ordinary people thought, felt, or responded to larger historical forces, determining that the pace of intellectual and emotional change is not cataclysmic, but rather evolves slowly.

However, this examination of Île à la Crosse goes beyond the methodological scope afforded by new social history, which often lost sight of the humanity of people in its crusade to assess their lives quantitatively. The methodology for this study also borrows heavily from the work of scholars such as Simon Schama, Carlo Ginzburg, and Natalie Zemon Davis, who have drawn attention to simple clues of historical evidence as a means of teasing out hidden information, revealing much about the relationships between individuals and communities.[29] Instead of digging deeply on a narrow and confined topic, Schama, Ginzburg, and Davis utilized smaller case studies to discern what might be suggested about larger historical processes. This is where this study of Île à la Crosse is situated methodologically—what can the family structures of Metis people in the community of Île à la Crosse tell us about larger historical issues of Metis identity, and how can we look to this community to understand more about identity formation on grander scales?

Understanding Metis identity formation can only come through an examination of family relationships and community ties as established over generations. The study of Indian kinship has served as the basis of anthropological research for many years, yet not much has been done in the other social sciences, like Native Studies, to understand how Aboriginal societies operated. There has been, however, some research conducted on Metis family systems in terms of their relationship to land tenure. One of the most important efforts in this area was made by D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye's, *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation*, in which family histories of the Red River settlement between 1820 and 1900 were reconstructed through an examination of various censuses taken in the area throughout the nineteenth century.[30] Using this material, Sprague and Frye concluded that the concept of family was prominent in the system of Metis political alliances created in Red River and asserted that mapping family patterns was the appropriate starting point for studying the politics of this community. However, rather than look at the internal family structure of the Red River Metis to illuminate how individuals operated as a community, Sprague and Frye were more concerned with individual land holdings. Clearly the notion of family as the foundation of Metis social structure is not a unique proposition. However, it has never been fully explored as the basis for a shared cultural identity.

There has, however, been a longstanding recognition of family's importance within the socio-cultural history of the Metis. Marcel Giraud's two volume study, *The Metis in the Canadian West*, acknowledged that family influenced individual and community behaviour as he searched for the historical causes of the pervasive conditions of Metis poverty and disease in Western Canada during the 1930s. Giraud concluded that personality deficiencies within individual Metis were a genetic by-product of miscegenation, arguing that this deficiency spawned a culture that hampered Metis social development within Canada. Despite his conclusions, Giraud's research revealed that the Metis placed a priority on family relationships in times of stress, famine, poverty, and infirmity, and promoted a sense of shared responsibility and obligation amongst individuals. Giraud

believed that this behaviour limited their ability to fully evolve and become productive members of western Canadian society. Family members were so reliant on one another that, according to Giraud, sons neglected their own tasks to assist their fathers and visa versa. This closeness did not just exist between parents and children or close relatives, but "extended as much to the most distant relatives, to friends, or to their descendants."[31] Further, "often these numerous families, swollen with friends or collaterals whose names immediately reveal their Indian origins hampered [their] accomplishments."[32] As Western society increasingly rewarded individualism over collective responsibility and mutual obligation, Giraud interpreted a long-standing cultural strategy of protection and support as a hindrance to Metis acceptance in contemporary Euro-Canadian society.

Although Giraud's analysis of Metis social history supports an older tradition of Canadian historiography that posits civilization overtaking savagery, evolved people succeeding as the more primitive wither away, his study marked one of the first acknowledgements of Metis diversity, though within a decidedly social evolutionary framework as defined by their geographic territory.[33] Giraud made a distinction between "primitive" Metis who clung to family to their detriment and those who successfully acculturated to Canadian society. The division, as Giraud saw it, was between distinct streams of Metis people who came into existence through two different fur trading traditions—the southern Plains Metis from the French-based fur trade and the Metis from the more northerly Hudson's Bay Company tradition around Hudson Bay and northwestward. The southern Metis, Giraud argued, were the more dominant group born of relationships between French voyageurs and "nomadic" western Indians. This group formed the nucleus of Metis society at Red River in the nineteenth century. The northern group, in comparison, developed slowly and were detached from both the southern Metis and western Canada as a region, preferring to associate with the more refined representatives of British civilization found at HBC posts.[34]

Until the 1970s, Giraud's basic conceptualization of Metis society, defining a more base human struggle between civilization and savagery, endured. Addressing this perception in the mid-1970s, Metis scholars D. Bruce Sealy and Antoine Lussier offered a compelling alternative interpretation:

> The dominant question was how cultures and environment could be modified and this fundamental question was personified in the Métis. To [19th century] observers it seemed the choices were clear cut. The mixed bloods could become nomads of the woods and the plains or they could become as Europeans and be governed by the pen and the plough. The Métis chose neither one, but pulled both ways incessantly and sought a compromise between European and Indian ways, between paganism and Christianity; between hunting and agriculture.[35]

This notion that the Metis have a basic level of diversity identified at the level of French Metis and British half-breeds (or "country born") opened the door for scholars to expand on this notion of many kinds of Metis cultures throughout fur trade territories. While numerous scholars have explored the concept of diversity to varying degrees of success, historian John Foster provided the most insightful work in this area, expanding beyond Giraud's basic division between French and British Metis. Foster's work emphasized a diversity in Metis society based on economic activities rather than biological origins. He drew particular distinctions between Plains and buffalo hunting Metis who utilized Red River as a base of operations and those who settled permanently as farmers or business people. However, Foster differed from Giraud, who focused on Metis diversity as an either/or proposition, by rejecting the notion that Metis people can be understood as being either more Indian or more European based on their cultural traditions. Rather, he sought an understanding of a third alternative—that Metis communities developed a separate culture with a distinct family pattern as the basic unit of society.[36]

What was important in the development of distinctive Metis communities was the ability of family units to work and live together, mutually supporting one another, and eventually creating a social milieu from which successive generations of people could

select marriage partners rather than turn to European or Indian communities for those relationships. To Foster, "the critical feature in explaining Métis ethnogenesis is not mixed ancestry; rather, it is the historical circumstances and processes which saw some children socialized differently than those children associated with Indian bands or with the very few Euro-Canadian communities that could be said to exist in the presettlement west."[37]

Foster's lifetime of work built on this idea that Metis people and communities needed to be evaluated, first, as distinct from Indian and white, and, second, with an acknowledgment of diversity within the Metis community as a whole, while focusing on overall shared experiences and social cohesion. What, then, were the unifying elements common to Metis communities like Île à la Crosse? One feature was their long participation in the fur trade, so much so that they are often described in economic terms as products of the trade, just as furs were a product. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Sylvia Van Kirk each helped transform fur trade historiography by approaching it in social terms, demonstrating the role that both Aboriginal women and families played in the development of trade networks dependent on intermarriage for success.[38] Within this atmosphere of intermarriage, the natural consequence was mixed-ancestry children who became a central component for profitable trade relations. The importance of such studies, including those of Van Kirk and Brown, is in establishing the success of the trade as dependent on the interconnection of Metis families. The caution, though, is to avoid reducing Metis ethnogenesis to economic determinism, thereby overshadowing their development as distinct peoples with their own cultural and social needs.

The other unifying element for Metis communities was their experience with missionaries and missionization. As Christian churches began actively missionizing in western and northern Canada in the 1820s, their initial attempts at converting Aboriginal people were often conducted in Metis communities. Nineteenth century missionaries clung to a belief that the European paternity of the Metis meant that they were at least partially civilized (at least in comparison to Indians) and therefore easier to instruct in proper

Christian values. The Catholic Church in particular had a strong presence in northern Metis communities like Île à la Crosse, helping to promote the popular image of Metis people as devout Catholics.[39] However, what is missing in analyses of the missionization period is how Metis people influenced the Catholic Church and moved it to adapt to the cultural and social needs of its parishioners. Foster raised the idea that a unique "folk Catholicism" developed within Metis communities that pre-dated the arrival of Roman Catholic priests. While the Catholic Church established its first western mission at Red River in the 1820s, the influence of the clergy further west on the prairies was not felt until several decades later. Foster noted that in the 1840s on the Plains amongst buffalo hunters, missionaries found the Metis practicing infant baptism and holding prayer services even though many had never been to church. However, Foster did little more than introduce the idea. It needs to be more fully and critically examined to answer the question, what is folk Catholicism, and how did it develop as a Metis religious institution?

None of these cited works, regardless of their scholarly merit, have truly identified what made Metis people distinct because they did not go inside the communities to understand their structure—how individuals organized themselves in relation to one another or in relation to their land, how they established and developed a system of values and then used religious institutions to support and facilitate the perpetuation of those values, and how they understood themselves in relation to outsiders. The questions that this study seeks to explore are: what are the foundations of Metis community; how does this community shape Metis identity; and, in turn, how is identity informed by the social, and intrinsically personalized, construction of community? By reconstructing the genealogies of Metis families at Île à la Crosse using HBC, Church, census, and scrip records, it is possible to see the shape and structure of wahkootowin unfold and become operationalized through marriage choices, adoptions, selection of godparents, living arrangements, economic decisions, employment, and socio-cultural expressions such as dancing and naming practices. Wahkootowin served to structure and give meaning

to relationships between individuals and communities that affected social organization, political alliances, and economic networks.

The genealogies for the Metis people of the English River District were compiled in a commercially produced family tree database entitled Northwestern Saskatchewan Family Genealogy, and currently contains just over 3,300 records. Aided by the software, this study identified forty-three Metis family groupings (as identified by their surnames) who made up the core of Île à la Crosse society and culture between roughly 1800 and 1912.[40] Each of these forty-three families ranged in size from a dozen individuals to well over a hundred as their familial ranks swelled and contracted over a century or more of existence. These families are described as being core for several important reasons that distinguish them from other families in the District at the time. The core families can be traced intergenerationally; were linked to each other through marriage, adoption, and socially constructed relationships such as godparents; were closely linked to Cree and Dene bands in the region; operated in a variety of economic niches in the fur trade and its associated operations such as hunting and fishing; and were members of the Roman Catholic Church.[41] Throughout the course of this study, the genealogical record will be examined in relation to the two dominant, externally created institutions, marked by economy and religion. By analyzing the historical interplay between the families and Western institutions, as well as such Metis socio-cultural practices relating to naming practices, popular social and religious events, and living arrangements, we can observe wahkootowin in operation.

The examination of Île à la Crosse's socio-cultural history via genealogical reconstruction of the historical community revealed five generational cohorts corresponding to and influencing particular time periods. However, only the latter four of these generations will be examined in any great detail, partly because of an availability of sources, but more importantly because these four characterized Metis ethnogenesis and socio-cultural development in the English River District and lived within wahkootowin. Importantly,

each of these generalizations reinforces socio-cultural patterns established in the late eighteenth century, when the first wave of outsider male fur trade employees entered northwestern Saskatchewan and began establishing relationships with Aboriginal women. There developed over the generations female-centred family groups residing throughout the region identified locally by surnames, thereby establishing a trend of patronymic connections. Quite simply, the women indigenous to the region became the centrifugal force that incorporated successive waves of outsider males who carried with them the surnames that came to mark northwestern Saskatchewan communities and identified the families locally and patronymically.

The initial group of English River District residents is best understood as a proto-generation in which the first ancestral men, not indigenous to the region, arrived and intermarried with local Cree and Dene women. The proto-generation was not characterized by mixed-ancestry people, but were the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples whose actions and decisions sparked Metis ethnogenesis in the English River District through their actions. So, as non-Aboriginal fur traders arrived in the English River District in the latter eighteenth century, their associations with Cree and Dene women marked the first phase of trade relations and were characterized by intermarriage and interpersonal alliances. While we often know the names of these first traders and labourers to the region, we rarely know the names or even the locations or cultural groups of origin from which the women came, making full genealogical reconstruction impossible. As a result, locating the protogeneration's children is often difficult, although a greater amount of documentation for these offspring exists for them than their parents.

The children of the proto-generation are the first generation of Metis of the English River District and the first benchmark of socio-cultural development for the purposes of this study. The first generation was born in the late eighteenth century, matured and formed their own families by the 1820s and 1830s, and gave birth to the second generation between the 1820s and 1850s. Within the scrip records, these two generations—the first

and second—are often listed as the parents of the scrip applicants, and so the bulk of our knowledge on them comes from the memories of their descendants. This information was sometimes further substantiated and supported by mission, census, and HBC records. Because the mission records are not available pre-1867 individuals comprising the first generation are not typically represented in either the birth or baptismal records except as parents and/or godparents. Furthermore, data is not available regarding their marriages, so the details of their lives were recorded via their children, who comprised the second generation's base. Nineteen first generation couples were identified through the available records and, typically, one half of any couple was born in either the English River District or, at the very least, the hinterlands of Rupertsland. Based on available evidence, first generation families began establishing themselves in the area around Lac Île à la Crosse between 1800 and 1830, and it was this first group of married couples and their children who established a stable community to which other individuals and/or families attached themselves when they entered the English River District, typically as a result of trade demands.

Second generation families—individuals born in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s—were comprised of the children from the first generation of families and eventually intermarried. Additionally, the second generation, like the first, incorporated through intermarriage new arrivals to the District after the 1821 merger of the HBC and North West Company. The new arrivals were primarily men who joined the community by marrying daughters of local families, thereby integrating and acculturating into the local emerging Metis society. In a couple of isolated instances, second generation families were characterized by newly arrived married couples or a son of the first generation returning from Red River with a new bride. For instance, George Bekattla traveled to Red River with the HBC brigades and returned to the Île à la Crosse region with a new wife, Nancy Kippling/Kyplain, in the late 1850s/early 1860s. Nancy's younger brother, John Thomas Kippling/Kyplain, eventually joined his sister at Île à la Crosse when he became an HBC

servant a couple of decades later. In all, there were approximately twenty-eight second generation families comprised of one or more newcomers to the English River District, as well as a more extensive list of families characterized by both the husband and wife born in the territory to first generation couples. In virtually all instances, these are the individuals who applied for scrip themselves in Green Lake in 1887 and 1889 or Île à la Crosse and Portage La Loche in 1906 and 1907, providing information on themselves and their parents, the first generation, and their children, the third generation.

The most comprehensive information exists about the third generation, born in the 1860s to 1880s, because the scrip and mission records most accurately correspond to this generational cohort's lifecycle. The third generation, like their second generation predecessors, were formed by another wave of incoming males new to the fur trade economy of the English River District, arriving Metis and Indian men from other northern communities outside of the District, and another layer of interterritorial intermarriage between the children born towards the end of the child bearing years of the first generation and from second generation marriages. As with the second generation, the number of incoming traders to the third generation cohort development was sharply reduced post-1821, a pattern that intensifies in the latter half of the nineteenth century. There are a number of possible reasons for this continued decline in the number of outsider males marrying into the regional wahkootowin of the English River District, including the ability of a growing Metis community able to establish a stable population that could intermarry and reproduce itself. The growing Metis population also formed a "home-grown" labour pool for the Company, which therefore no longer had to recruit French Canadians to the region. The decline might also be linked to a corresponding decline in fur returns for the English River District during this time, which again would precipitate the Company to cease recruitment of new servants to the region.[42] Regardless of the cause, there was a significant reduction of third generation families established with outsider male heads of household and a concurrent explosion of households headed by couples who were both born inland to Metis families.

The largest generation examined in this study was the fourth, born in the 1890s to 1910s. All three record sources—census, scrip and church—coalesce in these decades. The fourth generation was comprised of individuals born to the third generation, located in mission records, and verified through census data. However, because the records used in this study approximately end by 1912, this generation's population is largely incomplete because their parents were still having children well past these years and not all were yet matched up to spouses.[43] This fourth generation of people are currently the oldest living cohort in northwestern Saskatchewan. One important feature of these four generational cohorts is their intermarriage with one another, establishing a community-based interfamilial, intergenerational wahkootowin marked by a regionally-based female-centred family networks but with strong patronymic connections.

For a historically and genealogically rich Metis community like Île à la Crosse, mapping family relationships is a means of entering the community and discovering who people were—and still are—and how they defined themselves in relation to those around them. People create culture through family and ancestral relationships—that is, they are actively involved in becoming, rather than passively awaiting identity transmission through external forces and trauma. The Metis of Île à la Crosse asserted themselves and established themselves as culturally distinct through their interaction with the economics of the fur trade and religious demands of the Roman Catholic Church.

Endnotes

[1]The term "style of life" is borrowed from anthropologist Robert R. Redfield who coined the phrase to explain that culture was more than the sum total of institutions, but rather reflected the intangibles—the ideas, values, and virtues—that guided behaviours and influenced actions daily. See Robert R. Redfield, *The Primitive World and its Transformations*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1953), 51-53.

[2]Cree language dictionaries provide concise definitions of the root word wahkootowin (meaning relative, relationship, kinsmanship, or simply relation) and its various derivatives, such as wakotuhisoo (he forms a relationship), wakottuwok (they are related), or wakomakun (close relation), which have related but more precise meanings depending on required usage. There is considerable variation in spelling, including wahkootowin, wakottuwin, and wahko'towin, reflecting the newness of Roman orthography's application of the Cree language and the lack of standardization. See R. Faries (ed), *A Dictionary of the Cree Language, as spoken by the Indians in the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Based*

upon the foundation laid by E. A. Watkins, 1865. (Toronto: General synod of the Church of England in Canada, 1938 edition); Gérard Beaudet, *Cree-English English-Cree Dictionary = Nehiyawe mina Akayasimo, Akayasimo mina Nehiyawe ayamiwini-masinahigan.* (Winnipeg: Wuerz Pub. Ltd., 1995); H.C. Wolfart and Freda Ahenakew, *The Student's Dictionary of Literary Plains Cree: Based on Contemporary Texts.* (Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics, 1998); and Anne Anderson (ed), *Plains Cree Dictionary in The 'Y' Dialect.* (S.I.: s.n., 1975). Perhaps the best application of wahkootowin as a cultural value is found within *Kisewatototatowin: Loving, Caring, Sharing, Respect.* 2nd ed. (Saskatoon: Aboriginal Parent Program Inc., 1998), which is a parenting handbook published to assist in strengthening young families. Wahkootowin was also used as the framework of a recent First Nations and Metis Justice Commission established in Saskatchewan to conduct an inquiry into the relationship between Saskatchewan Aboriginal peoples and the provincial justice system. Significantly, the Commission took aw its motto "meyo wahkotowin," or "one community," indicating that in order for meaningful change to occur, the people of the province must regard themselves as members of a shared community, not two solitudes. Without making explicit statements, there is an implication of relatedness in a shared community.

[3]While the notion of relatedness was of primary importance in establishing a variety of arrangements between individuals, communities, and institutions, it was an ideal, and, of course, not always possible to meet on a daily basis. However, the idealized representation of relationships, whether achievable or not, marks the socio-cultural values by which people were expected to aspire.

[4]This is not an argument for Aboriginal historical agency. As Frank Tough has cautioned in *'As Their Natural Resources Fail:' Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996), 7-9, the term "agency" must be understood and used carefully. In recent years, there has been a proliferation of books and articles chronicling Aboriginal agency. There has been a movement, particularly in recent fur trade studies, to argue that Aboriginal people must be seen as partially responsible for their contemporary economic and social problems. However, there is a difference between being victimized and being a victim. Aboriginal people were indeed victimized by larger forces beyond their control—capitalist world markets, state agencies that enacted paternalistic and racist policies designed to destroy local economies, and the Hudson's Bay Company and other fur companies and missionaries who put their own interests ahead of Native people's well-being. To argue against this victimization is a heinous form of revisionist history that blames the victimized rather than the victimizer for conditions in Aboriginal communities. I do, however, argue that, historically, Aboriginal people did not regard themselves as victims—they made choices based on available opportunities and to the best of their abilities. They acted as though they held power over themselves, that they owned themselves.

[5]See, in particular, Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), who first gave attention to the role of Aboriginal peoples in the fur trade, and Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), who furthered Ray's fur trade as social history by examining how the HBC and NWC structures influenced social development at the posts.

[6]There are many biographies of priests and other missionaries that credit the clergy with saving the Metis from themselves. See, for example, Brian Owens and Claude M. Roberto, *The Diaries of Bishop Vital Grandin, 1875-77,* 2 vols. trans. Alan D. Ridge. (Edmonton: The Historical Society of Alberta, 1989) *passim* and Thérèse Castonguay, s.g.m., *A Leap in Faith: The Grey Nuns Ministries in Western and Northern Canada,* 2 vols. (Edmonton: Grey Nuns of Alberta, 1999) *passim.* There are also studies of missions and their role in the colonization and settlement of Western Canada that regard the Church's role and significance as influencing social behavior. See Raymond J. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), *passim.*

[7]The term Metis is chosen here to denote mixed-descent people who forged for themselves separate and distinct communities from either of their Indian and European ancestors. Note that Metis is written without an accent over the "e." This is done to signify that the term is being used to encompass all mixed-descent

people in Île à la Crosse. The reason for this choice is that "Métis" typically implies specific historical circumstance associated with French and Catholic influences that originated with the eastern trade routes prior to the fall of New France and the Scottish take over of the St. Lawrence trade. The term "half-breed," also known as the "country born," has historically referred to English and Scottish mixed-bloods who came out of the Hudson's Bay Company trade. The Metis of Île à la Crosse are predominantly, although not exclusively, from French and Cree forebears. I use the term to be inclusive of all mixed ancestry people in Île à la Crosse who were members of the regional wahkootowin.

[8]See for instance Sonia Blouin, "Entre frères et cousins: l'expérience familiale des voyageurs de la seigneurie de Rivière-du-Loup dans le commerce des fourrures, 1788-1821," Master's thesis, University of Ottawa, 2003; Françoise Noël, *Family Life and Sociability in Upper and Lower Canada, 1780-1870: A View From Diaries and Family Correspondence.* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2003); and Nancy Christie (ed), *Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada, 1760-1969.* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2002).

[9]Michif, a blended language of Cree (or Saulteaux) and French has received a great deal of scholarly attention in recent years. To a lesser degree, scholars have also examined Bungi, a blend of Cree and Gaelic spoken by British Half-Breeds in the Red River area in the nineteenth century. See John Crawford, "What is Michif?: Language in the Metis Tradition." in *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America,* eds. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1981), 231-242; Patrick C. Douaud, *Ethnolinguistic Profile of the Canadian Métis: Mercury Series: Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 99.* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1985); Margaret R. Stobie, "Background of the Dialect Called Bungi," *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba.* vol. 3, no. 24(1967-68): 65-75; and Stobie, "The Dialect Called Bungi," *Canadian Antiques Collector.* vol. 6, no. 8(1971): 20.

[10]Peter Bakker, *A Language of Our Own: The Genesis of Michif, the Mixed Cree-French Language of the Canadian Métis.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 147.

[11]Bakker, *A Language of Our Own,* 178.

[12]For a fuller discussion of Aboriginal notions of relatedness, see Winona Stevenson [Wheeler], "'Ethnic' Assimilates 'Indigenous': A Study in Intellectual Colonialism," *Wicazo Sa Review* (1998): 33-51.

[13]Reminiscences about Aboriginal, specifically Native American, family life from the nineteenth century can be found in Arlene Hirschfelder, ed., *Native Heritage: Personal Accounts by American Indians, 1790 to Present* (New York: MacMillan, 1995).

[14]In an historiographical article evaluating the scope of Metis history in Canada, J.R. Miller referred to the focus on Red River as a myopia, while further noting that although studies since 1985 had begun to broaden our understanding of Metis history but still cautioned that there was a need to a greater peripheral vision to increase our understanding of the diversity of both Metis communities and experiences. See J.R. Miller, "From Riel to the Métis." *The Canadian Historical Review.* vol. 69, no.1 (1988): 14.

[15]Library and Archives of Canada (LAC), MG 19 E-1, Selkirk Papers, James Sutherland, "Report or a Narrative of outrages committed against The Hudson's Bay Company's Servants by the North West Company at Qu'Appelle House during Winter 1815 & 16."
[16]LAC, MG 19 E-1, Selkirk Papers, James Sutherland to Robert Semple, Qu'Apple River, 11 March 1816.

[17]Robert Longpré, *Ile-a-la-Crosse, 1776-1976.* Ile a la Crosse Bi-Centennial Committee, Ile a la Crosse Local Community Authority, 1976; and Barbara Benoit, "Mission at Ile a la Crosse." *Beaver* Winter (1990): 40-50.

[18]The term ethnogenesis was first coined by Jacqueline Peterson in "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830," (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1980) to describe the creation of Mixed-Blood communities in the Great Lakes as a natural extension of the fur trade experience. See also Jacqueline Peterson, "Many Roads to Red River: Metis Genesis in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1815." In *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America*, eds. Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1981), 37-71 and Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Metis," *Ethnohistory* 25.1 (1978): 41-67.

[19]Raymond D. Fogelson, "Perspectives on Native American Identity." In *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Russell Thornton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 48.

[20]See, for instance, Janet Campbell Hale, *Bloodlines: Odyssey of a Native Daughter* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994); Leslie Marmon Silko, *Yellow Woman and the Beauty of the Spirit: Esays on Native American Life Today* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996); Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); Thompson Highway, *Kiss of the Fur Queen* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1998); Craig S. Womack, *Red On Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); and Louis Owens, *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

[21]Greg Marchildon and Sid Robinson, *Canoeing the Churchill: A Practical Guide to the Historic Voyageur Highway* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2002), 140-142.
[22]There were Belangers in the English River District in the late 1700s, and at least one child from that family continued to live in the region. A Belanger woman born in the northwest was cited as the wife of Antoine Laliberte, one of the early Canadian fur traders from Quebec.

[23]Ella Deloria, *Speaking of Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998, orig. 1944), 24.

[24]Deloria, *Speaking of Indians.* pp. 24-25.

[25]Lewis Henry Morgan, the father of kinship studies, established the method and practice of evaluating Aboriginal family, and therefore social life, with his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Washington: The Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1871). Since Morgan, there have been a proliferation of Aboriginal kinship studies. See also Morgan's *Ancient Society* (New York: Holt, 1877); Henry Stephen Sharp, "The Kinship System of the Black Lake Chipewyan." (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1973); Scott Rushforth, *Bear Lake Althabascan Kinship and Task Group Formation* (Canadian Ethnology Service, no. 96, 1984); David M. Schneider, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984); Linda Stone, *Kinship and Gender: An Introduction* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997); and Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

[26]Raymond J. DeMallie, "Kinship: The Foundation for Native American Society." In *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Russell Thornton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 306.

[27]Perhaps the best known new social historians of American history are Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970) and John Putnam Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). The American version of the new social history borrowed heavily from the French *Annales* school of history, which pioneered the use of court records, census reports, deed registries, and church records as evidence beginning in the 1920s. In addition to utilizing new sources of evidence, the Annalists also asked new questions of their evidence, seeking to understand the *mentalité* of ordinary people.

[28]The methods and practice of new social history is similar to that of ethnohistorical method. However, ethnohistory is a disciplinary hybrid between anthropology and history and although the method is weighted to the former more than the latter, it was until recently practiced primarily by anthropologists and not historicans. Conversely, new social history is not a disciplinary hybrid—it simply utilized standard historical practice on new data sources.

[29]Simon Schama, *Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations* (Toronto: Vintage Press, 1992), Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller.* trans. John and Anne Tedeschi. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); Ginzberg, *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method.* trans. John and Anne Tedeschi. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), and Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

[30]D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820-1900* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1983).

[31]Marcel Giraud, *The Metis in the Canadian West*, 2 vols. trans. George Woodcock. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), 2: 329.

[32]Giraud, *The Metis in the Canadian West*, 2: 329.

[33]This evolutionary approach to history is most recognizable in George Stanley's *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992, orig. 1936). However, it has not completely slipped away. To a degree, Gerhard J. Ens' *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) continued Stanley and Giraud's work, although his assertions are considerably more subtle.

[34]Giraud, *The Metis in the Canadian West*, 1: 211.

[35]D. Bruce Sealy and Antoine Lussier, *The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1975), 15

[36]John Foster, "The Plains Metis." In *The Canadian Experience*, eds. R. Bruce Morrison & C. Roderick Wilson. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 315-403. See also J. Foster, "Wintering, the Outsider Adult Male and the Ethnogenesis of the Western Plains Metis," *Prairie Forum* 19.1 (1994): 1-14, reprinted in *From Rupert's Land to Canada* , eds. Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens and R.C. Macleod. (Edmonton: University of Edmonton Press, 2001), 179-192; John Foster, "Some Questions and Perspectives on the Problem of Métis Roots." In *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America*, eds. Jacqueline Peterson & Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1981), 72-91; John Foster, "The Origins of the Mixed Bloods in the Canadian West." In *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, eds. R. Douglas Francis & Howard Palmer. (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985), 86-99; John Foster, "The Metis: The People and the Term," *Prairie Forum* 3.1 (1978): 79-90; and John Foster, "Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement, 1820-1870." In *The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Source Book*, ed. Lewis G. Thomas. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 19-72.

[37]John Foster, "Wintering, the Outsider Adult Male," 2.

[38]Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980); Brown, *Strangers in Blood.*

[39]See Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Metis.* There are, of course, non-Catholic Metis communities, such as St. Andrews on the Red River. See Frits Pannekoek, *A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance, 1869-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1991); K.S. Coates and William Morrison, "'More than a Matter of Blood': The Federal Government, the Churches and the Mixed Blood Populations of the Yukon and Mackenzie River Valley, 1890-1950." In *1885 and After: Native Society in Transition*, eds. F. Laurie Barron and James B. Waldram (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1986)

253-277; Keith Widder, *Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999); Sylvia Van Kirk, "'What if Mama is an Indian': The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family." In *The New Peoples*, eds. Peterson and Brown, 207-217; and James B. Waldram, "'The Other Side': Ethnostatus Distinction in Western Subarctic Native Communities." In *1885 and After*, eds. Barron and Waldram, 279-295.

[40] These forty-three core families as identified by surname were identified out of several hundred surnames within the genealogical database compiled from the record groups used for this study. They are "core" for a number of reasons such as having a large enough range of information available intergenerationally to compile a family biography. Additionally, these core families were identified as such because they were intermarried with several of the other core families, were traceable intergenerationally and therefore had a long-term impact upon the regions development, and are ancestral families for the contemporary population in northwestern Saskatchewan.

[41]Conversely, non-core families cannot be traced intergenerationally and are not linkable to other families in the region further reducing the chances of fitting them into any of the other categories in which we can place core families. Non-core families, in short, lack the necessary records to link them to the larger patterns of wahkootowin either because they were not members of wahkootowin or because of flaws in the record keeping necessary to demonstrate any connections. It is, therefore, possible that families were missed that could be defined as core but at this time those connections cannot be made.

[42]Robert Jarvenpa's "The Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Chipewyan in the Late Fur Trade Period" indicates that the fur returns for the English River District had indeed diminished by the late 1800s. This conclusion would correspond to general fur trade trends noted by Arthur J. Ray in *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* which noted a general decline in the fur trade across Canada by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Robert Jarvenpa, "The Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Chipewyan in the Late Fur Trade Period." In *Le Castor Fait Tout: Selected Papers of the 5th American Fur Trade Conference, 1985*, eds. Bruce Trigger, Toby Morantz, and Louise Dechêne (Montreal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987), 485-517; and Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). These forty-three core families as identified by surname were selected out of several hundred surnames within the genealogical database compiled from the record groups used for this study. They are "core" for a number of reasons such as having a large enough range of information available intergenerationally to compile a family biography. Additionally, these core families were identified as such because they were intermarried with several of the other core families, were traceable intergenerationally and therefore had a long-term impact upon the regions development, and are ancestral families for the contemporary population in northwestern Saskatchewan.

[43]The 1906 census was not used in this study because of the lateness of its release to the public.

Chapter One

Île à la Crosse: Land, History, and Early Community Development

The Metis of the region refer to Lake Île à la Crosse as Sakitawak, Cree for "big opening where the waters meet." Sakitawak and the community of Île à la Crosse are physical locations, geographical points on a map through which many people passed, stopped, and visited between 1776 and 1907. More importantly, however, they were (and are) home to a particular group of Metis who defined themselves and their physical and socio-religious space in the region according to cultural values best articulated through wahkootowin, the gathering together of relations and the formation of a community.

For over two hundred years, travelers entering Lake Île à la Crosse from the south via canoe have been struck by a sensation of being so completely surrounded by water, for the shoreline completely disappears into the horizon.[1] While not one of the largest lakes in the northwest, Lac Île à la Crosse's size nevertheless makes it an awe inspiring body of water. This sensation of landlessness was first articulated by midshipman Richard Hood, a member of Sir John Franklin's explorative journey to the Arctic Ocean between 1819 and 1822. Hood described traveling through a long succession of woody points, with both banks of Lac Île à la Crosse stretching farther and farther away until their forms were lost in the haze of horizon. Eventually, Hood recorded, he had a sense of being entirely surrounded by water, as though they had already reached the sea.[2] As much a physical description relating to the lake's size, Sakitawak serves as a metaphor for the pervasiveness of the Metis community that developed on its shorelines and along its perimeter by the early nineteenth century.

Île à la Crosse, Buffalo and Clear Lakes are actually a single body of water joined together by a series of narrows. Combined, these three bodies of water are categorized as the headwaters of the English (now Churchill) River system.[3] Methy Portage crosses the height of land that divides two of North America's largest drainage basins—the Clearwater River to the north drains into the Arctic Ocean, and La Loche River to the south drains into the Churchill River and, ultimately, Hudsons Bay. In the late eighteenth century, Lac Île à la Crosse, through its connections to the other two lakes, as well as to the Deep, Canoe, Beaver, and English Rivers, opened the subarctic to fur traders and Roman Catholic missionaries. Much like the old port cities of Europe, it also served as a meeting space for several cultural groups—Cree, French, Dene, British, and Metis—who were able to formulate a process of accommodation and acculturation based on economic and religious mutual interest by fostering the creation of family networks that sustained themselves on the riches of their environment.

Sakitawak is both a description and a concept that is representative of the history and nature of the community at Île à la Crosse. Located in what today is regarded by many as a remote, isolated, subarctic environment, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Île à la Crosse was at the heart of the northern trade networks, first of the North West Company (NWC), and then the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). By 1821, Île à la Crosse was the HBC's administrative district of English River, boasted a large fur post and, by 1846, the first and largest Roman Catholic mission administered by the Oblate priests and Sisters of Charity outside of Red River, and was home to one of the oldest Metis communities in western Canada, with beginnings in 1776. The history of both the fur trade and the Roman Catholic mission in Île à la Crosse is important to tell, but the heart of the community is located in the story of its people.

As with countless other fur trade communities, Île à la Crosse became home to a large contingent of Metis people as French Canadian, British, and Metis men entered the region as traders, boatmen, fishermen, and skilled tradesmen. These men, the progenitors,

were associated with fur companies and established themselves both as workmen within an extremely large and lucrative economic system and as family men, marrying into local Indian communities—Cree and Dene—in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These initial unions should be understood as a proto-generation for the eventual stable Metis community at Île à la Crosse, where outsider European- and Canadien-born men married Indian women and gave life to the first generation of mixed ancestry children. The proto-generation was marked by European surnames such as Small, Fidler, Kirkness, Cunningham, McDermott, McKay, Riel, Boucher, Belanger, and MacKenzie, among others.[4] Information on this generation is derived largely from the early trade journals or the testimony of their children recorded in the scrip records for the English River District, and, as a result, knowledge of them is lacking in terms of specific details. However, the proto-generation marks the beginnings of a Metis community, for they were the parents of the first children born in Île à la Crosse or the English River District, and made marital choices that established large family networks that spread out across the English River District.

The surnames of many of the male progenitors of that first generation, however, have not typically had a lasting impact upon the region, as many of these early surnames no longer exist in the region except as a distant ancestral legacy. When these male progenitors left the region after completing their contracts, the unions that they formed often ended, although some of the resulting children remained in the English River District with their maternal relatives. The future of those children depended largely on their gender. Male children were incorporated into the trade upon reaching maturity, while females married the second wave of incoming outsider males in the early 1800s, thereby establishing the first generation of Metis families in Île à la Crosse. As a consequence of these early circumstances, Metis society and culture in Île à la Crosse became characterized by a female-centred or matrilocal residency pattern at the regional level, with an emphasis on the patronymic connection within localized, community settings. As early as the proto-

generation, women, the daughters of outsider male fur traders, acted as a centrifugal force to which men—whether from the District themselves or outsider males—attached themselves. For instance, in the late eighteenth century, a male trader named Belanger entered the English River District and, by the end of his contract, left behind a daughter known only in the historical records as the "Belanger woman." This Belanger woman eventually married an outsider male, Antoine Laliberte from Quebec, and gave birth to one of Île à la Crosse's first generation males, Pierriche Laliberte, who married Sarazine Morin, the eldest daughter of Pierriche's colleague, Antoine Morin, and his wife Pélagie Boucher, herself the daughter of a French Canadian trader and a Dene woman.[5] In the case of the Belanger woman and Pélagie Boucher, the surnames of their fathers lasted much longer in the District than their employment tenure. The Belanger and Boucher surnames did not survive because no sons remained behind to pass those names along to subsequent generations. Along with matrilocal residency patterns, first generation couples were marked by social characteristics such as permanent residence in the English River District, a sense of belonging to the region and Île à la Crosse, and helping their children continue to cultivate a unique presence and identity as Metis people. This chapter, then, is an exploration of the historical context within which Metis culture and society was established. In particular, it is an examination of the early fur trade, the rise of HBC dominance in the English River District, and the beginnings of Church influence in the territory.

The early trade in northwestern Saskatchewan was characterized by exploration, competition, and a continuous search for passages into even richer fur territories. Canadian and British based trade companies, in addition to locating new markets, searched for better transportation routes that would further reduce expenses. In particular, Montreal traders hoped that the English River District, which was an entry point to the Athabasca territory, would permit them easy access to the Mackenzie River, which, in turn, would

serve as a conduit to points farther west and, eventually, the Pacific Ocean. If successful in exploiting these access points, furs would no longer have to be sent to Montreal for shipping, but could be transported directly to Asian markets from Pacific posts connected to the northwestern interior.[6] When routes to the Pacific Ocean were not easily found, exploratory trips to locate the Arctic Ocean by men such as Sir John Franklin, Peter Fidler, and David Thompson among others were once again launched in the hopes that newer and cheaper transportation routes could be located. Such passages and transport routes were never found, but these efforts mapped the English River, Mackenzie, and Athabasca Districts, and established that there were rich fur resources to be exploited.[7] The Île à la Crosse region became a critical location in the fur trade due to its location at the intersection of the continental divide and two major drainage systems—the Methy and Athabasca Rivers in the north, leading to the Athabasca territory and the Arctic Ocean, and the English and Beaver Rivers in the south connecting to woodland buffalo ranges and natural hay meadows. As the English River District proved to be the transitional zone, the land immediately surrounding Lac Île à la Crosse quickly filled up with traders from rival companies competing for furs, trade allies, and prime locations on which to build their establishments. This site became the main depot in an administrative centre known as the English River District.[8]

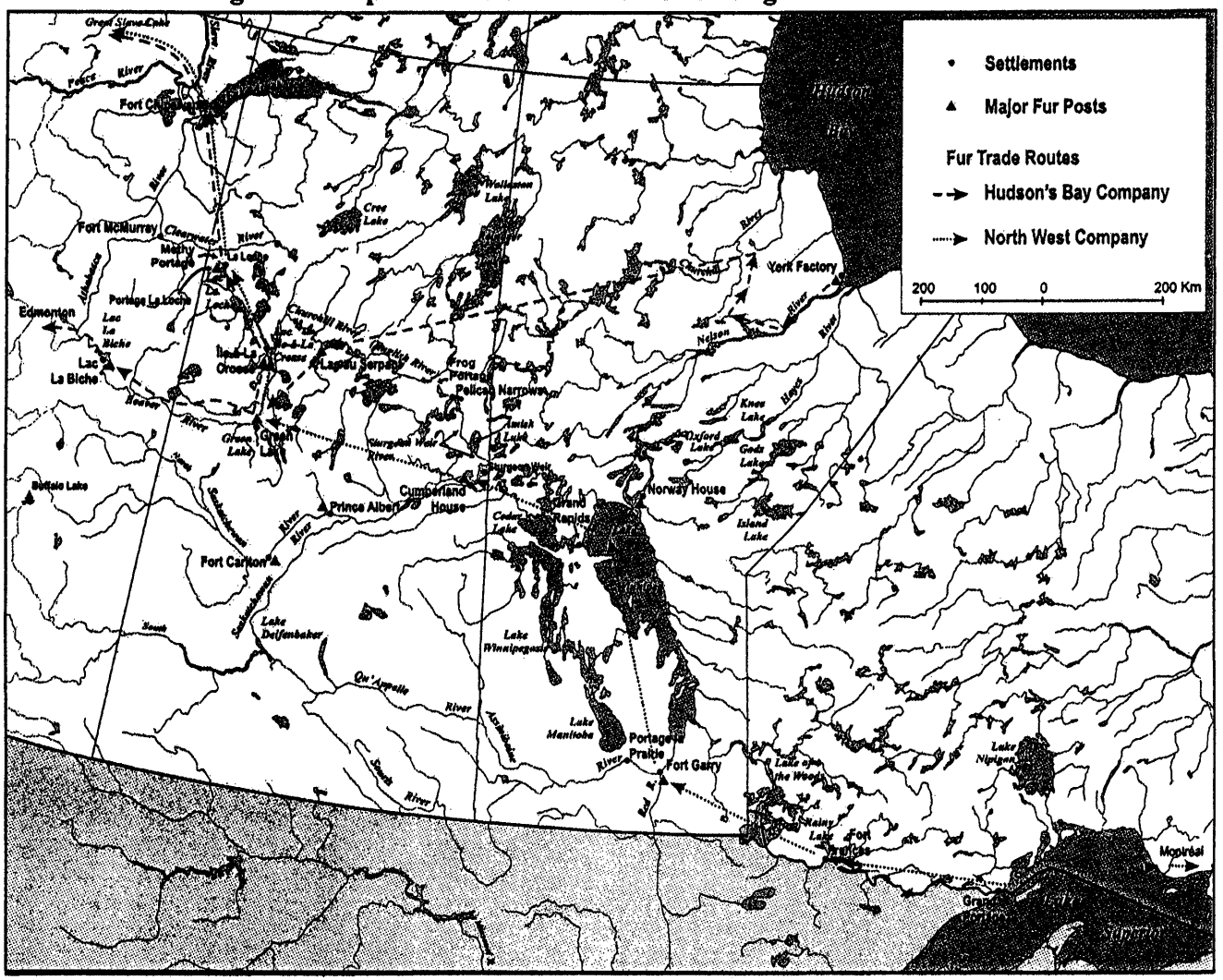
By the 1770s, independent Scottish traders from the Montreal-based St. Lawrence trade moved steadily into the English River District to locate newer and richer fur territories to replace over-trapped and exhausted fur territories once held by the French in the old northwest, and to compete actively with the HBC's lucrative York Factory trade. These traders out of Montreal did not formally align themselves with a single company, but rather operated as private independent entrepreneurs. Between 1763 and 1783, however, some occasionally joined together in loose coalitions or partnerships. As a part of the British takeover of the French trade, the new merchant traders relied on the experience and labour of the French Canadian voyageurs in their search for new trade territories in

the western subarctic.[9] The Montreal traders were the first to move into northwestern Saskatchewan, quickly followed by the Hudson's Bay Company, who actively competed for fur profits and territories. The HBC was able to take a shorter and more direct northerly route, beginning at the mouth of the English River on Hudson Bay and moving inland (see **Figure 2**).

Thomas and Joseph Frobisher, private entrepreneurs out of Montreal, in partnership with Alexander Henry the Elder, first reached the English River and Île à la Crosse region in 1775. After their foray inland, other Montreal traders followed and quickly established posts and depots at Lac La Ronge, Cumberland House, Île à la Crosse, Portage La Loche, Green River, Rat River, and Lake Athabasca (see **Appendix A**).[10] At the northern edge of Lac Île à la Crosse, the Frobishers and Henry met a band of Dene hunters who supplied topographical and geographical information about Lake Athabasca, Peace River, Slave River, and Slave Lake, as well as 12,000 beaver and some otter and marten pelts. Based on this information, Thomas Frobisher went with the Dene to their northern hunting territory that year to see if he could access the Arctic Ocean from Lake Athabasca. While unsuccessful in that venture, Frobisher ascertained the Île à la Crosse region's advantage for trade.[11] Thomas Frobisher built the first post at Lac Île à la Crosse in the winter of 1776 on an isthmus at the southwest end of the lake, precipitating the permanent settlement of European and Canadien traders and their wives.[12]

The first people whom the Frobishers met on the northern shores of Lac Île à la Crosse in 1775 were either Dene or Cree. Despite a lack of firm demographic sources, archeologists and anthropologists have endeavoured to trace the ethnohistorical and material culture of the Woods Cree and Dene to determine which people first occupied the Île à la Crosse region. The "invasionist theory" holds that during the early eighteenth century Woods Cree moved from James Bay into northwestern areas such as The Pas, Cumberland House, Île à la Crosse, Lac La Biche, and southwestern Plains as an economic adaptation brought on by the fur trade and their niche as middlemen in the HBC trade.[13]

Figure 2. Map of Fur Trade Routes to the English River District



Source: Map Projection - Albers Equal Area Conic; Central Meridian 95° W, Standard Parallel 1 - 50°N, Standard Parallel 2 - 70° N, Latitude of Origin - 40° N; Source - National Atlas of Canada Vector level - 1:7,500,000, Natural Resources Canada

The Woods Cree were presumed to have pushed indigenous Dene further north in less than fifty years, where they adapted from a moose and deer hunting/freshwater fishing economy and a lifestyle based on water travel in the western subarctic to a caribou hunting economy and almost exclusively land-based transportation system. However, according to ethnoarcheologist Robert Jarvenpa, there is no evidence to support the theory that the Dene lived in the Île à la Crosse region prior to the latter eighteenth century. Furthermore, according to research by Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, it is clear from the earliest trade records that Île à la Crosse was a Cree stronghold prior to the arrival of Canadien traders in the 1770s and 1780s. Alexander Mackenzie, for instance, described the Cree as both the permanent and most numerous inhabitants of Lac Île à la Crosse while regarding the Dene as strangers to the region, noting that they seldom stayed in the area more than three or four years before returning farther north.[14]

According to David W. Friesen's research, a transitional shift in lands between the Cree and Dene occurred between 1789-1793. By then Alexandre Mackenzie had identified Dene territory as encompassing both Portage La Loche and Île à la Crosse, while only a few Cree lived in the Île à la Crosse region at that time. Friesen postulated that there was a southward expansion of the Dene because of small pox epidemics in 1784 and 1786 that nearly decimated the Cree.[15] Fur traders, therefore, actively encouraged the southern Dene migration into the Île à la Crosse region to replace the Cree as fur procurers. Furthermore, according to Mackenzie's journals, the boundaries of the Cree extended west to Fort George on the North Saskatchewan River, north to the Beaver River, Elk River, and Lake Athabasca before traveling south to Île à la Crosse and along the Churchill River to Hudson's Bay. The boundaries demarcating Cree and Dene territories were roughly north of Methy Portage for the Dene and south of the English River for the Cree.[16] Utilizing additional fur trade records and physical evidence from archeological exploration, Jarvenpa concluded that the English River—known as descok to the Dene, missinippi to the Cree, and meaning "big river" in both languages—served as a natural dividing line between

northern Dene and Woods Cree territories.[17] Within these two territorial regions, the Dene and Cree adapted to significantly different environments, in turn fostering development of distinct cultural traditions.[18] Accordingly, the Metis community of Île à la Crosse—indeed all the Metis communities in the region—is closely connected to both the Cree and Dene peoples of northwestern Saskatchewan. Consequently, the Metis as a whole can be further identified as either Metis Cree or Metis Dene according to their maternal ancestry, primary language, location in the region, and, by the second generation, their surnames. The dominance of these two groups of Metis at Île à la Crosse rather than First Nations can be traced to a number of factors includiong the impermanence of Dene residency at that location. Perhaps though the main reason is attributable to small pox epidemics that significantly reduced the Cree and Dene populations leaving a void that the Metis, who, by the nineteenth century, became residents of Île à la Crosse but trace their maternal ancestry to these two Aboriginal groups.

Peter Pond, an employee of the Frobisher and Henry firm, was the first outsider male sent inland to establish a travel route from Île à la Crosse to Athabasca. Pond wintered at Île à la Crosse on his way north to Lake Athabasca in 1777, firmly establishing a pattern that made Île à la Crosse a general resting place and organizational depot for traders heading farther north or south on their return trips. After wintering in Île à la Crosse, Pond crossed the Methy Portage with five canoes, finally reaching the mouth of the Athabasca River in the spring of 1778.[19] When Pond finally returned to Grand Portage on Lake Superior in 1780, he was missing two canoes but had acquired 280 packs of furs, half of which he had to leave behind because he lacked space to bring them all to the rendezvous point. Once he reported his success, other pedlars from Quebec quickly moved into the new fur regions to take advantage of the lucrative opportunities. The English River became a central location for an increasingly competitive trade between Scottish/Canadien interests out of the St. Lawrence and the HBC and marked by the rapid construction of new, rival posts at Île à la Crosse in the 1790s.[20]

Throughout the 1780s and 1790s, Alexandre Mackenzie, Patrick Small, Peter Fidler, William Auld, Roderick Mackenzie, and Duncan McGillivray, among others, all manned competing posts at Île à la Crosse. As a further consequence of that rivalry, they organized exploratory missions to establish other outposts as far west as Lac La Biche and Lesser Slave Lake.[21] In 1784, the NWC sent Patrick Small inland as the first full-time NWC employee to live at Île à la Crosse year-round, rather than seasonally as Pond had done.[22] The New North West Company (XYC), in competition with the NWC, built a rival post at Lake Île à la Crosse in 1785 under Alexander Mackenzie's control, and for the next several years the Montrealers attempted to steal trade and clients from one another.

In 1786, Alexandre Mackenzie sent his cousin, Roderick Mackenzie, to Lac au Serpent (today known as Pinehouse Lake) to build a new post for the XYC. Not to be outdone, the NWC sent in William McGillivray that same year with specific orders to build a post alongside Mackenzie's and monitor his activities closely. Upon arrival at Lac au Serpent, McGillivray, isolated from other people, became good friends with Mackenzie and convinced his rival to relocate his post closer to McGillivray's. The following season, Mackenzie and McGillivray traveled together to their respective headquarters, with their canoemen working, singing, and relaxing together on the journey. Clearly, in the early years of the trade, rivalry had its limits in isolated environments where adversaries were often the only companionship throughout the long winters.[23] That same year, the HBC moved into the Green Lake area to establish a post in opposition to the Canadians.[24] In 1799, the HBC's Peter Fidler was at Green Lake and complained that the local Canadian master was attempting to lure away the HBC's Indian guide, although he was relieved to report that the enticements had had no effect on the man.[25] By early 1800, William Auld determined that they would have to operate the Green Lake post year-round because abandoning it in the summer would send a signal to the Cree that the HBC was not returning, and so they would have no reason to establish a relationship with the Company.[26]

In the autumn of 1790, Peter Fidler, Malcom Ross, and Philip Turnor of the Hudson's Bay Company arrived at Île à la Crosse on a trip expected to take them further north as they explored the Athabasca country. Fidler, Ross, and Turnor wintered that first year at Île à la Crosse under the care of Patrick Small and the NWC because of their late arrival in the season and lack of provisions.[27] In his "Journal of Exploration and Survey," Fidler ruminated on the importance of women with knowledge of the land and environment at these outposts, noting that Malcolm Ross was traveling with his wife and two children because "an Indian woman at a House is particularly useful in making shoes, cutting line, netting snowshoes & cleaning & stretching beaver skins & that the Europeans are not acquainted with."[28] Conditional to Small's hospitality, the HBC men had to promise not to trade with local Indians. As a result, the party lived that winter entirely on fish because they could not obtain any other foodstuffs from Indian hunters or traders.[29]

Despite these early attempts, the HBC did not establish its first post at Île à la Crosse until 1791, and did not support its year-round occupation until 1799.[30] The HBC was slow to entrench itself permanently at Île à la Crosse because of the often hostile competition between the companies and, at the time, the Company was disadvantaged in terms of manpower.[31] During those first decades of fur trade expansion, the HBC was often unable to effectively compete with the Montreal merchants.

When Fidler built the first HBC post at Île à la Crosse in 1791, the once friendly Patrick Small stationed a party of battailleurs (professional enforcers) to watch and intimidate any Indians who attempted to trade there. Uncomfortable with this new, decidedly hostile relationship with the NWC, Fidler and his men abandoned this first post, which was then immediately burned by the NWC.[32] This pattern of intimidation and destruction between the companies reflected the fiercely competitive nature of trade relations at the time. The hostility continued until the NWC and HBC merger in 1821.

With the merger of the XYC and NWC in 1804, the final incarnation of that company, the North West Company, became, for a time, the strongest company operating

in the English River District. From 1804 until 1821, when the NWC and HBC merged under the HBC name, competition between the two was at times violent and destructive to the trade. In August 1804, William Linklater of the HBC reported to his superiors that two Indians had awaited his arrival at the Grey Deer River wanting to know if rumours that they had heard were true—that the Canadiens were now the most powerful traders after having destroyed Churchill Factory and killing all the English. Linklater assured the two men that the English from Churchill Factory would always supply them with provisions and that the fortunes of the Company had improved since the incident.[33] Throughout the 1805 trading season, HBC men had to be careful in their trade dealings with the Indians so as not to cause Canadien retaliation and retribution. According to William Linklater, the Dene expressed goodwill towards his men, but the NWC and other Montrealers were intimidating them into not trading with the HBC. For instance, William Linklater noted on 22 September 1805 that two large canoes of Canadiens had arrived at the HBC post and tried to intimidate the Indians gathered there to trade. Afterwards, the Indians apparently decided to trade with the NWC, explaining that they could not support themselves and their families near the HBC post, and that not only had the Canadiens a better inland trade network, they were so numerous that the Indians were afraid to disobey them.[34]

Tensions escalated in 1805 when NWC clerks, led by Joseph Laroque, kidnapped Magnus Johnson Jr. of the HBC near Green Lake because he had plans to remain inland with the Cree during the winter. Laroque told Johnson that they did not want him staying inland with "their" Indians. As a means of persuasion they put him on an island with no means of escape. Within a few hours, however, Johnson was rescued by a Mr. Campbell and taken to Green Lake, where he took refuge at the post under the care of Mr. Sutherland. Linklater confronted MacDonald of the NWC about these actions, but received no satisfaction in the matter. The competition between the Canadiens and the HBC continued until finally, in 1808, the NWC seized and burned the HBC's Île à la Crosse post. The Company was unable to rebuild until the following year.[35]

As part of their strategy to overwhelm the HBC, and in response to the posting of Fidler at Lac Île à la Crosse, in January 1811 the NWC sent in Peter Skene Ogden, John Duncan Campell, and a Mr. Black to break down his resolve. The NWC men built a watch house directed at the HBC's gates and manned it with battailleurs to keep the Cree and Dene from trading with the Company. Apparently Odgen and Black conducted a systematic campaign of violence and intimidation against the HBC, shooting at their weather vane and flags, carrying away their firewood, scaring off geese, stealing fishing lines, and cutting the fishing nets in an attempt to either freeze or starve the Company out of Île à la Crosse. According to Fidler, the NWC even forbade HBC men from leaving their establishment. He was eventually forced to enter an agreement with Roderick Mackenzie in which he would refrain from trading with the Indians in return for much needed provisions.[36] The NWC later decided that Fidler lacked the aggressiveness and courage necessary to be successful in the English River District, deeming him to be an unworthy competitor.[37]

From January until the spring thaw in 1811, the HBC men continued to endure the Canadiens' threats and intimidation.[38] While it is clear from the HBC records that the Company believed itself to be the aggrieved victim in this dispute, the lack of surviving records from the NWC make it impossible to determine the full nature of the disputes. There are, however, indications in the HBC's correspondence books from Île à la Crosse that intimidation methods, such as the destruction of fishing nets, were not unknown HBC tactics. Throughout 1810-11, there were letters from NWC employees John Duncan Campbell and William Henry to Fidler indicating that the Company had likewise engaged in acts of intimidation and bullying against NWC employees and families. In a letter to Fidler dated 11 July 1810, Henry complained that the HBC's "request" for NWC men to remain inside their fort or else be regarded as hostile to the Company created a difficult situation. He asked, "if you allow us to neither walk or speak now, what's to be our situation when we move in with so many women & children."[39] Furthermore, Henry felt that the HBC's suspicions of mischief on the part of NWC men was imaginary, and that

no actions had been taken except in retaliation to HBC wrongdoing.[40] Perhaps the actual victims were the families of company employees who attempted to function and flourish under the aggressive competition of these commercial enterprises.[41]

The aggressive and hostile behavior of both companies continued until 1821 when the Companies merged and Île à la Crosse became the headquarters and administrative centre for the entire English River District, therefore becoming one of the most important trade regions in the HBC's northern department.[42] While Île à la Crosse was the largest and most important post in the English River District, the smaller posts at Green Lake and Portage La Loche were also significant because each one served as a gateway to other locations further north or south. With Île à la Crosse as the central location between these two transitional regions, it became the main depot of the English River District, administering all the outposts and ensuring that its northern and southern gateways to other Districts operated as efficiently as possible.

Posts in the interior of northwestern Saskatchewan varied from permanent and extensive structures, such as Île à la Crosse, Portage La Loche, and Green Lake, to seasonal posts, such as Bull's House (on the Dillon River/White Fish River), Souris River on the northern end of Lac au Serpent (Snake Lake/Pinehouse Lake), and White Fish Lake (Garson Lake).[43] While these seasonal outposts were irregularly used by trade companies, over time they became permanent sites of Metis settlements. For instance, the Souris River settlement dates to 1875, when HBC men Charles Lafleur, Magnus McCallum, and Albert Setter left Île à la Crosse to build an outpost that operated as a wintering post until 1940.[44]

Portage La Loche was the southern access point to Methy Portage, located just north of the post and connected the English River District to the Athabasca and then Mackenzie District. After wintering in Lac Île à la Crosse in the spring of 1778, Pond traveled north through a twenty mile arm into a strait leading into Clear Lake before entering Buffalo Lake. From there, Pond traveled northwest for another thirty-six miles

to where Buffalo Lake emptied into the La Loche River, which, in turn, led to La Loche Lake. At La Loche Lake traders accessed Methy Portage, the arduous twelve mile portage that led to the Clearwater River, which, in turn, led to the mouth of the Athabasca River and then Lake Athabasca. Methy Portage, used mostly by traffic entering Lake Athabasca and the Mackenzie and Peace River Districts, was a trail over a low, broad ridge of land that separated the waters draining down to Hudson Bay from those running into the Arctic Ocean.[45] Although only thirteen miles long, Methy Portage was one of the most difficult and dangerous portages in all of Rupertsland. The trail and the portage themselves were not difficult until a steep valley wall was reached at the northern end.[46]

The Methy Portage was the most important component of the northern department's trade and transportation system. The Portage La Loche Brigade was the label for the group of voyageurs who operated that portion of the system. It was at Methy Portage that men from the Mackenzie District brought furs and departing servants out of the northern regions to be exchanged for supplies and new servants from Lac Île à la Crosse. The journey of the southern branch of the Portage La Loche Brigade began in Red River during the first week of June, stopping first at Norway House where supplies were picked up for the Mackenzie District. The Brigade then headed west across Lake Winnipeg through Cedar Lake along the Saskatchewan River to Cumberland House, where they then followed the Sturgeon Weir River north to the English River. Upon entering the English River, the Brigade followed it to Lac Île à la Crosse where they then headed north to Peter Pond Lake. Accessing the portage itself, the men from the southern Brigade met their northern branch counterparts who had journeyed down the Mackenzie and Athabasca Rivers and awaited their arrival at Portage La Loche with the proceeds of the winter trade and workers planning to leave the District. At Portage La Loche, the cargoes were exchanged and new servants dispatched to the Mackenzie District. Each of the Brigade branches then returned to their respective areas until the next summer's exchange. The southern Brigade first traveled to York Factory with the furs, which would be loaded onto the boats heading to

England, and picked up new supplies destined for Portage La Loche the next year. They paused at Norway House only long enough to store the cargo that they would then take the following year to Portage La Loche. In all, the southern Brigade's journey took four months.[47]

As early as 1831, the Portage La Loche Brigade was an aspect of the northern trade that depended heavily on the physical efforts of a residential labour pool. The actual Portage La Loche Brigade was a crew of anywhere from thirty to sixty men (eight men to a York boat, each of which carried three to four tons of freight). The real difficulty at the portage was the weight that the men were expected to carry. Each York Boat was loaded with twenty-five packs weighing seventy-two kilograms each—or 1740 kilograms in total—carried by teams of five men over the course of five days. After the 1840s, oxen and carts were put to work on the portage, moving goods back and forth between the portage's south end and the valley rim. In the 1870s, Henry J. Moberly built the Methy Portage switchbacks, and by 1875 he had the steep valley wall re-contoured so that ox carts were able to travel the entire distance of the trip. Once crossing the portage, traders still had to descend both the Clearwater and Athabasca Rivers to reach the southern tip of Lake Athabasca.[48]

Although it had no comparable system of brigades, Green Lake was likewise a conduit to resources important to the overall operation of the English River District. The Green Lake post was located on the eastern shore of the lake and collected furs from several regions such as Canoe Lake and Sled Lake. More importantly, Green Lake connected the English River District with the pemmican producing forts of the prairies through a transportation network through the southern waterways of the Saskatchewan, Big, and Beaver Rivers. Green Lake procured a great deal of pemmican for the northern district supplying the Portage La Loche Brigade on Methy Portage with the food necessary to undertake their trek successfully. Because pemmican was an important food staple, Green Lake's efforts helped ward off starvation in particularly lean years.[49] Just as the physical

terrain of Methy Portage was eventually altered to meet the needs of the trade, the HBC made alterations to the Green Lake transportation corridor by first introducing steamboats to transport the pemmican in the mid-nineteenth century and then by having its servants construct the Green Lake Road, which connected to Prince Albert via Devils Lake, Shell River, and Big River, and the Carlton Trail which led to Red River and points across the western Plains.[50]

At all of these locations, and at points in between, Metis communities were established and thrived within an environment that required their efforts in order to effectively operate. By the early 1820s, growing numbers of retired servants of the NWC and HBC in the English River District—whether freemen or free traders—preferred to remain in the northwest and settle at the post with their families. HBC historian Edith I. Burley wrote that in the rush to demonstrate that the fur trade fostered a social environment, historians have forgotten that the Company was a business. HBC posts were factories that sought to provide its shareholders with a return on their investment.[51] And yet, despite Burley's protestations that fur trade history has become too much of a social history, the HBC was more than simple economics, more than just a business. Rather, the social and economic are necessarily intertwined and inseparable. Partners and chief factors of the NWC and HBC, as well as the traders, clerks, and other employees, took Native wives and had Aboriginal families. Sizable mixed-ancestry populations developed as a part of both companies' social and cultural traditions.[52] The progeny of these marriages, the Metis, made Île à la Crosse their home, the fur trade and its corollary jobs their occupation, and the Catholic faith their religion. Strong social and cultural factors operated in this economic milieu, transforming the region around Île à la Crosse into a Metis homeland. As a permanent and stable labour pool grew, these family units spread out around the posts and the lake.

By the second generation of Metis families in the Île à la Crosse region, the sons and daughters of the proto and first generations were marrying into other Metis trading families, while still maintaining connections to local Indian communities through intermarriage, extended family networks, and the selection of godparents for their children. It was in the second generation that the patronymic connection based on surnames was more properly established as at least one son of first generation couples had remained behind in the District and married a local woman. For example, Pierriche Laliberte, born in the District to a local mixed-ancestry woman and a French Canadian father, married Sarazine Morin and had over a dozen children, many of whom were sons who spread the Laliberte name throughout the region. The considerable effort required by outsiders to reach the area further benefited the formation of a cohesive Metis community. The Metis of Sakitawak and throughout northwestern Saskatchewan were able to create a space for themselves within the region, in part, because of the economic lifestyles of their paternal and maternal ancestors. More importantly, the carving out of a territorial niche was possible because of the principles embodied in a unique socio-cultural expression of family.

While many scholars of Metis history generally agree that Metis ethnogenesis in Île à la Crosse occurred in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century, the issue of Metis identity has not, by and large, been explored within an Aboriginal framework of socio-cultural development. Rather, two fundamental theoretical frameworks have been used to explore Metis identity—through the creation of political, nationalistic sentiment and/or the socio-economic lens of the fur trade. There is general scholarly agreement that a Metis political identity emerged in the Red River settlement in the early nineteenth century and spread to the banks of the South Saskatchewan River before extending throughout western Canada in the late nineteenth century. This political Metis identity has been regarded as an expression of nationalism in response to the increasingly aggressive colonial policies of the emergent Canadian state. The central tenet of Metis identity, according to fur trade scholars, was of being cultural and economic intermediaries born in and of the fur trade.

According to anthropologist Paul Driben, the growth of the Metis population coincided with that of the western Canadian fur trade.[53] More specifically, however, a study of Metis material production by Kate Corbin Duncan put forth the notion of the Metis as cultural brokers, that is, both the products and agents of cultural contact and change. However, the notion of cultural brokerage relates to concepts of commercialism. It is part of the language of commodification and remuneration that, in turn, identifies the Metis as trade commodities.[54] Challenging this conceptual framework, American mixed-ancestry scholar Louis Owens postulated that mixed-bloods, or Metis people, were not cultural brokers, but rather were "cultural breakers" challenging the constricting classificatory systems used to identify and label people and cultures. Metis people and communities were certainly a large part of the social dynamics of the Canadian fur trade structure, but their behaviour, determined by familial obligation and responsibility, shaped the fur trade, making it as much a product of their socio-cultural expectations just as they were a reflection of the fur trade. While these conceptions of Metis identity are, to a large degree, valid, quite often they are examined in isolation of one another. Both, however, are founded on notions of familial interconnectedness, acculturation, and synchronicity. For instance, in 1869-1870, Riel's base of support came from families in parishes such as St. Francois Xavier of the Red River settlement who made their livelihood from buffalo hunting and/or subsistence economies that often took them away from their community for months or even years.[55] Fur trade scholarship has noted that familial connections were an essential form and process of the economy's success.[56] Owens correctly argued that Aboriginal people have been both strong and fortunate enough to cling to family, community, clan, and tribe despite colonization. In the case of the English River District Metis, understanding that perception of family is critical to understanding their values, decisions, and interactions with each other and outside peoples and institutions.[57]

One of the first scholars to explore Metis marital patterns, Jacqueline Peterson examined how the Metis of the southern Great Lakes communities organized themselves

as a society. By analyzing Metis marriage patterns, Peterson concluded that the fur trade helped motivate selectively planned marriages, which, in turn, created and influenced the development of Metis cultural solidarity and identity. Peterson further determined that while Metis men were likely to marry Metis or Indian women, Metis women were more likely to marry Metis men or incoming white traders. This stabilized a core Metis family network through inter-Metis marriages, but also regularly incorporated new members from their maternal ancestral community and fur traders at the heart of their paternal ancestral history. As a result, an increasingly large, core Metis population grew up in Great Lakes fur trade communities in the late eighteenth century and stabilized by the 1830s.[58]

More recently, historian Heather Devine embarked on a genealogical reconstruction of one family—the Desjarlais, from whom she was descended—to provide some sort of analysis of family groupings, socio-political alliances, patterns of movement, levels of acculturation, and socio-economic circumstances of the Metis, and to establish an understanding of Metis identity.[59] The genealogical reconstruction of Metis families has, until now, been a largely personal experience undertaken by individuals hoping to establish their family trees and identify the life and histories of their ancestors.[60] There has been little scholarly effort to analyze the history of communities or regions through genealogies or socio-cultural understandings of families. It is the linking of all these components—raw genealogical data, family trees, and community history—that will assist a greater understanding of Metis history, identity, and culture within larger institutional contexts, such as the fur companies and Christian churches.

Within northwestern Saskatchewan, the English River District, and Île à la Crosse, the interrelationship of individuals into a cultural network of family relationships was the structure that guided, regulated, and/or mediated social, political, economic, and religious behaviour. Other Aboriginal languages have the same form of expression for their social structure. For the Sioux, it was tiyospaye; nkonegaana for the Anishnaabe; and etoline for the Dene. All these terms express worldviews that envelop all things in creation through

the concept of family relationships and manifest daily in behaviors, attitudes, and decisions made by individuals, families and communities. The use of a Cree word, in this instance, reflects the dominance of that language in the region, not that the Metis of the English River District were more Cree than Dene or even French in their cultural worldview. Whether wahkootowin, tiyospaye, or etoline, the worldview that these terms express reflects that family relationships in this region began with the marriage of two individuals and spread outward to encompass all their relatives (including ancestral relations), the children of that union and their spouses, their decision making processes, economics, and the socio-religious expression of Catholicism. In short, wahkootowin was identity, and it influenced all decisions that Metis people made.

The reason that northwestern Saskatchewan (Île à la Crosse in particular) became (and remains) a Metis homeland was a consequence of familial obligations and social responsibilities forged at the intersection of Indian-white relations. Wahkootowin made Île à la Crosse a Metis community through the development and maintenance of relationships forged by mixed-ancestry people within the territories of their Cree and Dene grandmothers. Without the establishment of familial ties and alliances, Metis people would not have been able to create for themselves a homeland in what was first Cree and then Dene traditional territories. Furthermore, it is well-documented that the fur trade's success depended upon a trader's ability to establish meaningful social relationships with Indian peoples who refused to trade on purely economic grounds.[61] What still needs to be examined is the impact that familial relationships had on the ethnogenesis of Metis communities within the traditional territories of Indian peoples. In Île à la Crosse, ethnogenesis was possible because of wahkootowin. In her article, "'Ethnic' Assimilates 'Indigenous': A Study in Intellectual Neocolonialism," Winona (Stevenson) Wheeler identified the existence of "national" boundaries between Aboriginal communities and the processes of respecting those boundaries, noting that newcomers, both Indian and European, were considered outsiders by hosts within a territory until there was a general acknowledgement of their

acceptance according to local protocol. She further explained that, "in the old days there were very formal local protocols in place for welcoming or repelling outsiders based on international diplomatic relations. The general rule was that outsiders were enemies unless they were allies, and allies were created through ceremonial diplomacy and marriage."[62] These protocols neutralized the threat of enemy attack through naturalization of outsiders into the community as full members.

Whether traders understood or fully accepted their new roles as family members is, in some respects, inconsequential—they (and their children) were regarded as family and, more importantly, were socialized as family members.[63] Furthermore, traders necessarily acted according to the dictates of wahkootowin in the English River District in order to be profitable. If traders left or retired to the east, as some did, familial bonds established between their wives, children, and maternal elders were not severed. Rather, families left behind in Île à la Crosse remained intact because their relatives remained within the local community. Children of mixed-ancestry marriages were raised within the social milieu of wahkootowin and acted according to its principles because they were socialized within it from birth.

From within this setting, Île à la Crosse became home to Metis people, beginning in the late eighteenth century. Over time, the region was transformed into a Metis homeland not only by virtue of their occupation of the territory, but through their acknowledgement of the Cree and Dene communities of which these mixed-ancestry peoples were a part, their social world based on reciprocal sharing, and respectful behaviour between family members. The Metis of the area were also a part of the economic structure of the fur trade, facilitating its success because they embodied the principles of family loyalty, accountability, and responsibility.

Prior to the 1821 merger, one of the sources of evidence of family activity are the HBC's tales of intense conflict with their competitors. For instance, in the 1810-1811 trading season, when the level of hostility greatly increased between the companies and

battailleurs were employed by the NWC, one particular incident surrounded a marital conflict that equally affected the trade. According to the Île à la Crosse post journal entry for 6 July 1810, Hudson's Bay Company fisherman Andrew Kirkness and his wife got into an argument and she left him to "go over to the French House last Saturday."[64] A full week after her departure, two HBC men, Fidler and Sutherland, likewise went to the Canadien's house to appeal to the woman to return to her husband. Fidler and Sutherland reported, however, that Mrs. Kirkness was afraid to return because the Canadiens had threatened to cut off her ears. The Canadiens apparently believed that Mrs. Kirkness, not her husband, was the actual HBC fisher, and believed that her absence from their post would hasten the Company's demise that season. Apparently Kirkness, deeply distraught that his wife had left him, went over to the NWC post himself to convince her to return to the HBC.[65]

When Mrs. Kirkness refused his pleas, Andrew Kirkness deserted the HBC sometime between 4 and 5 o'clock on the morning of the 4 August 1810 and went over to the NWC house to work as a fisherman.[66] Peter Fidler angrily wrote to John Duncan Campbell of the NWC house at Île à la Crosse, demanding "that you no longer detain, but, allow them both [Kirkness and his wife] to return to us now, unmolested.—The term of his last Contract with the Hudson Bay Company being unexpired; consequently he is still [our] lawful servant."[67] Campbell replied that because Kirkness was already inclined to do so, he would permit him to return to the HBC when the Company was ready to leave for Churchill Factory in the fall. In the meantime, however, Campbell warned Fidler that the Company should not interfere with either Kirkness or his wife while they were at the NWC post.

The HBC men, dependent upon Kirkness and his wife for daily sustenance, were angry that their fisherman was gone. Because he supplied the HBC post with its most reliable source of food, the loss of both Kirkness and his wife's services and skills were enormous. None of the men employed by the HBC were skilled fishermen, so the Company employed Fidler's wife Mary, a Swampy Cree woman from York Factory, in that

position for almost two months until a skilled man arrived from Churchill Factory with the following season's outfit.[68] Kirkness eventually returned to the employ of the HBC but without his wife, who, according to the Company, remained a captive of their rivals. It is unclear what occurred between the couple, but the outcome for the two companies is certain. As a result of ongoing violence, of which the Kirkness incident was but one example, the HBC's London Committee ordered the abandonment of the post at Île à la Crosse in the spring of 1811.

The Kirkness incident speaks to a number of important issues regarding family life, culture, and society in Île à la Crosse. There were no Kirknesses in Île à la Crosse beyond the 1820s, and so it seems that this family made no discernible familial imprint on the English River District. However, the dynamics of family life and labour experienced by the Kirknesses provided a long lasting pattern in Île à la Crosse. At the start, a marital dispute led Mrs. Kirkness to leave her husband and move over to the other establishment. Motivated either by love or an instinct for survival, Andrew Kirkness likewise abandoned the HBC for their rivals to be reunited with his wife. Life hinged on women's ability to draw to them individuals who would become integral to their family, as well as on their skills as articulated by Fidler. In short, residence patterns in Île à la Crosse were regionally matrilocal. In the case of the Kirknesses, Andrew followed his wife, who may have been from the region, over to the NWC employ. There is no other data on Mrs. Kirkness, but the action to leave her husband after a quarrel indicates a confidence, enough knowledge of the region to be so self-assured, and local expectations of female behavior. The HBC representatives rationalized the incident by blaming the NWC for what occurred rather than acknowledge that men and women often made decisions that maximized their family interests over that of fur companies or religious institutions. This familial-based self-interest was instrumental in shaping the form and content of Metis cultural life in Île à la Crosse.

After 1821, post journals and employment registers reveal that, despite official policies to the contrary, its traders established for themselves families in the English River

District. By 1853, chief trader George Deschambeault also had opportunity to note that "the number of Families at this place is surprising," and several decades later, in 1889, a chief factor reported that "the Halfbreeds move or live depend on the HB Company for a living—as a rule they have large families."[69] The importance and relevance of family life to male traders becomes apparent over the years as company officials regularly recorded their numbers in the English River District. At the request of HBC Governor George Simpson, who visited Île à la Crosse in the 1822-23 trading season, Keith recorded the number of women and children attached to the posts in the English River District. In 1822, Keith gave the first post-merger accounting of families in English River. There were sixty-one women and children (the latter defined as those under fourteen years of age) at Cold Lake, twenty at Lac La Ronge, and nineteen at Île à la Crosse—a total of one hundred dependents at the Company posts. Two years later, Keith recorded that the Île à la Crosse post families consisted of five adult males, four married women, two widows, and a total of twenty-four children, which was, he stated, a decrease from the 1823 total of four adult males, four women, and thirteen children. That year, an Athabasca man, B. Bernard, was transferred to the Île à la Crosse post with his "fairly large" family.

Three years later, in January 1825, Keith recorded that he was permitted to have two Company officers, two experienced clerks or traders, one guide, three interpreters, one blacksmith, and sixteen canoemen and/or labourers. There were also three deserters from the New Caladonia Brigade at Île à la Crosse—Pierre Guillaume Sayer, Peter Grant, and Ignace McDonald—who provided assistance beginning in late 1824, although they were planning to depart for Athabasca. There were also, according to Keith, a number of women at the post. Keith reported that the total complement of servants and families in the English River District, which at the time comprised of four posts—Île à la Crosse, Green Lake, Lac La Ronge, and Grey Deer Lake—was twenty-seven men, twenty-two women, and fifty-seven children. According to Keith, the reason that there were so many employees divided between those four posts was that, at the time of the merger, a number

of men in the District were in debt, and so it had been advisable to keep them on to ensure repayment.[70] The number of Dene who traded at Île à la Crosse and Deers Lake totaled eighty-seven adult males, one hundred and six adult females, one hundred and thirty-six young men and boys, and one hundred and forty girls. The Cree, who traded primarily at Green Lake and La Ronge, totaled sixty-four adult males, seventy-six adult women, forty-five young men or boys, and fifty girls. There were also a number of freemen with families in the District, but Keith felt that they were so few in number that it was unnecessary to enumerate them (although he also wrote that they were expensive and burdensome to the Company).[71] The only reason for not getting rid of the women at the post, according to Keith, was that their presence sustained an excellent set of labourers who were essential to the Company—not much had changed since Fidler had made a similar observation back in 1790. Keith was happy to report that several of the more experienced men were set to retire soon and that the contracts of several others would expire in 1826, thereby providing the Company with an opportunity to rid itself of some of the women.[72] A great deal of the expense associated with the women, and by extension their families, was from the expectation that the Company would supplement the families' incomes by providing food rations in the winter months and housing for permanently contracted servants.

The relief that the Company expected from ridding itself of some families was not alleviated greatly. In 1826, Keith noted that Chief Trader John Spencer had been charged with building a large canoe at his post to accommodate the transportation of families destined to leave the District. However, Spencer did not have the canoe built, and the families would therefore not be leaving as planned. Regardless of his inability to carry out orders, Keith informed Spencer and other men that the Company would not be responsible for providing the same amount of provisions to families as it had in past years.[73]

The number of posts in the District expanded and contracted over the years depending on need and profitability, and so the movement of families between posts within the region likewise fluctuated. In 1844, the enumeration of families at Île à la Crosse

totaled thirty-four "souls in all within the fort," which broke down to two men, three young men, ten women, twelve children. This figure also included the report's author, Thomas Hodgson of Green Lake, an Indian man and his wife and two children, and a blind Indian who normally resided there.[74] Twenty years later, in 1862, there were six posts in the District, employing a total of thirty-six men. The following complement of officers and men was provided for each post: Île à la Crosse employed one officer and fifteen men; Rapids River employed one clerk and four men; Deers Lake and Portage La Loche each employed a postmaster, although the former had four men while the latter employed five men; and, finally, Jackfish Creek and Green Lake each employed one interpreter and three men.[75]

Nearly a decade later, in 1871, the number of women and children were again recorded at the Company posts. The totals for Île à la Crosse alone were fifty-one women (two of whom were widows) and one hundred and six children. Clearly, the number of children was growing and becoming a significant part of the Company's responsibilities. It is important to note that the families recorded in these reports were only those with male heads of households under contract with the HBC, not families of those men employed on either a seasonal or temporary basis or those who lived a subsistence lifestyle and not employed by the Company. The District reports submitted a year later by Samuel Mackenzie, son of Roderick Mackenzie, listed four, rather than six, posts in operation in English River: Île à la Crosse (one commissioned officer, one senior clerk, one interpreter, one farmer, one cowherder, four fishermen, two guides, and eleven canoemen/labourers); Portage La Loche (one senior clerk); Bull's House (one postmaster, one interpreter, two fishermen, and six canoemen/labourers); and Green Lake (one senior clerk, one postmaster, one interpreter, two fishermen, and five canoemen/labourers).[76]

Six months later, W. McMurray submitted descriptions of three posts. Portage La Loche was located on the west side of the lake, about six miles from the store at the south end of Methy Portage. The soil was not useful save for growing potatoes, but there was an

important small winter fishery, plus moose and caribou to provide meat. Both Dene and "descendants of French Canadian Halfbreeds" frequented the post, although McMurray noted that he preferred the character of the latter. Several families had built houses or huts at certain points around the lake, supporting themselves with small gardens and hunting. At the time, McMurray felt that Portage La Loche should be abandoned and rebuilt near the store at the south end of the portage. Bull's House, also known as Riviere La Loche, was located on the north end of Buffalo Lake, 45 miles from the store at the south end of Lac La Loche and 70 miles from Île à la Crosse. The purpose of Bull's House was to winter the oxen required for the summer transport system at Portage La Loche. Except in years of high waters, there were natural hay meadows at Bull's House where the cattle grazed. When water levels were too high, hay was obtained from Buffalo Lake, three miles from the outpost. Bull's House had the best winter fishery in the District, supplying both Portage La Loche and Île à la Crosse when their own fisheries failed.[77]

Finally, McMurray recorded that the post at Île à la Crosse was located on the lake's border and had always served as a winter residence for the officers in charge of the District. Whitefish was the main source of food, supplemented by moose, reindeer, and deer meat. While the soil at Île à la Crosse was not especially arable, he felt that with proper management it yielded a fair return of wheat, barley, potatoes, and other hardy vegetables. Île à la Crosse also kept a herd of forty head of cattle, and a small grist mill, to process wheat purchased from the Roman Catholic Church.[78]

While the HBC records give a sense of the community's make up and population, a more complete record of Metis families in Île à la Crosse requires the records of the Catholic mission. The priests sent to Île à la Crosse were members of the Order of Mary Immaculate (also referred to here as Oblates or OMI), whose motto was, "to preach the Gospel to the poor, He hath sent me."[79] The Oblate order was founded in France by Father Eugene Mazenod and epitomized the ultramontane doctrine that advocated both

papal supremacy and infallibility (and, by extension, condemned liberalism, secularism, nationalism, and modernism).[80] Île à la Crosse has been described by Church historians as the "Cradle of Christianity" in the northwest because it was home to the first Catholic mission west of Red River and four of its first priests became Bishops.[81] In 1845, the first Oblate priest, Father Thibault, arrived in the northwest traveling as far west as Lac Ste. Anne. On that first trip, Father Thibault baptized one hundred and forty-six Dene throughout the northwest. Upon his return to Red River, Thibault praised the spirit and willingness of the Dene to be baptized and endorsed the establishment of permanent missions throughout the subarctic.

At the same time as this initial visit to the western subarctic by Thibault, Chief Factor Roderick Mackenzie, in response to the demands of his Catholic employees, requested that the Roman Catholic Church establish a mission at Île à la Crosse. Mackenzie also felt that the Cree and Dene would remain attached to the post if they had a missionary presence. At the time, the Cree and Dene were being enticed to the southern Plains to hunt buffalo and take part in the lucrative pemmican trade. Missionaries were therefore part of Mackenzie's effort to stem that flow of people and keep the Indians in his District. After Mackenzie's initial invitation to the Roman Catholic order, the first two priests were sent to Île à la Crosse in 1846. Mission and religious scholars have not as yet been able to fully identify the appeal of Roman Catholicism to First Nations and Metis people. Studies of Dene conversion to Catholicism describe them as being easily and quickly accomplished after the arrival of priests in the nineteenth century but the issue of why has yet to be fully analyzed and articulated. Similar studies of the northern Cree during the same time period, however, have indicated that their conversion was slower and harder to accomplished although it did happen eventually. Conversely, while it is accepted that First Nations gave up an older religion in order to convert to Christianity, scholars generally accept that the Metis had no such experience but were "naturally" Christian by virtue of their mixed-ancestry. Perhaps the acceptance of Christianity generally—or Catholicism more

specifically—within Metis households was a part of a compromise between First Nations and European of the proto-generation but acceptence should not be assumed to be either natural or complete. However, upon their arrival in Île à la Crosse, according to mission historian Martha McCarthy, the Oblates were unable to fully assess the extent of Metis knowledge of Catholicism but felt that they had at least the basic notions of the faith—a knowledge that they believed was learned from their French Canadian forebearers.[82]

As Bishop Provencher of St. Boniface in Red River made arrangements for canoes and hired men to transport his priests to Île à la Crosse, Governor George Simpson assured him that free lodging would be provided for the two priests upon their arrival. The Company would further support the priests until they could build their own house. Simpson also promised that his servants would aid in the construction of the mission if the St. Boniface diocese paid for their food rations. In spring 1847, Roderick Mackenzie assigned several servants to construct the mission house, Chateau St. Jean, so named for the patron saint of Quebec, which served as the priest's residence. In 1848, Tache and Lafleche were joined at Île à la Crosse by Father Henri Faraud.[83]

In July 1846, Fathers Louis-François Laflèche and Antoine Taché left Red River with the blessings of HBC Governor George Simpson to establish the first permanent mission in the region at Île à la Crosse. From the Company's perspective, and particularly Mackenzie's, the majority of their labour force in northwestern Saskatchewan were Metis (along with a few French Canadians), whose adherence to the Catholic faith often superceded all other activities. A resident mission site would assist the Company in ensuring that the population was satisfied and happy with their living arrangements. That first winter, Laflèche and Taché lived at the HBC post at Île à la Crosse under Mackenzie's care and spent their time learning Cree and Dene so that they would be able to minister effectively to the people of the region. That spring, the Fathers began constructing the first mission buildings separate from the HBC's facilities.[84]

Upon their arrival, the Oblates ensured that the Metis of Île à la Crosse observed Church rules and the sacraments of baptism, marriage, and burial, while also insisting that they attend mass and contribute financially to the mission. Equally important, the Metis were expected to serve as Catholic role models for the Dene and Cree, whom the Oblates were attempting to convert and believed had no knowledge of the faith. In many mission stations, Metis women apparently acted as interpreters until the priests were able to learn the local languages.[85] According to McCarthy, the Metis' long presence in the north, their mobility, and their intricate web of relationships gave them a unique familiarity with the region.[86] By 1853, George Deschambeault of the Île à la Crosse post noted that the mission was doing well and that the clergy deserved great praise for their efforts to bring Christianity to the region. Deschambeault noted that most Indians at the post were now Christian and paying attention to their religious obligations, and that there were rarely incidents of immoral behavior amongst them.

The mission site became a part of the overall community make-up and housed a contingent of Oblate priests and brothers. By 1860, the Sisters of Charity, or Grey Nuns, arrived to minister to the local, largely Metis population, as well as work to convert the Cree and Dene who made Île à la Crosse a part of their yearly cycle of movement and trade.[87] Île à la Crosse was the site of the Grey Nuns' first northern mission, which, as such, was called the "Mother mission."[88] Additionally, much like the HBC, the Catholic Church utilized Île à la Crosse as an administrative centre from which all other mission activity was coordinated by the religious orders. As well as ministering to the people of Île à la Crosse, the missionaries went on to establish a ministerial outpost at Portage La Loche, Green Lake, Cold Lake, Lac La Ronge, Reindeer Lake, Fort Chipewyan, and Lac La Biche.[89] Beginning in 1847, the Oblates traveled regularly both to find converts and continue missionizing to the already converted. The Oblates traveled hundreds of miles within a year to conduct pastoral visits and establish new mission stations as required.

The OMI priests, with the assistance of their lay brothers from the Order and the Grey Nuns, laboured to expand the Île à la Crosse mission, which came to include houses, chapels, churches, schools, farms, saw mills, and fisheries. The OMI also developed its own transportation system of roads and paddleboats on the lakes and rivers of the English River District. According to Canadian surveyor Frank P. Crean's 1908 assessment of the region, the priests of Île à la Crosse had a church, a dwelling, a barn, and three acres of ploughed garden. They had further built a mission at the confluence of the Lac La Plonge and Beaver Rivers where one priest, three lay brothers, and several nuns operated a small lumber mill as early as 1906.[90] Like the HBC, the mission kept an impressive garden that apparently averaged 800 barrels of potatoes and 100 barrels of barley per year, as well as crops of turnips, onions, carrots, beets, and pumpkins. Furthermore, the clergy and those in their institutions alone ate 2,880 pounds of fish per year, which worked out to about 130 fish per day to meet the basic food needs of the station.[91]

While the Oblates traveled to establish themselves throughout the northwest, the mission at Île à la Crosse attracted Aboriginal people from throughout English River District seeking baptism and burial services, as well as marriage ceremonies. The Oblates noted in 1853/54 that there were seventy-five to eighty people living permanently at or near the Île à la Crosse mission station. A couple of years later, Father Taché took a census of the population of Île à la Crosse (see **Table 1**).

Table 1. Religious Population at Île à la Crosse, 1856-1857

	Christians	Catechumens	Heathens	Souls
Dene	350	22	47	419
Cree	100	30	100	230
Halfbreed	78	1	1	80
French Canadian	6	0	0	6
Total	534	53	148	735

Source: Rev. A.G. Morice, *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada: From Lake Superior to the Pacific.* Toronto: The Masson Book Co., 1910, vol. 1, p. 260.

Father Taché further noted that, in addition to the above totals, five Protestants lived at the post, making a clear distinction between "Christians"—clearly defined as Catholic—and Protestants who, while not heathen, were likewise outside of the Christian faith in the clergy's estimation. Within a decade of establishing itself at Île à la Crosse, the Oblates must have believed their mission to be successful, at least amongst the Dene if not the Cree. Scholars of mission histories for the subarctic regions have noted that the Dene proved to be more willing to convert to Catholicism than the Cree, although there is no clear conclusion as to why this occurred. Based on their census of Christians versus heathens, however, it is difficult to ascertain the total number of "souls" in northwestern Saskatchewan, their proximity to clergy, or the frequency of contact with the mission, nor does it give any indication of other people with European or Euro-Canadian ancestry. So, while these figures reveal the prevalence of Catholicism amongst particular population groups in northwestern Saskatchewan, they should not be regarded as a firm population statistic for the region as a whole or entirely reflective of the general population. A clear distinction, however, was made between the Metis population and everyone else in the region, indicating that by the 1850s there were distinct socio-cultural boundaries in existence. Interestingly, with the exception of one individual, all the Metis and French Canadians were identified as Catholic, which certainly indicates a significant representation of that faith within those families.

The baptism, marriage, and burial statistics for the Catholic Church in the English River District included data for everyone—Metis, Cree, and Dene—who participated in the sacraments at Île à la Crosse's Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste (1867-1912), Green Lake's Saint-Julien (1875-1911), and Portage La Loche's Mission de la Visitation (1890-1912).[92] Because Cree and Dene utilized the same parishes as the Metis, the mission is not an absolute record of Metis life. However, even a superficial reading of the statistics reveals the Church's significance in the region. Over the forty year period that records exist for Île à la Crosse, 1,898 people were baptized, 558 burials observed, and 446 marriages

performed. The figures for the other two mission sites, however, were considerably less. At Green Lake, during thirty-seven years of record keeping, 555 baptisms were performed, along with seventy-six burials and eighty-five marriages. Finally, 456 baptisms, 197 burials, and ninety-nine marriages were observed during a twenty-two year period at Portage La Loche.[93] What these statistics suggest is the involvement of the mission in the lives of its parishioners—Metis or Indian—and the acceptance of the sacraments in their lives.

One possible reason for the rather high proportionate numbers of deaths at Portage La Loche in comparison to births was likely Methy Portage's close proximity to the community. The Methy Portage ensured that large numbers of men passed through the community and very likely faced premature death due to the difficulty of their labour. This conclusion, however, is not borne out by the records. Of the 197 deaths recorded at Portage La Loche between 1890 and 1912, male and female deaths were almost identical at forty-one and forty-four deaths respectively while 108 deaths were those of children and for another four deaths, the ages of the deceased were not recorded at all. The high numbers of children dying at Portage La Loche (in comparison to the other main posts in the English River District) do not correspond to any known epidemics or illnesses and are fairly well spread out across those years rather than being concentrated in any specific year, indicating that the cause may be related to the lifestyle and general health of the people. Likewise, there were years with significantly high numbers of deaths at the three mission sites. In 1887, 1903, 1909, and 1912, the death count in Île à la Crosse was abnormally high—thirty-seven, twenty, twenty-six, and fifty-two deaths respectively. Green Lake (seven deaths in 1903) and in Portage La Loche (twenty-seven, sixteen, and thirteen in 1903, 1909, and 1912 respectively). Interestingly, none of these dates correspond to any of the known epidemics that occurred in the English River District during the nineteenth century.

In 1867, the Île à la Crosse chapel was destroyed by fire. By then the Île à la Crosse mission had grown to two resident Oblate priests, three lay brothers, a convent of

Grey Nuns, a school for girls, an orphanage for boys, a small home for the elderly and infirmed, and a hospital for anyone in need of their services. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Oblates had become much more independent and were beginning to assume a role as intermediaries between the federal government and the Indians and Metis of the District by acting as interpreters and letter writers on their behalf.[94] At the same time, the Aboriginal peoples of the English River District found themselves increasingly excluded from a system that relied less and less on their talents or family structures by the early twentieth century.

The relationship between the Church and the HBC was often uneasy, frequently symbiotic, but always essential to maintaining a contented and productive workforce. The Company was often resentful of the Church's influence over the Metis and Indian populations, particularly when that influence was perceived to be at odds with profitable commercial enterprises. While Catholic theology may have been appealing to local Aboriginal people, the missions, along with their schools and hospitals, were also regarded as a source of material goods.[95] This opinion of the Church was not new in fur trade territories, but the perceived control of the Church in Île à la Crosse was particularly strong. In the HBC's 1894 Post Report on Île à la Crosse, author James McDougall remarked, "The Indians are greatly under the influence of the Priests, and therefore are not so easily guided and influenced by the company's Agent as is usual at other Posts. They have always been difficult to deal with, and it will now require a firm patient and experienced trader in charge to put the district in proper order."[96] However they may have felt about one another's activities, influence, and goals, traders and religious officials tolerated each other because both relied on the support of the resident Aboriginal populations for their own success.

The dual activities of Île à la Crosse, embodied in its economy and religion, were solid and durable pillars of Western colonization in northwestern Saskatchewan in the early

nineteenth century. It is unwise to underestimate the power that these two forces held in northwestern Saskatchewan. Their agents and practitioners extracted material and cultural wealth, often demanded conformity to social and religious norms established thousands of miles away, and had many unrealistic social, political, and economic expectations of the resident Aboriginal peoples. The negative effects of the fur trade and religious colonialism have been recorded in detail by other scholars, but what is often missing from these chronicles of Western imperialism is the story of response, reaction, and assertion of alternative forms of power.[97] Without negating the importance of those institutions in shaping the history of Aboriginal peoples, it is equally important to understand how those Aboriginal peoples influenced and shaped their daily activities through a social order modeled on their own cultural norms and expectations.

Endnotes

[1]Robert Longpre, *Île à la Crosse, 1776-1976* (Île à la Crosse Bi-Centennial Committee: Île à la Crosse Local Community Authority, 1976), 1.

[2]Alexander Henry, *Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures in Canada and in the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 to 1776*, ed. James Bain. (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1969), 328. The purpose of the expedition was to locate the exact position of the mouth of the Coppermine River and map the shoreline of the Polar Sea. The Franklin expedition was in Île à la Crosse in the winter of 1820. The crew spent the winter there and departed in May of 1821.

[3]Frank J.P. Crean, *New Northwest Exploration: Report of Exploration, Seasons of 1908 and 1909* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1910), 31.

[4]Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), B.89/g/1, Abstracts of Servants Accounts.

[5]Wherever possible, the French spelling of Christian names has been used with the spelling verified against the Church registries for Île à la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche. However, in order to ensure that the descendants of these families find meaning in this work, the spellings of surnames conforms to contemporary, often anglicized spelling conventions. So La Liberté has become Laliberte, de la Ronde has become Delaronde, Des Roches has become Durocher. To preserve the original French surnames and/or establish a continuity between contemporary and historical names, alternate spellings have been provided in footnotes when those names appear in the text.

[6]Lawrence J. Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea: The Story of the Exploration of North Western America* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1935), 1: vii; and Lloyd Keith, ed., *North of Athabaska: Slave Lake and the Mackenzie River Documents of the North West Company, 1800-1821* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 76.

[7]Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 76.

[8]Keith, *North of Athabasca*, 76.

[9]The Montreal traders reached Lake Île à la Crosse by traveling from Grand Portage at the head of Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg, where they accessed the English River, named for Montreal trader/merchant Joseph Frobisher, believed to be the first English-speaking man in the region. From the headwaters of the English River on Hudson Bay, the traders moved north to Bas de la Rivière, Cumberland House, and then west to Île à la Crosse. Just north of Île à la Crosse, at Portage La Loche, traders crossed Methy Portage, giving them access to Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca, an arduous twelve mile hike just north of present day La Loche. All told, the Montreal traders covered approximately 3,000 miles to reach these new trading territories, and necessarily established permanent inland posts and a transportation network that permitted them to effectively and inexpensively trade in these new regions. Because of its strategic location, Île à la Crosse became the centre of the new Montreal northwest-based trade. To reach Île à la Crosse, and then access Methy Portage to enter the Athabasca territory, HBC traders had to travel a distance of about 1,000 miles from Hudson Bay to La Loche through the English River, passing through a series of lakes and portages. Access to the Methy Portage, perhaps the most important point in the trek from Lake Île à la Crosse to the entrance of the Athabasca territories, was crucial for both the Montreal traders and the HBC if they were to be competitive in the new fur trade. See W. Stewart Wallace, *The Pedlars from Quebec and Other Papers on the Nor'Westers* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), 13; W. Kaye Lamb, ed., *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country: The Journal of Daniel William Herman, 1800-1816* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1957), 113; Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 2 vols, trans. George Woodcock (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986)1: 178-79; James K. Smith, *David Thompson: Fur Trader, Explorer, Geographer* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971), 37; and Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*,1: xxviii.

[10]The Frobishers and Henry the Elder first established a partnership in 1774. Henry Duckworth, ed., *The English River Book: A North West Company Journal & Account Book, 1796* (Montreal: Rupertsland Society Series, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), xi; and Gordon Charles Davidson, *The Northwest Company* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918), 239; Lamb, ed., *Sixteen Years in Indian Country*, 114.

[11]Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, 1: 317-319; Davidson, *The North West Company*, 39; Wallace, *The Pedlars from Quebec and Other Papers on the Nor'Westers*, 13; Giraud, *The Métis in Canada*, 1: 188; and Smith, *David Thompson*, 37.

[12]Longpré, *Ile-l-la-Crosse, 1776-1976*, 1; and Davidson, *The North West Company*, 230.

[13]"Invasionist theory" is a term coined in Robert Jarvenpa's, *The Trappers of Patuanak: Towards A Spacial Ecology of Modern Hunters.* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1980), 37. Javenapa defines invasionist theories as those positing that the Cree migrated from Hudsons Bay shortly after 1670 because of their economic role as middlemen in the fur trade. So, this theory holds, it was not until the advent of the fur trade that the Cree began a westward and southwestern movement across the western subarctic and into the Plains. See also John S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree: Trade, Diplomacy, and War, 1790-1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988). While Milloy does not ascribe to a specifically "invasionist" theory, he does argue that the woodlands Cree adopted a plains lifesyle in the 1790s moving as a result of pressures and stimulus of the fur trade.

[14]Relying on Alexander Mackenzie's records from the late 1780s, as well as a host of indicators of cultural adapation to the region by the Cree and Dene, Jarvenpa and Brumbach argue fairly certainly that the Cree, not the Dene, were the original inhabitants of the Île à la Crosse region. See Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, *EthnoArcheological and Cultural Frontiers: Athabascan, Algonquian, and European Adaptation in the Central Subarctic* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 32

[15]David W. Friesen, *The Cree Indians of Northern Saskatchewan: An Overview of the Past and Present* (Saskatoon: N.P., 1973), 7; Arthur S. Morton likewise noted that there had been small pox present in northern Saskatchewan between 1782 and 1783. See Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870*, 335.

[16]Friesen, *The Cree Indians of Northern Saskatchewan,*7; Greg Marchildon and Sid Robinson, *Canoeing the Churchill: A Practical Guide to the Historic Voyageur Highway* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2002), 26. See Jody Decker, "'We Shall Never Be Again the Same People': The Diffusion and Cumulative Impact of Acute Infectious Diseases Affecting the Natives on the Northern Plains of the Western Interior of Canada, 1774-1839" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1989); Marueen Lux, *Medicine that Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) for a more detailed examination of the social, political, economic, and cultural effects of epidemics on Aboriginal people.

[17]The area of Île à la Crosse called McKay Point is known to the people of Île à la Crosse today as a site of old battles between the Cree and Dene.

[18]Jarvenpa and Brumbach cite transportation and dietary staples to support their assertions that Île à la Crosse or the English River District was divisible into discrete Cree and Dene territories. While both groups depended on foot travel in the winter, Brumbach and Jarvenpa argued that, the Cree used birch bark canoes during summer to travel long distances, whereas the Dene continued to rely on walking as their main form of transportation, indicating that the latter demonstrated an environmental adaptation to a region without large water transportation networks, such as the northern tundra. Furthermore, up until the end of the eighteenth century, the Dene built small caribou skin or bark canoes that they carried long distances until it was necessary to ferry across large waterways in pursuit of caribou herds. Additionally, the Dene reliance on caribou as their main food supply and supplier of all materials needed to sustain life, including hides, sinew, and bones, indicates a recent adaptation to the Île à la Crosse environment. Caribou ranges were (and are) located farther north than Île à la Crosse, where moose and deer—both solitary, rather than herd animals—were prevalent. In contrast, the Woods Cree relied on moose and deer for sustenance, as well as whitefish common to the northern lakes and rivers. By the 1790s, however, there was an obvious shift in territorial ranges, and the Dene became frequent clients at posts operated by a variety of trading companies along the English River and at Île à la Crosse. When NWC traders were sent inland to establish new posts along the English River in the 1781-82 trading season, they ascertained that small pox had been through the area, reporting that the Cree were attempting to recover from the disease and were therefore avoiding contact with outsiders. By the 1790s, the Dene permanently relocated to the La Loche and Buffalo Narrows regions that served as the southern boundary between the Dene and Woods Cree people. Further evidence is found in the HBC journals, where HBC employees recorded their frustration at having to teach the Dene to trap fur bearing animals and to skin and stretch hides. The traders' frustration, Jarvenpa concluded, meant that these activities could not have been a part of the Dene economy in the eighteenth century. See Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, *EthnoArcheological and Cultural Frontiers*; Robert Jarvenpa, "The People of Patuanak: The Ecology and Spacial Orgainzation of a Southern Chipewyan Band" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1974); Jarvenpa, *The Trappers of Patuanak: Towards a Spatial Ecology of Modern Hunters* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1980); Richard Wuorinen, *A History of Buffalo Narrows* (Buffalo Narrows: Buffalo Narrows Celebrate Saskatchewan Committee, 1981); Davidson, *The North West Company;* Sprague & Frye, *A Genealogy of the First Metis Nation*, 79.

[19]Arthur S. Morton, *Under Western Skies: A Series of Pen-Pictures of the Canadian West in Early Fur Trade Times* (Toronto: T. Nelson, 1937); Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997); Marchildon and Robinson, *Canoeing the Churchill*, 85-87.

[20]For detailed descriptions of the ebb and flow of posts of the major companies in northwestern Saskatchewan, see Ernest Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1930); Duckworth, *The English River Book*, xv; Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, 1: 322-323, 330; Smith, *David Thompson*, 37; Florida Town, *The North West Company: Frontier Merchants* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1999), 23; Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 1: 189; Wallace, *The Pedlars from Quebec*, 15-16; and Davidson, *The North West Company*, 238.

[21]Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 1: 180, 197.

[22]In 1783, the Frobisher brothers and Henry the Elder, among others, formalized their operations under the name the North West Company.

[23]Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, 1: 499.

[24]HBCA, B.84/a/1, Green Lake (English River) Post Journal, 1799-1800.

[25]HBCA, E.3/1, Peter Fidler, Journal of Exploration and Survey, 1789-1806.

[26]HBCA, B.84/a/1, Green Lake (English River) Post Journal, 1799-1800.

[27]James G. McGreagor, *Peter Fidler: Canada's Forgotten Explorer, 1769-1822* (Calgary: Fifth House Pub., Ltd., 1998), 28, 174-175.

[28]HBCA, E.3/1, Peter Fidler, Journal of Exploration and Survey, 1789-1806.

[29]HBCA, E.3/1, Peter Fidler, Journal of Exploration and Survey, 1789-1806.

[30]Longpre, *Île à la Crosse, 1776-1976*, 1-5; and Edward J. McCullough and Michael Maccagno, *Lac La Biche and the Early Fur Traders* (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1991), 17.

[31]Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, 1: 197.

[32]Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea.* vol. 1. pp. 178-179.

[33]HBCA, B.89/a/1, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1805-06, 14 August 1805 and 18 August-21 August 1805.

[34]HBCA, B.89/a/1, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1805-1806. 22 September 1805.

[35]HBCA, B.89/a/2, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1810-11, 9 and 21 June 1810.

[36] MacGreagor, *Peter Fidler: Canada's Forgotten Explorer*, 28, 174-175; see also Morton, *Under Western Skies,* 196-197; and Morton, *A History of the Canadian West,* 520.

[37]Prominent fur trade historian Arthur S. Morton attributed the HBC's difficulties to an uneven competition between cultural groups. Morton surmised that Peter Fidler could never have successfully competed against the NWC's culture of highlander Scots characterized, by the families of McTavishs, McDermotts, McGillivrays, Mackenzies, and Campbells. Morton, *Under Western Skies*, 196.

[38]HBCA, B.89/c/1, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, "Correspondence at Île à la Crosse Lake between Mr. Fidler and Canadians, 1810-11," 23 January-23 July 1811.

[39]HBCA, B.89/c/1, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, "Correspondence at Île à la Crosse Lake between Mr. Fidler & Canadians, 1810-11," 11 July 1810 from W. Henry to P. Fidler.

[40]See HBCA, B.89/b/1, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1820, 9 October-10 October 1820. This series of letters details one of the final incidents between the HBC and NWC, wherein John Clarke, Chief Factor of the HBC, and John Thompson of the NWC disputed the events involving a Cree man at Canoe Lake. The issue was over with whom the man should trade. The HBC felt that they had negotiated an arrangement, while the NWC stated that the man was in debt to them and that they were to be paid off first before any new deal could be struck. The HBC men involved accused the NWC of threatening violence against the man if he did not go back with them to his father's hunting territory. It was eventually decided that they would have to seek out the man for his version of events. There is no indication of the final resolution of this event.

[41]HBCA, B.89/c/1, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, "Correspondence at Île à la Crosse Lake between Mr. Fidler and Canadians, 1810-11," 11 July 1810 from W. Henry to P. Fidler.

[42]Longpre, *Île à la Crosse, 1776-1976*, 6-12.

[43]Jarvenpa and Brumbach, *EthnoArcheological and Cultural Frontier*, 39, 41.

[44]Marchildon and Robinson, *Canoeing the Churchill*, 206.

[45]Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, 1: xxvii-xxix, 317-326; and McCullough and Maccagno, *Lac La Biche and the Early Fur Traders*, 23.

[46]See Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 8, 218-219; and D.N. Sprague and R.P. Frye, *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation: The Development and Dispersal of the Red River Settlement, 1820-1900* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publication, 1983), 19.

[47]Morton, *Under Western Skies*, 127-130; and Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 218-219; Marchildon and Robinson, *Canoeing the Churchill*, 85-87.

[48]Florida Town, *The Northwest Company*, 23; Wallace, *The Pedlars from Quebec and other Papers on the Nor'Westers*, 15-16; and Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, 1: 326.

[49]Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, 451.

[50]Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, 347 & 704.

[51]Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 1, 5.

[52]Davidson, *The North West Company*. pp. 232-233; See also Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980); and Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).

[53]Paul Driben, *We Are Metis: The Ethnography of a Halfbreed Community in Northern Alberta* (New York: AMS Press, 1984), 19.

[54]Kate Corbin Duncan, "The Metis and Production of Embroidery in the Subarctic," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 17.3 (1981): 2.

[55]Sprague and Frye, *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation*; Giraud, *The Metis in the Canadian West*; George Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992 reprint); Gerhard J. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); and Frits Pannekoek, *A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance, 1869-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1991).

[56]Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Giraud, *The Metis in the Canadian West*, vols. 1 & 2; and Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[57]Louis Owens, *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 40-41, 147.

[58]Jacqueline Peterson, "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1980), 158.

[59]Heather Devine, "Les Desjarlais: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis and Diaspora in a Canadien Family" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 2001). Devine's dissertation has recently been published as *The People Who Own Themselves: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis in a Canadian Family, 1600-1900.* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004).

[60]Gail Morin's *Metis Families: A Genealogical Compendium* (Pawtucket, RI: Quintin Pubs., 1996), is one of the largest collections of Metis genealogical information available. The Metis Resource Centre in Winnipeg, Manitoba has amassed a great deal of historical genealogical data and records on western Canadian Metis people, which is accessible by contacting the Centre directly. Perhaps one of the best sources of raw genealogical data for Metis families is Sprague and Frye's *The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation.*

[61]The work of Sylvia Van Kirk and Jennifer S.H. Brown has most succinctly and extensively established this reality in the North American fur trade, but also see Arthur J. Ray, "Reflections of Fur Trade Social History and Metis History in Canada," *American History and Culture Research Journal* 6.2(1982): 91-107; Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); and Heather Rollason Driscoll, "'A Most Important Chain of Connection': Marriage in the Hudson's Bay Company." In *From Rupertsland To Canada*, eds. Theodore Binnema, Gerhard Ens & R.C. Macleod (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001), 81-107.

[62]Stevenson [Wheeler], "'Ethnic' Assimilates 'Indigenous,'" 39. Stevenson established the notion of family arrangements as a form of Aboriginal protocols within the context of explaining why Indigenous or Native Studies is an important academic discipline that should not be subsumed within, and therefore consumed by, an ethnic or cultural studies paradigm. Her work furthers the application of a family model serving as a theoretical construct for evaluating socio-cultural behaviour as it dictated political decisions.

[63]Again, refer to those studies about family life during the fur trade such as Van Kirk, Devine, Peterson, and Brown. As well, Richard White's study of diplomacy from the late seventeenth to early nineteenth century focuses a great deal on how First Nations and Europeans perceived each others obligations and responsibilities in the pays d'en haut. White concluded that each group had a culturally-based set of expectations regarding protocols for establishing and maintaining their relationships and as long as the other group behaved properly, the other was satisfied. Questions about how genuine or authentic each group played out the roles expected of them were less relevant than the rituals sanctifying the relationships. The same can be argued about family life—acceptance was possible as long as each group appeared to be behaving appropriately. See White's, *The Middle Ground.*

[64]HBCA, B.89/a/2, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1910-1811, 6 July 1810.

[65]HBCA, B.89/a/2, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 7 July 8 July 1810; and HBCA, B.89/c/1, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, "Correspondence at Île à la Crosse Lake between Mr. Fidler & Canadians, 1810-11," 24 May 1811.

[66]HBCA, B.89/c/1, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, "Correspondence at Île à la Crosse Lake between Mr. Fidler & Canadians, 1810-11," 24 May 1811.

[67]HBCA, B.89/c/1, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, "Correspondence at Île à la Crosse Lake between Mr. Fidler & Canadians, 1810-11," 24 May 1811.

[68]HBCA, B.89/a/2, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1810-11, 6 July - 6 August 1811.

[69]HBCA, D.5/36, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 20 February 1853 to G. Simpson from George Deschambeault; and HBCA, B.89/e/8, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1889.

[70]HBCA, B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 1824-25, Report by George Keith for the English River District, 1824/25.

[71]HBCA, B.89/a/5, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1822-1823, 1 November 1822; HBCA, B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 25 October 1824; HBCA, B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1824-1825, n.d.

[72]HBCA, B.89/a/9, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 1825-1826, 13 January 1825.

[73]HBCA, B.89/b/3, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1825-1826, 6 April 1826 to John Spencer from George Keith.

[74]HBCA, B.89/a/23, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 1843-1845, 31 May 1844.

[75]HBCA, B.89/e/4, Île à la Crosse District Report, 1862.

[76]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-75, "Report to the Chief Commissioner at Fort Garry" from Samuel McKenzie, 1 June 1872.

[77]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-75, "Remarks Regarding the HB Posts in Upper English River District," by William McMurray, 10 January 1873.

[78] HBCA B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-1875, "Remarks Regarding the HBC Posts in Upper English River district," 10 January 1873.

[79]Kay Cronin, *Cross in the Wilderness* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960), 2.

[80]Christopher Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin.* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 296.

[81]Mary Jordan, *To Louis from Your Sister Who Loves You* (Toronto: Griffin House, 1974), 58. The four priests were Alexandre Tache, Henri Faraud, Louis Lafleche, and Vital Grandin.

[82]Martha McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene, 1847-1921* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1995), 32-33; Gaston Carriere, OMI, "The Oblates and the Northwest, 1845-1861," *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* (1970), 45-46; A.G. Morice, OMI, *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada: From Lake Superior to the Pacific* (Toronto: The Masson Book Co., 1910).

[83]McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth*, 32-33; Carriere, "The Oblates and the Northwest, 1845-1861," 45-46; Morice, *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada*, 2: 205; and Morton, *Under Western Skies*, 132.

[84]Gaston Carrière, OMI. "The Oblates and the Northwest, 1845-1861," 49; and Robert Choquette, *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995), 41.

[85]McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth*, 108-109.

[86]McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth*, 108.

[87]Carriére, "The Oblates and the North West, 1845-1861," 49.

[88]Thérèse Castonguay, s.g.m. *A Leap in Faith: The Grey Nuns Ministries in Western and Northern Canada* (Edmonton: Grey Nuns of Alberta, 1999), 2: 17.

[89]Choquette, *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest*, 42, 92.

[90]Crean, *New Northwest Exploration*, 33, 35.

[91]Jordan, *To Louis from Your Sister Who Loves You*, 95. It is not known precisely where Jordan obtained these figures, but presumably they were letters shared between Sara and Louis Riel. The numbers are not mathematically accurate, although presumably an observation is being made that indicate that fish was a staple food for people in the region despite the growing of vegetables at the mission stations.

[92]While the first permanent mission was founded at Île à la Crosse in 1846, there are no records for the English River District prior to 1865 due to a number of fires and floods at the mission site. Furthermore, the missions for Green Lake and Portage La Loche were founded after the one in Île à la Crosse. While Île à la Crosse and Portage La Loche's records end in 1912, Green Lake's are unavailable after 1911 due to an error in photographing for microfilm.

[93]It should be noted that access to the Roman Catholic registries for the parishes of Ile à la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche was possible through the Mormon church's Family History Centre. Unable to access the registries through either the local churches or the Oblate archives, I was fortunate to locate them through the Mormon collection and access them via microfilm at the Saskatoon Mormon Temple's reading room. Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan. Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912; Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan.

[94]McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Sea.* p. xix.

[95]Raymond Huel, "Western Oblate History: The Need for Reinterpretation," *Western Oblate Studies* 3 (1994): 37.

[96]HBCA, B.89/e/16, Île à la Crosse Post Reports, 1894.

[97]Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*; Davidson, *The Northwest Company*; Richard Slobodin, *Metis of the MacKenzie District* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1966); Ron Bourgeault, "The Indian, the Metis and the Fur Trade: Class, Sexism and Racism in the Transition from 'Communism' to Capitalism," *Studies in Political Economy* 12 (1983): 45-80; Arthur J. Ray, "Reflections of Fur Trade Social History and Metis History in Canada," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 6.2 (1982): 91-107; Carriére, OMI. "The Oblates and the Northwest, 1845-1861"; Rev. M. Rossignal, OMI. "The Religion of the Saskatchewan and Western Manitoba Cree," *Primitive Man* 11 (1939): 67-71; and Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin.*

Chapter Two

Wahkootowin: Family, Naming, and Catholicism as Cultural Identity

At the outset of this genealogical reconstruction on the historical community of Île à la Crosse, one of the most pressing questions was whether the word wahkootowin, and by extension the concept, was ever used to represent Metis conceptualizations of family and whether it had any significance in their ancestral interfamilial, intercommunity structures and relations. When asked about this idea, one community member gave a seemingly cryptic response to the fairly straightforward question. He explained how Île à la Crosse's families, houses, and land were organized long ago, giving a detailed description of how people fenced their yards. People of Île à la Crosse, whether living in the village proper or at any of the other family-based settlements around the lake, had enclosed their property with specifically constructed fences. In one corner of every yard, an opening was carefully constructed to link one yard to the next. In this way, neighbours, all close or extended family in this small community, were able to move freely through each other's yards as they traveled which, in turn, encouraged visiting with one another as well as enabled travel to destinations beyond the boundaries of the community. The fences demarcated each family's landholdings and provided a limited system for confining domesticated animals. However, by their very design, these fences were not intended to stop the easy movement of people, spirits, or even the flow of air currents through landscape and community. This description of fences in Île à la Crosse, he said, was wahkootowin; it was the answer to the question.[1] Historically, people in Île à la Crosse lived in small family-centred communities around the perimeter of Lac Île à la Crosse. Neighbours were not strangers, they were family. The answer to the question, in fact, was not at all cryptic, but rather provided

insight into a distinct worldview governed by family relations. Île à la Crosse's fences are an apt metaphor for wahkootowin—the ordering of society according to family structures, with openings serving as physical symbols of community relationships, permitting the air, spirits, small animals, and the people themselves to freely move through the landscape.

Fences are typically constructed to inhibit the movement of people (strangers or relatives) and animals (wild or domesticated) and provide a sense of security for property owners. Like fences elsewhere, those in Île à la Crosse surrounded the perimeter of a family's property to create a sense of distinctness from others. But here the comparison ends because the Île à la Crosse fences were designed to encourage easy passage between properties and promote family, togetherness, and a worldview that valued those things above all others. These particular fences were wahkootowin. Expanding the metaphor to express other cultural worldviews, fences within western cultures can be said to represent a closing off, an isolation of people from each other, from families, and from lands not theirs, as well as demarcating private from public space. In the cultural and historical setting of Île à la Crosse, however, what was conveyed by fence construction was a sense of how people established relationships with one another through the ordering of their landscape. Nehiyaw tahp sinowin—the Cree way of seeing—defined a worldview that informed the Metis to construct their fences in a manner that supported interpersonal relationships, community interaction, intra-family unity, and distinct family settings, all of which were an integral part of wahkootowin. The building of fences did not prohibit accessibility of people to one another, but rather established a system by which individuals and families could continue their associations by passing through each other's territories within the larger community while still securing their property.

Within wahkootowin, individuals were taught the basis of who they were in relation to others in their family and community, and to the environment, the sacred world, and outsiders. More importantly, wahkootowin socialized an individual to the proper way of behaving towards all people (oneself included) and realms of existence. Family

relationships were the societal institution and cultural essence that regulated both internal and external community relations. According to Saskatchewan Cree elders, family systems were "the bond that connected one human being to another [and] ... the Creator," holding everyone together in a web of interpersonal relationships involving both great rewards and sacrifice.[2] Within Île à la Crosse's Metis society, family served as the foundation for all other relationships—economic, religious, social, and political—and had an enormous impact on how non-Metis relationships were structured in the English River District. Wahkootowin is the gathering of relatives, but the depth of the emotional meaning invested in the word is lost with such a literal translation. It is more appropriate to regard the term as a cultural bundle that established a worldview or philosophy of life and invested all social, cultural, spiritual, economic, and political meaning in the concept of familial relations.[3] In the case of Île à la Crosse, the worldview—nehiyaw tahp sinowin—was wahkootowin, and it placed family as the centre and foundation of all relationships, thus establishing the basis of community and identity.

Historically, Metis cultural identity was rooted in a familial experience where responsibility and obligation to relatives superceded all other relationships, but, at the same time, needed to be flexible enough to incorporate new members, as well as meet their economic, religious, and political needs. The boundaries of Metis cultural identity in Île à la Crosse were fluid, permeable, and ever shifting, swelling and contracting intergenerationally. At times there was an incorporation of new ideas, members, and opportunities, while during crises there was a closing off and turning inward to protect and nurture family and community. Wahkootowin was expressed through a myriad of choices and decisions made by Metis people in Île à la Crosse, from the style of fences to decisions regarding whom to select as godparents for children, from locating acceptable employment opportunities to the selection of names that parents chose for their children the act of which forged ancestral linkages.

Concepts of family and relatedness have long been a hallmark of Metis historiography, shaping a cultural interpretation of Metis clannishness as a feature of family composition. In the first half of the twentieth century, Marcel Giraud, one of the first ethnographers of Metis society and history, concluded that,

> [b]etween the members of these [Metis] clans, for such in effect they were, deeply attached to the country of the West where they had always lived, a kind of esprit de corps could develop, similar to that animating the groups of families into which the native tribes were divided; relatives and followers would develop a solidarity between them and would side with anyone among them who though himself wronged by the head of the post.[4]

In the complete scope of Giraud's two volume work, the clannishness of the Metis was not to be regarded as a virtue but, rather, became evidence of a socio-cultural weakness that resulted in their political and economic decline, and eventual social marginalization. Giraud's examination of Hudson's Bay Company records and extensive fieldwork in western Canadian Metis communities established an interpretation of their history that reinforced notions about cultural evolution. Giraud, however, missed what was hidden in plain view: that family was not a hindrance to the Metis, but rather was what sustained them and gave their lives meaning. Nevertheless, Giraud revealed an enduring Metis cultural attitude that favoured a sensibility of unabashed loyalty to one another, their land, and their relatives (broadly defined), although he was unable to recognize it as a feature of their worldview.

In the context of northwestern Saskatchewan, wahkootowin shaped local fur trade and religious practice as much as it determined appropriate fence construction. Within the English River District, Metis cultural identity and societal formation were a product of the sentiment and values of wahkootowin that were transmitted to the Île à la Crosse Metis. This was done, primarily, through childhood socialization, but new adults to the region were likewise socialized. If outsider adults to the region expected to marry and be successful economically, they acculturated themselves to the dominant society's expectations.[5] The

purpose of this chapter, then, is to understand the historical cultural identity and societal formation of the Metis of Île à la Crosse by going inside the family structures to reveal wahkootowin and examine how family, rights and responsibilities operated. One of the means by which this interior examination of Metis cultural identity and societal formation is possible is an evaluation of the community's genealogies. On the one hand, genealogies reveal basic family organization, but they are also expressions of who were (and who were not) members of that structure. The notion that genealogies can reveal more than a list of who is related in a society has had resonance in other examinations of historical Metis communities. In a study of Metis people along Lake Michigan's southern shore, American historian Susan Sleeper-Smith used seventeenth and eighteenth century baptismal records and utilized a genealogical framework to analyze mixed-ancestry cultural development in colonial America. Sleeper-Smith concluded that Metis genealogies "depict a complex social system where one was less an individual and more a member of a large kinship group. Lives were intricately woven into densely constructed webs of kinship."[6]

Throughout the nineteenth century, wahkootowin in Île à la Crosse was reflected in distinctive social organizational patterns at the regional and local levels. At the regional level of social organization, the Metis community centred around matrilocal residence patterns, meaning that the woman remains in her mother's household after reaching maturity and brings her husband to live with her family after marriage. Sons, conversely, move out of their mother's household after marriage to join their wife's household. Matrilocal residency can take a number of forms, including bride service, in which a man moves in with his wife's family, but sets up his own household after his obligations are met. However, in this study, matrilocal is used in a broader context by applying it to the regional, rather than local or community, marriage patterns in northwestern Saskatchewan. If the region as a whole is regarded as a Metis homeland—that is, a Metis territory (although not necessarily exclusively so)—all outsider male traders who entered the region and subsequently married into a local Metis community or family also married

into a situation marked by matrilocal residency at the regional level. That is to say, men joined a community defined by the presence of women in the homeland who themselves did not join their husband's communities (see **Table 2**).

Table 2. Families with Local Female Matriarchs, 1800-1870

Bear (L'Ours), Margaret (b. 1830s/40s, Sinclair Lake)	m. Jean Baptiste Jourdain (b. 1830s/40s, Montreal, PQ
Betkkaye, Mary (b. 1830s/40s, Île à la Crosse)	m. John Catfish (b. 1848, Red River)
Boucher, Pilagie (b. 1803, Portage La Loche)	m. Antoine Morin (b. 1800s, Quebec)
Bouvier, Augustine (b. 1876, Green Lake)	m. 1. Charles dit Ladébeauch Caisse (b. 1870/71 North West Territories) m. 2. John Thomas Corrigal (b. 1856, Winnipeg); his second marriage also
Bouvier, Margaret (b. 1842, Île à la Crosse)	m. Vincent Daigneault (b. 1835, Montreal)
Catara, Mary (b. 1850s, Île à la Crosse)	m. 1. Baptiste Charlot Lafleur (b. 1830s/40s, Alberta &/or Manitoba); his second marriage m. 2. François Magloire Herman/Touslejour (b. 1853, North West Territories)
Daigneault, Eliza Lucia (b. 1869, Île à la Crosse)	m. Robert Gardiner (b. 1850s/60s, Red River)
Daigneault, Sophie (Lucia) (b. 1867, Île à la Crosse)	m. John Thomas Corrigal (b. 1856, Winnipeg); his first marriage
Desjarlais, Julie (b. 1810s, North West Territories)	m. Michel Bouvier (b. 1800/1810s, North West Territories
Durocher, Josephte (b. 1857, Jack Fish Lake)	m. James Nicol Sinclair (b. 1843, Fort Francis, ON); his second marriage
Ikkeizik, Marguerite (b. 1832)	m. Pierre Malboeuf (b. 1828, St. Hyacinthe, PQ)
Jourdain, Angelique (b. 1830s/40s, Green Lake)	m. Baptiste Charlot Lafleur (b. 1830s/40s, Alberta &/or Manitoba); his first wife
Jourdain, Joséphine (b. 1865, Green Lake)	m. Frederick Kennedy (b. 1853, St. Peters, MB)
Lafleur, Joséphine (b. 1867)	m. Joseph Halcrow (b. 1856, Manitoba)
Laliberte, Angele (b. 1836 or 44, Portage La Loche)	m. François Maurice (b. 1831, Montreal, PQ)
Maurice, Eleanore or Marie Annou (b. 1863, Portage La Loche)	m. Archbald Linklater (b. 1856, Manitoba)
Misponas/Le Esperance, Eliza or Aloisa (b. 1860s, Île à la Crosse)	m. Pierre Girard (b. 1852, Athabasca or United States)
Morin, Marie Agnès (b. 1872, Île à la Crosse)	m. Alexandre Delaronde (b. 1868/70, Manitoba)
Morin, Sophie (b. 1840s/50s, Île à la Crosse)	Paul Delaronde Sr. (b. 1830s, Manitoba)
Sinclair, Marie (Pilon) (b. 1831 Rapid River)	m. Charles Caisse (1820s/30s, Montreal)

Sources: Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche.

However, a couple may have gone to live elsewhere in the region and apart from the wife's immediate or birth family, nearer to the post where the husband worked or his economic relationship to the area was operationalized. Regardless, even in such circumstances, the couple still lived in her homeland and amongst her relatives (immediate or extended), therefore making outsider males a part of the female-centred family nexus of northwestern Saskatchewan. So, locally, the communities and households were patrilocal and marked by strong patronymic connections (see **Table 3**).

Table 3. Families with Outsider Male Patriarchs, 1800-1880s

Caisse, Charles	b. 1831	French Canadian
Corrigal, John Thomas	b. 1886	Winnipeg halfbreed
Daigneault, Vincent	b. 1838	French Canadian
Delaronde, Paul Sr.	b. 1834	Manitoba halfbreed
Gardiner, Roby	b. 1861	Red River halfbreed
Girard, Joseph	b. 1810s/20s	French Canadian
Girard, Pierre	b. 1852	Athabasca Halfbreed
Halcrow, Joseph	b. 1856	Manitoba English Halfbreed
Jourdain, Jean Baptiste	b. 1810s/20s	Montreal, PQ, French Canadian
Kennedy, Frederick	b. 1853	St. Peter's Mission, MB English Breed
Kippling, Jean Thomas	b. 1853	Red River
Laliberte, Pierriche	b. 1817	Carlton French Breed
Malboeuf, Pierre	b. 1828	St. Hyacinth, PQ, French Canadian
Maurice, François	b. 1831	Montreal, PQ, French Canadian
Moberly, Henry	b. 1837	Ontario
Morin, Antoine	b. early 1800s	French Canadian
Sinclair, James Nicol	b. 1843	Fort Francis English Breed

Sources: Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche.

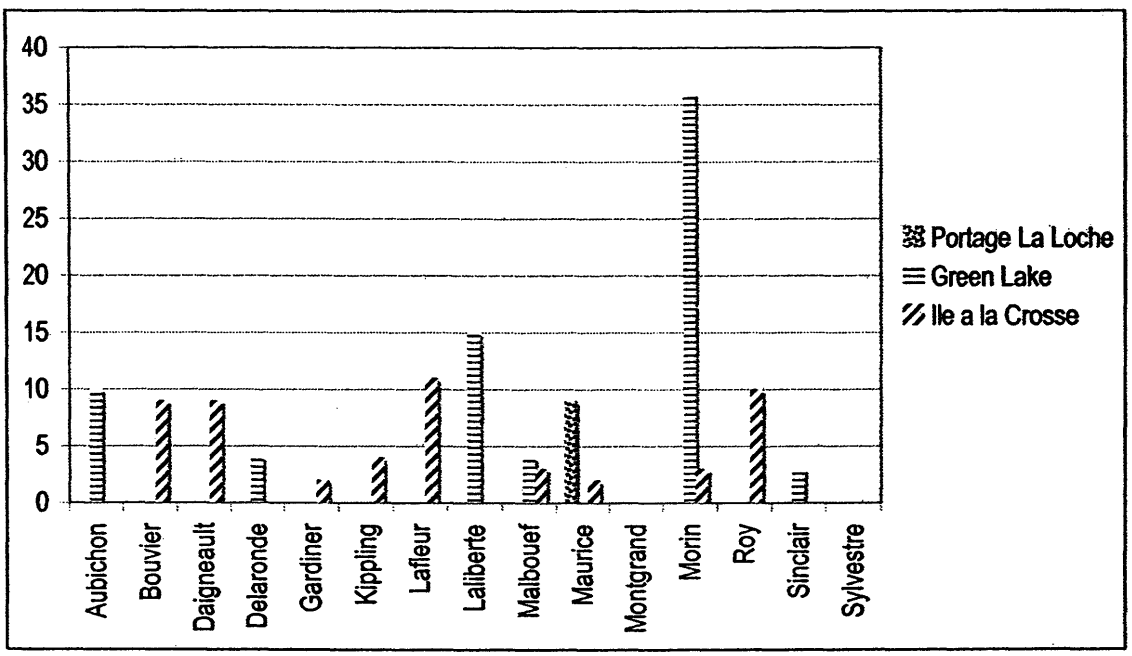
While French and British traders and their Cree or Dene wives established the proto-generation, the children of those unions forged the first generation of Metis people in Île à la Crosse. The proto-generation themselves were not, by and large, of mixed-ancestry but, rather, represented the union of parental cultures. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, outsider males found entry and gained acceptance within the

region's socio-cultural structure by marrying local, first generation Metis women who were themselves the daughters of proto-generation couples. These young women lived out their lives in the region, establishing for their fathers, nephews, brothers, and sons a web of social alliances through their marriages. Young men of this era, sons of the proto-generation, had greater mobility and opportunities to leave the region of their birth to work and trade in other Districts. By the 1820s, however, there was a sufficiently mature, indigenous mixed-ancestry population settled at Île à la Crosse to support the coalescing of a distinct Metis community that encouraged continuation of a pattern of intercommunity intermarriage. As the second generation of Metis children in Île à la Crosse reached maturity and began to marry, they too followed this regionally-defined pattern of matrilocal residence.

While the region as a whole was characterized by a matrilocal residency pattern, families established an enduring identification with the surnames of their Euro-Canadian trading ancestors at the local or community level. These patronymic connections were a means of organizing families within the community, thus establishing another level of social organization and identification. The location of families around the lake was arranged according to surnames and reveals a social pattern that connected family groups to specific communities and locations in the English River District. All these small family communities were identifiable by their surnames and, over time, the space(s) that they occupied on the landscape became home to patronymically identifiable small family-styled bands (see **Figure 3**). Furthermore, as will be presented in subsequent chapters, people mobilized resources and defined each other at the community, rather than regional level through their patronymic connections.[7] While people were intimately bound to one another through successive generations of interfamilial intermarriage, the argument being made here is not that people of Île à la Crosse and the English River District were one big family. Just because people lived together and were interrelated did not mean that they did not also have notions of distinctive family units. Rather, through the physical ordering of community settlements around Lac Île à la Crosse, a balance was struck

between how families across the District were intricately interwoven through generations of intermarriage and the practicality of functioning within limited extended family units in particular villages.

Figure 3. Family Names and Communities Lived in Between 1800-1907 Based on Scrip Applications



Source: LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371.

The pattern of intercommunity intermarriage was especially crucial to the development of a Metis cultural identity in the English River District by the time of the 1821 merger between the HBC and NWC. Following the merger, Metis people continued to make Île à la Crosse and the surrounding region their home, growing in size because of natural birth rates and a flexible social structure that permitted incorporation of new members through intermarriage into the wahkootowin.[8] Thus successive generations of Metis in the nineteenth century continually absorbed and acculturated new members via their access to the Company and other western institutions, and to Indian communities. This form of economic alliance building through marriage established their distinctiveness as a separate, identifiable Aboriginal community in northwestern Saskatchewan.

The only in-depth study of Île à la Crosse, Philip T. Spaulding's doctoral dissertation, "The Metis of Ile-a-la-Crosse," was based on fieldwork that he conducted in the 1960s on Metis families and society but contained a significant component contextualizing these phenomena historically.[9] Spaulding concluded that Metis society in Île à la Crosse was ordered along family lines and that relatives were not just those connected through blood, but were those to whom people were socialized to refer to by relational terms. Spaulding's research led him to conclude that the Metis had historically lived as family-based residential groups either in the bush or near the posts, and in either one house or in adjacent dwellings. According to Spaulding, these family-based residential groups were structured around a male relative (the patriarch), though the household itself belonged to the wife or eldest female. While connections of blood and marriage were significant in Metis communities for shaping and defining family members, Spaulding argued that these were not the only means for establishing familial relationships.[10] Men and women in Île à la Crosse established relationships with those of their own gender and generational cohort that mimicked genealogical relationships based on bloodlines. For example, men or women who worked together could decide to regard and treat each other as siblings to signify the status of their relationship. The reason for establishing such relationships varied from preserving bonds between life-long friends who wanted to hunt, weed gardens, trap, harvest potatoes, and fish together, to two men seeking mutual economic advantage within the trade but with no real personal sentiment for one another.[11] There were, Spaulding argued, important social implications within this type of social structure that regarded cultural identity and solidarity of action through daily behaviour, although he was less clear about the nature of those implications.

However, surely one of the means for evaluating whether there were serious social implications is through of the historical genealogies. Examining the patterns of surnames within communities and naming practices within families is one vehicle for evaluating Metis cultural identity and societal organization within Île à la Crosse specifically, but also

northwestern Saskatchewan's matrilocal residency pattern, both of which emerged as living strategies for ordering the community. Both surnames and given names established and identified family lineages and linked the living to their ancestors. At first glance, it seems obvious that French surnames dominated the region, but closer inspection suggests that those surnames within the Metis socio-cultural framework are actually divisible into the development of particular Metis Cree and Metis Dene cultural identities. Specific surnames were connected with one and sometimes two communities, and were divided between the northern and southern regions of northwestern Saskatchewan. Île à la Crosse served as the central community common to both Metis currents, although several surnames, such as Morin and Laliberte, existed in the three dominant communities of the region.

This basic geographical division of Metis surnames reflected an older, eighteenth century Cree and Dene territorial division. Metis Dene families were located primarily in the more northerly regions of the English River District, in the Portage La Loche region (including Turnor and Descharme Lakes), and reaching as far south as Île à la Crosse, while touching all points, such as Bull's House, in between. Families in these communities north of Île à la Crosse were identified with surnames such as Herman/Touslejour, Montgrand, Sylvestre, Piche, Bekkatla, Jolibois, Janvier, Deltess, and Velner. Conversely, the surnames Sinclair, McCallum, Roy, Lariviere, Durocher, Merasty, and Desjarlais became associated with the Metis Cree community more commonly located in Île à la Crosse communities further south, such as Green Lake, Canoe Lake, Meadow Lake, and Waterhen Lake, as well as Dore Lake, Sled Lake, and Snake (today Pinehouse) Lake.

The division of the Metis into different socio-cultural groups ethnically, geographically, matrilocally, and patrynomically is general rather than definite, although the patterns corresponded to historical cultural and territorial divisions of their maternal ancestors, and so perhaps an examination of their conceptions of family as worldview bears further merit. There were some families that were represented as both Metis Cree and Metis Dene peoples due to their length of residence within the appropriate geographies

and level of intermarriage in those communities. The Morins and Lalibertes are two of the oldest and largest families of the forty-three core families found in the historical records. Because of their long standing association with the HBC and their residence at or near the posts, their surnames appear within those distinct divisions between Dene and Cree.

The Metis of northwestern Saskatchewan devised a socio-organizational structure similar to those of their nearest relatives, the Cree and Dene. While there are some fundamental differences between the Cree and Dene, they shared a similar worldview of families as the centre of community existence because both were cultures of the land. Consequently, the closest comparison to Metis socio-cultural development are case studies of the Cree and Dene, both of which lived in small, family-based hunting communities within relatively fixed geographical domains, but they also established a social organization that linked each other regionally through an intricate web of intercommunity, intergenerational alliances.[12] As with the Metis, each family-based hunting community had a stable nucleus composed of close relatives who were all related in some manner to the eldest male in the community. Therefore, everyone in the community had genealogical ties to each other.[13] According to anthropologist Regina Flannery, Cree socio-political structure "consist[ed] mainly of the single family or very close kin in such small groups bound together by blood and marriage ties ...."[14] Likewise, anthropologist Henry Sharp concluded that, among the Dene, communities were organized around the eldest man of a hunting group, usually a father, working with his grown sons and possibly sons-in-law. In this arrangement, the entire family lived in a system of co-residence and economic cooperation.[15] These Cree and Dene socio-cultural organizational styles were eventually reflected in the patronymic ordering of the Metis community.

People of northwestern Saskatchewan maintained their linkages and created a unified social whole through marriage which formed the basis of family organization. Marriage into a hunting group provided newcomers with the alliances necessary for social adjustment into a new community.[16] Marriages between already related hunting bands were

steadily encouraged to maintain relationships intergenerationally throughout Cree, Dene, and eventually, Metis territory.[17] Anthropologists have categorized Cree, Dene, and Metis marital patterns as being *cross cousin* alliances, which means that parents encouraged marriages between the children of their siblings of the opposite sex. More simply, men encouraged their children to marry their sisters' children, while women encouraged their children to marry their brothers' children. One of the functional differences between the Metis and their Indian relatives was not necessarily the style of marriage alliances, but rather the pattern of residence. Patrilocal residency was the end result of Cree and Dene living arrangements after marriage, although until the couple's first child was born matrilocal residence was followed, serving as a mandatory period of adjustment for the young woman and her female relatives, who were called upon to assist with the birth of the first child of that union. This period of matrilocal residency also gave young husbands an opportunity to become acquainted with his new relatives and form a bond with his wife's father, brothers, and other male relatives in the camp.[18] Furthermore, the basis of local hunting groups was likewise translated into Metis social organization as families came to live as established intermarried groups of families linked to particular geographic locations. As well as the larger regional cultural group, an extended family structure occupied definable territories and linked other groups in the region through economic, political, and social alliances.

It was from these two maternal societies—cultures of the land—that the Metis forged their own society, formulated a worldview, and established a unique cultural identity in Île à la Crosse. Aboriginal identities were defined by family systems that were forged through the processes of naturalization, adoption, and marriage.[19] Metis culture in Île à la Crosse was more than just an amalgamation of Indian (or even Western) practices—it was a coherent organization of practices with an underlying conscious conceptual order embodied in the concept of wahkootowin, which supported and sustained their economic and religious needs. Theorist Homi K. Bhabba argued that cultural identity is created

through collaboration, negotiation, and the disputing of ideas and values in the borderlands between distinct communities or peoples.[20] Nineteenth century criteria for membership in Metis communities was ascription to the family system, which permitted the establishment of both a larger region and community and smaller, family-based residential groups in places like Île à la Crosse. Family structure was both flexible and formal enough in composition to permit those living arrangements while also fostering a group consciousness.

Theories of culture and identity seek to explain how individuals locate shared meanings or symbols, but also how those inside the group relate to outsiders. According to historian Michael K. Green, "a cultural identity gives individuals a sense of a common past and of a shared destiny. It unifies and integrates the individuals, gives them a sense of belonging, and a sense of their own uniqueness as a people. Further, culture provides individuals with a way of life that is constitutive of what it is to be a human being."[21] Scholars of cultural identity theory agree that any cultural identity is always in the process of being constructed through interaction with the past and present, through an inner, community-based dialogue, but also in opposition to other identities.[22] Cultural identity for any community is a complex reflection of the people who have created it through their perceptions of who they are in relation to their society. Anthropologist Robert Redfield concluded that culture was a "functionally intangible style of life," rather than more tangible sets of behaviour.[23] Similarly, ethnographer James P. Spradley argued that there are really two forms of cultural knowledge—explicit and implicit. Like the tangible aspects of behaviour, explicit cultural knowledge is shared by everyone in the cultural community because it can be communicated with relative ease through songs, participation in events, and storytelling, whereas implicit expressions of cultural knowledge are typically beyond an individual's daily consciousness and defying explanation, although understood on an instinctive level.[24] In the case of Île à la Crosse, the obvious expression of family was, to outsiders, a form of clannishness that valued and demanded loyalty between relatives. Although described by Giraud, this intangible, instinctive, or implicit value of family was

hidden in plain view because to casual observers the purpose, intent, or meaning behind the behaviour was not apparent, and yet to those inside the cultural group family only had meaning because of how individuals behaved, which, in turn, reflected the emotional value placed on family life.

In Île à la Crosse, the complexity of cultural identity is revealed in the regional matrilocal social organization and emphasis on patronymic connection that drew communities together. There were instances where Metis Cree and Metis Dene surnames were found outside the geographically defined cultural communities typically associated with them, as well as instances of intermarriage between the Metis Cree and Metis Dene. For example, in 1885, Raphaël Laliberte, Metis Cree, married Eliza or Aloïsa Bekattla, daughter of George Bekattla and Nancy Kippling/Kyplain, and Metis Dene from Île à la Crosse. In the 1901 Canadian census, Eliza was listed as a Chipewyan Breed, while Raphaël and their children were cited as French Breeds. Raphaël, son of Pierrice Laliberte and Sarazine Morin, was a hunter and fisherman who seasonally contracted on with the HBC as a labourer. This branch of the Laliberte family lived north of Île à la Crosse at Portage La Loche although many of Raphaël and Eliza's children came to reside in the Buffalo Narrows region.[25] In 1903, Rapahel and Eliza's eldest daughter, Augustine Laliberte (b. 1886) married Joseph Montgrand (b. 1883 or 1884, La Loche Mission), son of Boniface Montgrand and his first wife Sophie Herman. Like Eliza, Joseph Montgrand was also Metis Dene of La Loche Mission. Boniface Montgrand (b. 1856, La Loche Mission) apparently lived at Bull's House with his family, which was also where several of Eliza Bekattla's relatives came to reside.[26] There is little concrete information on the Montgrand family, although there seem to be several branches from the area of the La Loche Mission. This family left no record of having been employed on a contractual basis with the HBC. Further, in 1901, Raphaël Laliberte and his family were listed in the Île à la Crosse Chipewyan section of the census.[27] According to Raphaël Laliberte's 1906 scrip application filed at La Loche River, but for two years when he lived with his brothers and

sisters in Green Lake, he had always lived in the La Loche region because "the country had always been [his] home."[28]

Once again using surnames as a marker for identifying Île à la Crosse's Metis society, there are names from the nineteenth century that today have no resonance in northwestern Saskatchewan. Like the surname Small, the name Catfish originated in Red River and belonged to a Saulteaux French Metis named John who came to Île à la Crosse in the 1860s as a voyaguer and servant of the HBC. John Catfish married Marie Betkkaye, a woman born in 1846 in Île à la Crosse to a mother named Biskay, who was the widow of a man named Laviolette (perhaps François Laviolette, who was employed by the NWC at Athabasca in the late eighteenth century).[29] The Catfish name did not survive beyond John because he and Marie had six daughters, only one of whom lived to marry. Because of the adoption of male surnames and establishment of those patronymic connections at the time of marriage, the Catfish name disappeared from visible representation in the community's genealogies. Angele Catfish, John and Marie's only surviving daughter, first married Baptiste Misponas/L'Esperance, with whom she had three children, and then married Louis Caisse, with whom she had four more children, thus ensuring the perpetuation of the Misponas and Caisse surnames in the English River District.[30] The adoption of male surnames at the time of marriage clearly had a notable impact on the legacy of names existing in and, in some instances, dominating communities. However, the lack of some surnames, such as Catfish, in the community also tells us an important story about the cultural identity of Île à la Crosse.

Likewise, there were also surnames at Île à la Crosse with apparent links to Indian—Cree or Dene—languages. These surnames were often listed in record groups in their language of origin and with literal English and French translations. For instance, Bear was Petit Ours (or just Ours) in French, Iron was Pewabiskussa in Cree and Petit Fer or La Cendre in French.[31] In some instances there appear to have been no obvious meanings for surnames in any language and therefore no clear sense of what translations

would have meant. This is apparent in the case of the Cree surname Misponas, or which was L'Esperance (French), Bekattla (Dene), Percatler (language or origin unknown), and Sargent (English).[32]

Due to the nature of certain surnames, some families were more difficult to track inter-generationally. However, more often than not, the difficulty was based on a number of shortcomings related to the records, rather than idiosyncrasies of Metis culture or nineteenth century naming practices. Families such as the Hermans, Bekkattlas, and Misponas were alternately known as Touslejours, Percatlers and/or Sargents, and L'Esperance, respectively, and therefore were difficult to track through the records. Had only one of the record groups been utilized for the genealogical reconstruction, it is unlikely that the connections between these alternate names would have been identified. Alternative surnames from one family grouping were identified and genealogies at least partially constructed only by working with all the available records and then carefully comparing those documents. However, there was still insufficient documentation on some families to bring meaning to those alternative names and their usage over time, and so, in most cases, genealogical reconstruction had limited success. The Herman/Touslesjour connection was achieved through scrip applications that made reference to François Magloire Herman, whose name alternately appeared as Legyour, Legyour Touslesjours, and Gregoire Herman, while his son François was known as François Herman and Touslesjour. Touslesjour appears to be phonetically similar to Gregoire and Magloire, and may have been linked in that manner.[33] Other families had multiple, but phonetically similar names, and were more easily linked through the documentation, such as Kippling/Kyplain, De La Ronde/Delaronde, Durocher/ Des Roches, Caisse/Caix, Merasty/Meraste, and Halcrow/Alcrow.

Tracking names intergenerationally through the record groups was made more difficult because of a lack of consistency amongst record keepers who frequently switched between the French, Cree, Dene, or English names, creating irregularities that were difficult for which to account. For instance, there were times when Iron, Pewabiskussa,

Petit Fer, and La Cendre were used throughout the mission records with no clear indication of whether the individuals with these names had any relationship to one another, were, in fact, the same individuals, or the surnames were simply being used interchangeably based on the whim (or lack of knowledge) on the part of the record keeper.[34] In this case, there was at least one Raphaël Iron at Île à la Crosse, and in one instance he was married to Marguerite Marie Couillonneur and in another Euphémie Opikokew.[35] It is certainly possible that there was only one Raphaël Iron who married twice in his lifetime, but at this stage that is only conjecture. From the range of archival documentation available, we know that there was a Chief Raphaël Iron of the Canoe Lake Cree in the late nineteenth century. But it is equally unclear if there were two Raphaël Irons, whether it was a name passed on from father to son to grandson, or whether only one man with that name ever lived in the English River District. What contributes to the confusion is that the surname for Raphaël is listed throughout the records as Iron, Pewabiskussa, and Petit Fer with no clear attempt, for the purposes of posterity, to establish a firm genealogical record, which, in turn, would have assisted the Church as they recorded subsequent generations of births, marriages, and deaths.

Despite some difficulties in tracking names, overall surnames established a localized patronymic connection that identified family groups, but, equally important, the intergenerational transmission of given names within particular families provides information regarding the form and structure of wahkootowin. In Metis society at Île à la Crosse, there was a repetitive use of particular first names within the same immediate family, within different branches of the same family sharing a patronymic connection, and intergenerationally within the totality of families throughout the District. Furthermore, by and large the given names within Metis communities in this region were both French and Catholic in origin, thus establishing a link to their paternal ancestry. French names, especially those associated with Catholic Saints, dominated the region and the choices that parents made for the names of their children. For instance, the names Jean Baptiste (or other

combinations of names, such as Jean Marie), Baptiste, Alexandre, Pierre, Prosper, Joseph, and François for men, and Marie (and, again, with many possible combination, such as Marie Philomène, Marie Agnès, or Marie Elizabeth), Marguerite, Philomène, Pélagie, and Angele for women were extremely common to all Metis families in the region. However, as seen in the case of the sons named Alexandre in Pierre Laliberte, Jr.'s family, errors possibly occurred in the record keeping for even those families with the most complete documentation. Even in well documented families such as the Morins and Lalibertes there are branches that are dead ends in terms of available information. For example, Pélagie Boucher's scrip application revealed that she had a daughter named Judule Morin who was the wife of a Louis Lafond, but no other information was available on this woman.[36] Because the Lafond family name was not common in northwestern Saskatchewan, but rather was a Metis name from the South Saskatchewan River Valley, Judule presumably married and left the region.

There also arose unique genealogical problems associated with this repetitive use of given names. Within the entirety of the Lariviere family alone, possibly eleven Josephs were born between 1846 and 1904.[37] Problems with this repetitive use of given names only occurred when there was too little information available about each person to properly place them within the genealogical matrix. In the example of the eleven Joseph Larivieres born over this fifty-eight year span, not all had enough basic genealogical data, such as years of birth, names of parents, dates of death, and/or marital records that would have confirmed their identity and place within the Lariviere family genealogy. It is therefore possible that multiple entries for Joseph Larivieres were created in the process of reconstructing the Lariviere family tree, and that there were actually fewer than eleven Josephs in the family overall. Compounding the problem was a general lack of specific genealogical information for the Lariviere family, and so there were instances where not all Josephs were possible to link up to the proper branch of the family because those branches were difficult to delineate.

Regardless, even within less genealogically complicated families, it was a fairly common practice to use the same given names intergenerationally, as well as to recycle them within the same immediate family. For instance, when children died young, their given names were reused when another child of the appropriate gender was born to the family. Within Charles Maurice and Julie dite Canadienne Bouvier's family, between 1889 and 1911, there were four sons given the names William and/or Alfred as either single names or in combination. The first son, named William Alfred, was born on 16 July 1889 and died in January 1894. In that same year, a second son was born and also given the name William Alfred. Although there was no record for the death of the second William Alfred, a third son was born in 1896 and given the name Alfred. This third son died in 1909, and, in 1911, a fourth son was born and given the name William.[38]

Amongst the children of Pierre Laliberte, Jr. and Géneviève Jourdain, there were at least two, and possibly three sons named Alexandre and two sons named Emelien born between 1876 and 1897. The first Alexandre was born and died in 1876, the second was born in 1892, and a possible third was born in 1893. The latter two Alexandres, however, might actually have been the same person. Beyond the name and year of birth, there is no data to conclusively establish whether these latter two genealogical entries are for the same person. Until there is enough evidence to make this determination, three separate genealogical records will exist in the genealogical database. Part of the difficulty in the case of the latter two Alexandres is that their years of birth are too close together to conclusively establish whether there were actually two sons or just one, and that parental recollection of the birthdate was hazy. On the other hand, it is clear that there were only two Emiliens, the first born and dying in 1891, and the other born in 1897.[39] There was enough distance between the birth dates in this case to safely assume that there were two sons named Emilien.

In Raphaël Morin and Betsy (Elizabeth) Cook's family there were six daughters similarly named. However, the daughters—Julie Marie, Marie Joséphine, Philomène,

Marie Philomène, Marie Agnès, Marie Philomène—were different individuals. Julie Marie was born in 1854 at Île à la Crosse and married in 1868 to Michel Bouvier. Philomène was born in 1868 at Île à la Crosse, but there is no further information available on her. Marie Philomène was born in 1870 and died two years later. Another Marie Philomène was born later. Although there is no genealogical information available for the second Marie Philolmene, it is known that a woman by this name born to these parents married Paul Delaronde, Jr. and had at least three children—Marie Agnès, Charlie, and Etienne. The existence of a burial record for one of the Marie Philomènes and a reference in the scrip records to the union between Paul Delaronde, Jr. and a Marie Philomène was enough evidence to conclude that Raphaël Morin and Betsy Cook had two daughters who shared a name. The final Marie in the family, Marie Agnès, was born in 1872 at Île à la Crosse, and married Alexandre Delaronde, the brother of Paul Delaronde, Jr., in 1894 at Green Lake.[40]

Given names were likewise used through successive generations, creating a web of given names that harkens back to the eldest male and female ancestors, as well as to the Catholic tradition of naming children after Saints. Of Antoine and Pélagie Boucher's female grandchildren, five were named Pélagie after their grandmother, while one son, two grandsons, and a great grandson born between the 1830s and 1884 were named Antoine after the patriarch. In the Laliberte family, there were six Jean Baptistes (the Saint for whom the mission station at Île à la Crosse was named) born between 1858 and 1908, while there were seventeen Maries or women with a name prefaced with Marie born between 1850 and 1909. There were also nineteen Maries in the Montgrand family born between 1831 and 1910.[41] Heather Devine convincingly argued that Metis naming practices were an amalgam of French Catholic and First Nations spiritual traditions. Roman Catholic doctrine required parents to select given names for children from those of the male and female Saints, while in Dene and Cree practice elders endowed with specific spiritual abilities were given offerings of tobacco and cloth and asked to pray

for an appropriate name. In both instances, providing children with spiritual names—be they shared with Saints or divined through prayer—ensured that this new life was given spiritual protection.[42] It could, therefore, be argued that in two religious traditions with such a deep belief that names contained spiritual power and significance, to speak such a name in daily activity would have rendered such names or their power of protection moot because likewise both francophone Catholics and First Nations established traditions of nicknaming.

Certainly, because of this repetitive use of given names intergenerationally amongst the Metis of the English River District, nicknames were a means of distinguishing between people with the same given names within a particular family, as well as between separate branches of a family sharing the same surname. The means of distinguishing a nickname in the records was with the indicator "dit" for men and "dite" for women, such as Jean Baptiste dit Ninine Aubichon and Charles dit Ladebeauch Caisse, Zépherin dit Catholique Morin and Julie dite Canadienne Bouvier, Marie dite Pakama Desjarlais, and Victotran dite Tsi Buck Laliberte. Nicknames often became attached to family surnames as a means of distinguishing between relatives with the same or similar names, and, over time in some instances, nicknames were adopted as a family surname.[43] Due to the repetitive use of given names within particular families, nicknames were common. In some instances, personal nicknames became surnames, such as Catfish (the original family name Etmo).[44]

There were also instances where Cree and/or Dene names were integral to an individual or family's identity. There was a William Archie from the Buffalo Narrows region who was also known as William Shazhounen because his father was known in the English River District as Old Shazhounen and Antoine Archie respectively. William, known to have knowledge of traditional medicines, married Marie Angele Maurice around 1895. While William eventually came to be known (for unknown reasons) as William Archie, he had a brother, Jean, and sister, Suzanne, who maintained the name Shazhounen as their surname. There were also people who, according to the records, carried Indian given

names. Pierre Cyprien Morin's wife Véronique was known in the community as Miyamow and also known alternately by the maiden surnames of Chatelain and Siyakikwaniw. Véronique's mother was Pa-ya-ta-skit Chatelain and her father was See-a-kee-ka-noo, which may be the more phonetic pronunciation of Siyakikwaniw. This endurance of Cree and Dene names in the English River District was apparently common. While traveling with the northern Alberta scrip commission in the late 1890s, Charles Mair noted that the Metis he encountered in the Mackenzie Basin had public Christian names and private Cree names. The public names were used with outsiders while Cree names were used at home by a person's relations. Mair concluded that because Christian, or baptismal, names had not entirely displaced older Indian naming practices, Metis communities were demonstrating their maternal cultural influence.[45]

One of the most complex cases of naming and inconsistent record keeping in the English River District was that of Jean Bekattla and her son Barthelémy Girard. The story of Jeanne and Barthelémy demonstrates how difficult it is in some instances to trace individuals and, therefore, a family's history. Jeanne Bekkattla was alternately known in the records as Jane Percatler and Jeanne Sargeant. Adding to the difficulty was that there was no available information regarding her birthdate, marriage(s), or even her death. Peripheral data about Jeanne is revealed through the scrip applications of her relatives, but she herself made no application. In her lifetime, Jeanne was associated with five men, although there was only one wedding recorded by the Roman Catholic mission.[46] Jeanne was with John Cummings, Paul Ket, Napoléon Girard, Joseph Billette or Diaze, and Harry/Henry LeMaigre, and of these men, only Le Maigre left behind meaningful genealogical information about himself, and it was this man to whom Jeanne was married in 1910 at Portage La Loche. It is unclear if these were common-law unions, were entered into according to the custom of the country, took place at the same time or over discrete periods of time, or how long each relationship lasted. The only thing clear was that none of the possible marriages, expect that to Harry or Henry LeMaigre, was sanctioned by the

Church. We also know that Napoléon was alive, but no longer with Jeanne, by the time their son Barthelémy was married in 1911.[47] Jeanne was also known to have had at least three children by different fathers—Jean Marie (b. 1911, Portage La Loche) with Henry LeMaigre, Barthelémy/Ross (b. 1889, Île à la Crosse) with Napoléon Girard, and Rosa (b. 1907) with Paul Ket.[48]

Equally complex was the naming circumstance surrounding the identity of Jeanne Bekattla and Napoléon Girard's son, Barthelémy. Born in 1889 and baptized in the Church at Île à la Crosse in March of that year, Barthelémy assumed several different names during his lifetime. Early on, Barthelémy shed the surname Girard and replaced it with Ross. Later, he took the surname Cummings and made Ross his first name. It remains unclear from where the name Ross came, but in July 1911 Barthelémy was married to Madeleine Edshiran'youce at the Church in Île à la Crosse as Barthelémy Ross. Some time after 1911, Barthelemey Ross became Ross Cummings. The surname Cummings was likely adopted because of his mother's relationship with John Cummings. A logical assumption would be that Barthelémy took the name Cummings because this man became his father after the death of his biological father, Napoléon. However, John Cummings was dead by 1906, whereas Napoléon Girard did not die until 1915. Furthermore, Barthelémy Girard/Ross Cummings indicated in several sources that he was raised by his maternal grandparents, George Bekkattla and Nancy Kippling/Kyplain, in the Dillon region just north and east of Île à la Crosse, not by his mother or any of her husbands or partners. Ross Cummings, who passed away in 1980 at the age of 90 years, was a well known figure in northwestern Saskatchewan, serving on northern trappers associations in the Buffalo Narrows region and taking information about their cause to Parliament in the 1970s.[49] Without Barthelémy/Ross having recorded his reminiscence in a local history book, this history of name changes would have remained unknown and the primary records of Barthelémy Girard, Barthelémy Ross, and Ross Cummings would never have been matched up, which would have meant that such a complex genealogy remained shrouded.

The complexity of naming practices in northwestern Saskatchewan makes genealogical reconstruction difficult, but more importantly reflects more subtle nuances that established connections to their religious faith and paternal relations as they lived in a region defined by the history and culture(s) of their maternal ancestors.

Ritual and ceremony were two important mechanisms for creating, acknowledging, and facilitating familial relationships where they were otherwise tenuous or did not exist. It was critical to wahkootowin because it expanded the total number of relatives to whom an individual could look to for support. Marriage is the obvious ritualized means for establishing family relationships and is a process universal to human societies. Through the marriage of two people, new members were easily incorporated into the family system and the birth of children legitimized by cultural norms. Marriage, by definition, not only ceremonially united a man and a woman, it brought together entire families, thereby serving as a mechanism for creating alliances between family groups. A less obvious means of establishing or re-establishing family ties was through adoption. Ceremonies for adoption ritualistically created new family members and established roles that were modeled on and mimicked biological relationships. Adoption of young children by other family members, particularly after the death of their biological parents, was an important societal institution that ensured perpetuation of wahkootowin because it allowed a family to survive death. Children were reintegrated into wahkootowin, thereby establishing the continuity of their role as the legacy and inheritors of Metis cultural identity in Île à la Crosse.[50]

Adoptions within Île à la Crosse were public and private displays of the familial experience. While many adoptions occurred simply as a matter of cultural practice without any westernized legal acknowledgement or even Church sanction, there are instances of interfamily adoption recorded within the scrip applications of the English River District. In virtually all available recorded examples of interfamilial adoption, maternal relatives

took the children and raised them within their wahkootowin. For example, Hélène, Julien, and Alexandre Jolibois, the children of André Herman/Touslesjour and Louise Jolibois, were raised by their maternal aunt and uncle, Catherine Jolibois (Louise's younger sister) and François Montgrand, brother of Boniface Montgrand, after the death of their parents in 1896 and 1903. After the death of their father in 1896, the children assumed the surname Jolibois, perhaps to maintain a connection to the maternal relatives with whom they went to live. Catherine Jolibois, Louise Jolibois' sister, gave them her surname and raised the three children in the La Loche mission area.[51] George Bekattla adopted his grandson, Barthelémy Girard (who eventually came to be known as Ross Cummings), by his daughter Jeanne Bekattla. Adélaide Lafleur, daughter of Catherine Laliberte and Charles Lafleur, was adopted and raised by her maternal grandparents, Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin.[52] The adoption of grandchildren as a cultural practice served two goals. Children raised by the old people learned those histories and experiences of the preceding generations, an education that bridged generations and served as a conduit for cultural transmission. The second goal was to be a benefit to the older people—a young person could physically assist them as they aged and keep them connected to the wahkootowin.

Naming established linkages between ancestors and their descendants, thus ensuring a continuity of family memory through this generational bridging mechanism. Family systems formed discrete and stable communities that persisted beyond the life and death of individuals. As a result, these large extended Metis family systems were flexible enough in composition and structure to permit constant and ever-changing genealogical points of reference being added even as others were subtracted, typically through deaths. However, while wahkootowin aimed to ensure reciprocity, assistance, and mutual responsibility, there were moral directives within the teachings of wahkootowin intended to protect individuals and families from excessive requests for assistance by their relatives that would jeopardize their own economic viability and/or physical safety. While these two objectives could be contradictory, balance was achieved by wahkootowin's

inherent flexibility, which established large family networks across large geographical spaces so that they were able to locate relatives in a position to give aid. Relatives deemed capable of giving support were not always the same, and so interfamily allegiances altered accordingly in times of need and stress. These shifts or changes in family allegiance minimized the burden of those in a position to give aid by diffusing responsibility to those most able to share.[53]

Fluidity of familial boundaries or allegiances, however, should not be mistaken for casualness or informality within wahkootowin. Because Aboriginal societies often lacked clearly identifiable institutions demarcating and enforcing social and cultural boundaries, there is an assumption that interpersonal relations lacked structure or clear organization. Rather, structure and organization of wahkootowin is visible within the family structures as revealed through community's genealogical configuration. In reality, the opportunity to be a part of the Metis wahkootowin of northwestern Saskatchewan was not restricted or closed to particular individuals because of their culture, race, or religion if they were willing to adjust their own expectations of family life. Rather, wahkootowin was an inclusive structure open to anyone willing to participate and be a good relative, which required adherence to the values, protocols, and behaviours expected of family members. After 1821, as HBC families engaged in a pattern of intergenerational, intercommunity, and intermarriage, wives and daughters worked at Company tasks in support of their male relations, and male relatives worked together to complete their assigned duties, much as Cree and Dene family would have supported one another within the hunting bands. The continual connecting and reconnecting of HBC servants' families to one another economically, socially, and culturally served as a means of strengthening the regional wahkootowin. The lifecycle of the four generations of Metis families represented in the range of available data sources was played out, sometimes in great detail, in the HBC records for the three central posts in the English River District—Île à la Crosse, Portage La Loche, and Green Lake.

However, just as there was a decision made, for whatever reason, to join wahkootowin, so, too, some remained separate or outside the socio-cultural organization of the Metis community. There were people in the English River District who were not a part of the regional wahkootowin and remained outside the genealogical matrix. Arrival in northwestern Saskatchewan did not mean automatic admission; citizenship required an active process such as the establishment of marriage alliances. The quickest and simplest mechanism to assert a relationship with the local and regional wahkootowin was through marriage, and yet there were outsider males who never married into the matrilocal regional group or established a patronymic connection within the region, although they may have impacted the region's social and cultural history as traders or clergy. For instance, there were HBC servants and officers throughout the English River District who segregated themselves from the regional wahkootowin, maintaining a social and cultural distance by not forming social linkages. The decision to not join wahkootowin may have been based on a variety of factors, including religion, cultural heritage, and, by the mid-to late-nineteenth century, notions governing social hierarchy and what constituted a well ordered society. As a result, some outsider males arrived in the English River District and left almost no discernible imprint on the regional wahkootowin.

One rather striking case of a family living in the region but remaining outside the local wahkootowin was that of the Dreaver family of the Green Lake region. In the late nineteenth century, George Dreaver of the Green Lake post remained outside the Metis wahkootowin of the English River District by not marrying a local woman. Because of his occupation, George Dreaver had a background similar to other HBC men in the region. Dreaver, like Pierriche Laliberte, postmaster at Portage La Loche, was not well educated, but, according to HBC inspector E.K. Beeston, he made up for this deficiency in common sense, ability as a "remarkable linguist," and his "considerable influence with the Natives."[54] George Dreaver, listed as a forty year old Scottish Presbyterian HBC clerk in the 1891 Green Lake census, the only record with genealogical data available for him

and his small family, established no patronymic connection in the Metis wahkootowin of the English River District.[55] Dreaver was married to a woman named Elizabeth, also Scottish Presbyterian, and they had two daughters, Helen Dunlop and Elizabeth, born in the North West Territories.[56] Just as there is no patronymic imprint of the Dreaver family left in the region, neither is there any evidence of their Presbyterian daughters having intermarried with the local, Catholic Metis families. Furthermore, religion was a second and clear delineator of insiders and outsiders to Île à la Crosse and the English River District wahkootowins, particularly between the local Catholic Metis community and the largely Protestant officer class. That the Presbyterian Dreavers did not intermarry into the exclusively Catholic Metis population (and therefore did not to convert to Catholicism) was, in this instance, possibly less about holding to a particular faith than avoiding conforming to this particular community's ordering. Because of the lack of intermarriage with the families of the English River District, the Dreavers were excluded from the reciprocity family model that would have established for them an assured familial support network. As a result, this family was not a part of the regional Metis wahkootowin that shaped the dominant values and norms of human behaviour in the English River District.

This emphasis on religion as a signifier of community acceptance is not a small issue in the relatively culturally isolated Île à la Crosse of the nineteenth century, where Roman Catholicism was itself integrated into the structure and sentiment of wahkootowin. To join this localized Metis wahkootowin through marriage required conversion to Catholicism, which, in turn, located them in the written record of the families' cultural identity. The extended family structure of wahkootowin was supported by Catholic ideals of familial relations, responsibilities, and obligations. Wahkootowin facilitated the transmission of cultural attributes that encouraged interfamilial connections and contributed to an individual's sense of identity. Religion—in this case Roman Catholicism—was a vehicle for this transmission. Roman Catholicism, as a part of wahkootowin, served as an instrument of accountability. It set and enforced standards for behaviour and interpersonal

interaction, and expectations for maintaining the wholeness of the group through the blessings of the sacraments. Still, there were a few non-Catholics in Île à la Crosse who, while not intermarrying with the local Metis or converting to Catholicism, nevertheless attempted to establish familial-styled relationships and thereby court the good will of the people. Île à la Crosse Chief Factor Henry J. Moberly, who was born in Ontario in 1837, was a Protestant Company officer posted in the English River District from 1892 and 1895. Described by the HBC as a "determined, active and energetic" servant with a varied trading experience, Moberly spoke Cree and understood Chipewyan, and apparently had "a thorough knowledge of the Indian character although less knowledge of accounting."[57] Moberly had two wives who may have been from the English River District—Philomène Rat, with whom he had one son, and Françoise, with whom he had six children. The Moberlys were members of the Church of England, and therefore, like the Dreavers, lack records associated with the Roman Catholic mission in the English River District to connect them to the local and/or regional Metis wahkootowin. However, Antoine Moberly, Henry's son with Philomène Rat, was born in Portage La Loche, lived most of his life at Clear Lake as a hunter and trapper on the Churchill River, and married a Dene woman named Virginie Bessepe.[58] In an attempt to establish good relations with members of the Metis community in Île à la Crosse, on 31 December 1892 Moberly received a letter of thanks from the Sisters at St. Joseph on behalf of the children at the Hospice for his note and gift of flour and candies. According to the Sisters, they were delighted by the candy and everyone was excited about the possibility of making cakes with the flour. The Sisters extended their own thanks to Moberly for his kindness and charity, hoping that he would accept their best wishes for his health and prosperity and for that of his entire family.[59] On another occasion, Sister Agnès at St. Joseph's hospital again sent a thank you card to Moberly on Easter Sunday for the oatmeal and syrup that he had sent to the children living there. The Sister further acknowledged Mrs. Moberly's earlier visit and generous distribution of sweets to the children that had made them very happy.[60]

Conversely, the Dreavers did not just remain outside the wahkootowin of the English River District, George Dreaver, in his position as HBC clerk at Green Lake, openly displayed his disdain for the Roman Catholic Church. In a postscript to an 1892 letter, he remarked, "Bishop Pascal seems a nice sort of Fellow not a bit like the couple of Vipers you have down at Île à la Crosse."[61] Dreaver again commented on the local Catholic clergy in 1893, criticizing them for contributing to the immoral behaviour of the Metis. In describing a social scandal regarding a man named Merasty abandoning his wife, Dreaver voiced his distaste for Roman Catholicism. It was Dreaver's opinion that Mrs. Merasty, a woman he deemed as immoral as the husband who had abandoned her, should have been hired on immediately by the priests at the Green Lake mission to protect the rest of the community from her bad influence. According to Dreaver, Mrs. Merasty's problem was that she no longer had a man to camouflage her faults and provide her with a façade of morality. More important than the woman's faults, the Presbyterian Dreaver believed that the scandal spoke to the inability of the Roman Catholic clergy to positively influence their parishioners.[62] Dreaver was not the only HBC official in the English River District who believed that the Roman Catholic clergy were less than genuine in their mission. In 1849, Eden Coleville at Île à la Crosse described one of priests who visited the post from the mission thusly: "that thief that did nothing but grin and rub his hands at Norway House last year has got as fat as a pig on white fish."[63] Dreaver and Colville's anti-clerical sentiments were not shared by all Île à la Crosse or English River District HBC officers. Most chief factors and chief traders in the nineteenth century community, while overwhelmingly Protestant, worked to establish harmonious social relations with the local Metis community by being generous to the Church.

The basis for these uneven, but typically hostile attitudes held by HBC officers can be attributed to a number of factors. Officers in the English River District, with the exception of Catholic Chief Trader George Deschambeault, were Protestant—Anglican or Presbyterian—and so their attitude towards Catholicism reflected a personal religious

ethnocentrism that was disdainful of Catholicism. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, this disdain was further fueled by an economically derived frustration as the Church began to trade in contravention of the Company's monopoly, and was therefore less dependent upon the Company for assistance with daily chores. However, the Company had not only permitted the Roman Catholic clergy into the District, but it invited and then further supported them by providing assistance when required because it felt that a Christian sensibility promoting a commercially-based work ethic, a sense of individual responsibility, and morality was preferable to a traditional Indian worldview.[64] The battle between the Church and the Company was over the emotional and material loyalty of the Metis of the English River District, whose actions were determined by the values embedded within wahkootowin and, in turn, responded to both the Church and the Company in ways that primarily supported Metis cultural sensibility.

The HBC officer class were, like the Metis of Île à la Crosse, inextricably entwined in the fur trade, often having been born to fur trader fathers and Aboriginal mothers, married to Aboriginal women from other trade regions, and raising Metis children. However, unlike other outsider males (regardless of generation), Company officers and their families lacked permanence in both Île à la Crosse or the region. Samuel McKenzie, a Protestant Chief Factor at Île à la Crosse for over twenty years in the mid-nineteenth century, for instance, kept a social distance between himself and his employees, choosing not to attend services at the Catholic mission, even though he was a religious man and it was the only church available. Instead, McKenzie held private services for his family in the great hall of the Factor's house, inviting any other Protestant men, most of whom were junior officers, and their families to attend.[65] These Protestant services were typically performed by McKenzie or, in his absence, George Sanderson.[66] One such occasion occurred in the early hours of Sunday 5 November 1865, when Mrs. Mackenzie gave birth to a son. Under the circumstances, services were held in the Bachelor's Hall rather than

the Factor's and, according to McKenzie's journal notation for that day, "Old Sanderson made a regular botch of it."[67]

A survey of the genealogical records will demonstrate how the Metis organized themselves in relation to one another in localized settings. Further, inferences can be made about how the Metis understood themselves in relation to others because, at this stage, we understand more about the institutions that surrounded them, the fur companies and the Church, than we do about how the people structured themselves socially and culturally. Because cultural identity, as defined by family relationships, served as the basic framework for social relations, wahkootowin, the Metis' socio-cultural institution regulating internal and external community relations, therefore would have had a significant influence on these Western institutions. In Île à la Crosse, the Metis came to be a distinct people, sharing a collective history that formed their sense of tradition and rationalized their existence, land holdings, cultural identity, and shared lifeways and social organization.[68]

While the concepts of family and/or kinship has formed the basis of anthropological studies of Aboriginal societies, there has been, to date, little articulation of family as the manifestation of a particular worldview.[69] While wahkootowin is as much a system of values, behaviours, and attitudes, it can be expressed and described through genealogical mapping. As a Western construction, genealogies are a linear rendering of an individual's relatives for the purpose of identifying ancestors and descendants. However, genealogies can be expanded laterally to show additional relatives such as aunts, uncles, brothers, sisters, nieces, and nephews, as well as spouses and all their ancillary relatives. Genealogies ground a culturally determined family system—in this instance, wahkootowin—in the physical, providing a visual representation of intangible lifeways and cultural identity. Those placed within a genealogical matrix are understood to be relatives and are, therefore, family members, regardless of biological connectedness. Genealogies can also encompass a great deal more, extending themselves to social relationships that ritually

mimic biological relatedness. In short, genealogies are an acknowledgement of "real" or biological ties and a social blueprint for larger cultural processes that make people relatives out of membership in a shared community and worldview.

Endnotes

[1]Significantly, this community member further observed that while people still fence their yards in the village, they no longer observe the old construction style of fashioning corner openings in the manner of their ancestors. What this means in terms of the contemporary socio-cultural structure of the community would require further research than was undertaken for this study. Significantly, there is a difference between neighbourliness and wahkootowin. The relationship between family members was based on formalized systems that dicated behaviors and protocols for interaction whereas neighbourliness really only implies a level of politeness between unrelated people living in close proximity.

[2]*Kisewatototatowin: Loving, Caring, Sharing, Respect* 2nd ed (Saskatoon: Aboriginal Parent Program Inc., 1998), 63.

[3]The concept of a cultural bundle is borrowed from the term "word bundle" coined by Maria Campbell to express how each Cree word has not only multiple meanings but can serve as links to stories, events, location, other words, etc. In short, each word is layered with meanings and relationships that are all expressions of Cree culture, history, and society. In this sense, the cultural bundle also represents a multilayered approach to culture—it is more than dancing, or music, or food but rather embodies much more emotionally and spiritually.

[4]Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, trans. George Woodcock (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), 2: 330.

[5]To be clear, there is a distinction between society and culture that is relevant to this study. Society, most simplistically, is a group of people living as members of a community and associated with one another for religious, cultural, political, and/or economic reasons. Conversely, culture is the sum total of lifeways that establishes a worldview—values, sentiments, ideologies—created by a society and is transmitted inter-generationally.

[6]In mixed-ancestry families near Lake Michigan, Euro-American traders married into the community. Women, however, did not marry out of their communities. Consequently, traders were assimilated as fathers and brothers into a world structured by Indian custom. Sleeper-Smith, "Furs and Female Kin Networks: The World of Marie Madeline Réaume L'Archevêque Chevalier." In *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995*, eds. Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith and William Wicken (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1995), 53-54. Also see Sleeper-Smith's, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

[7]This organizational finding was also reached in Susan Sleeper Smith's study of the Lake Michigan region.

[8]Metis ethnogenesis is said to have begun in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and is regarded to have been completed by the 1860s. See D.V. Burley, G.A. Horsfal, and J.D. Brandon, *Structural Considerations of Metis Ethnicity: An Archeological, Architectural and Historical Study* (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota Press, 1992); and Jacqueline Peterson, "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1980).

[9]Philip T. Spaulding, "The Metis of Ile-a-la-Crosse" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1970).

[10]Spaulding, "The Métis of Ile-a-la-Crosse," 85; and Philip T. Spaulding, "The Social Integration of a Northern Community: White Mythology and Metis Reality." In *A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers*, ed. Arthur K. Davis (Bellingham: Western Washington State College, 1967), 101-102.

[11]Spaulding, "The Social Integration of a Northern Community," 101-102.

[12]While not the scope of this study, for more detailed information on Cree and Dene kinship see James G.E. Smith, "Historical Changes in the Chipewyan Kinship System." In *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture*, eds. Raymond J. Demaille and Alfonso Ortiz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 49-81; Henry Stephen Sharp, "The Kinship System of the Black Lake Chipewyan" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1973); Regina Flannery, "Cross-Cousin Marriage Among the Cree and Montagnais of James Bay," *Primitive Man* 2 (1938): 29-33; A. Irving Hallowell, "Kinship Terms and Cross-Cousin Marriage of the Montagnais-Naskapi and the Cree," *American Anthropologist* 34.2 (1932): 171-199; Alfred Louis Kroeber, "Athabascan Kin Term Systems," *American Anthropologist* 39 (1937): 602-608; Elaine Hay, *Dene Hélot'ine Kinship* (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, 1998); David Meyer, *The Red Earth Crees, 1860-1960* (Canadian Ethnology Service, no. 100, 1985); David G. Mandebaum, *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical, and Comparative Study* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1979); and Scott Rushforth, *Bear Lake Althabascan Kinship and Task Group Formation* (Canadian Ethnology Service. no. 96, 1984).

[13]Mandebaum, *The Plains Cree*, 105-106.

[14]Regina Flannery, "The Position of Women Among the Eastern Cree," *Primitive Man* 8 (1934): 86.

[15]Sharp, "The Kinship System of the Black Lake Chipewyan," 2-3.

[16]Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree*; Meyer, *The Red Earth Crees*, 82-85, 106; and Robert A. Brightman, *Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 11.

[17]Young people, as a consequence of marriage and social taboos, were not permitted to marry within their own hunting group. Furthermore, no two hunting groups were to be connected by more than a single marriage between living members. Both these directives ensured that each hunting group was connected by marriage to a wide range of other groups and that incest was prevented within the hunting group of origin. Preferably, however, marriage partners were selected amongst families already related and therefore allied with one another. The best possible arranged marriages were felt to be between two brothers and two sisters, which established close ties between couples and their hunting groups. See Rev. M. Rossignol, OMI, "Cross-Cousin Marriage Among the Saskatchewan Cree," *Primitive Man* 2 (1938): 26-28; and Richard J. Preston, "Eastern Cree Notions of Social Grouping." In *Papers of the 11th Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1980), 40-48.

[18]Scholars of Cree and Dene social structure have argued that matrilocal residence may have also served as a form of bride price because the new husband was often obligated to work with his new family as a form of payment for the community's anticipated loss of his wife's labour. After the birth of the first child, the couple was free to move to the husband's parent's band or could choose to remain where they were and make the living arrangement permanent. It was believed that marriages established in this way recreated, in successive generations, strong interpersonal alliances among regional hunting groups. The eldest sons were likely to become the leaders of their own hunting groups, which incorporated one or two brothers and eventually sons and sons-in-laws. Brothers often ended up living and working together, bonding them to one another intimately. As a result, the children of these brothers grew up with one another and were raised to regard each other more as siblings than distant relatives. Conversely, brothers and sisters had a more distant relationship once they reached maturity, married, and lived in separate hunting groups. Their respective children were regarded as distant relatives, if related at all. However, if two sisters married two brothers, they would be able to remain close physically and emotionally, with their children raised as

siblings. See Smith, "Historical Changes in the Chipewyan Kinship System," 53-58; Robert Jarvenpa & Hetty Jo Brumbach, *Ethnoarcheological and Cultural Frontiers: Athabascan, Algonquian, and European Adaptation in the Central Subarctic* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 258-259, 300; and Laura Peers & Jennifer S.H. Brown, "'There Is No End To Relationships Among the Indians': Ojibwa Families and Kinship in Historical Perspective," *History of the Family* 4.4 (2000): 532. Furthermore, Loretta Fowler examined how the Gros Ventre of Fort Belknap Reservation regarded their cultural identity, symbolized it internally, and, more importantly, how it was created through interactions with the Assinaboine with whom they shared the reservation. Historically, Gros Ventre and Assinaboine people of northern Montana shared the same territory (and, later, reservation), intermarried extensively, and borrowed from each other's cultural ceremonies and customs. Because they shared a landbase and were both Plains peoples, Fowler concluded, the Gros Ventre and Assinaboine shared some general conceptualizations, values, and broad understandings about social relations, the supernatural, and the overall reservation experience. Yet, despite all this, these two peoples remained culturally distinct because they had different interpretations of past events and circumstance. See Loretta Fowler, *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778-1984* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 197, 224.

[19]Raymond D. Fogelson, "Perspectives on Native American Indian Identity." In *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Russell Thornton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 44-53.

[20]Homi K. Bhabba, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 1-2.

[21]Michael K. Green, "Cultural Identities: Challenges for the Twenty-First Century." In *Issues in Native American Cultural Identity*, ed. Michael K. Green (New York: Peter Lang, Pub. Inc., 1995), 7.

[22]In particular, see Lawrence W. Levine, *The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 222-237; Jayne Ifekwunigwe, "When the Mirror Speaks: The Poetics and Problematics of Identity Construction for Métisse Women in Bristol." In *Ethnicity, Gender and Social Change*, eds. Rohit Barot, Harriet Bradley & Steven Fenton (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 206-222; Pnina Werbner, "The Dialectics of Cultural Hybridity." In *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, eds. P. Webner & T. Modood (London: Zed Books, 1997),1-28; Michelle M. Motoyoshi, "The Experience of Mixed-Race People: Some Thoughts and Theories," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 18.2 (1990): 77-95; F.J. Woods, *Marginality and Identity: A Colored Creole Family Through Ten Generations* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972); and Charles Joyner, *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

[23]Robert R. Redfield, *The Primitive World and its Transformations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1953.), 51-53.

[24]James P. Spradley, "Ethnography and Culture." In *Conformity and Conflict: Readings in Cultural Anthropology* 7th ed, eds. James P. Spradley & David W. McCurdy (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), 26.

[25]LAC, RG 15, vol. 1353, Raphaël Laliberte, 12 Sept. 1906; LAC, RG 15, vol 1353, Eliza Percateler Bekattla, 12 Sept. 1906; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1901, Ile a la Crosse.

[26]LAC, RG 15, Augustine Montgrand Laliberte, 10 Sept. 1906; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, Joseph Montgrand, 10 Sept. 1906; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, Boniface Montgrand, 10 Sept. 1906.

[27]LAC, Canadian Census Return, 1901 Ile a la Crosse; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 1353, Raphaël Laliberte, 12 Sept 1906.

[28]LAC, RG 15, vol. 1353, Raphaël Laliberte, 12 Sept. 1906.

[29]Henry W. Duckworth, ed., *The English River Book: A North West Company Journal & Account Book, 1796* (Montreal: Rupertsland Society Series, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 156; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[30]LAC, RG15, vol. 1339, Louis Caisse, 20 Sept 1906; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[31]Today these surnames are more likely to be associated with First Nations communities in northwestern Saskatchewan such as Canoe Lake First Nation rather than the Metis communities.

[32]These inconsistencies in naming are revealed only when attempting to reconstruct the genealogical record utilizing scrip, census, and Roman Catholic Mission records, and comparing data such as dates, names of children and spouses, and locations of birth, residence, and death. In some instances, it requires conversations with descendants who have additional insight into names and naming practices.

[33]Alternate spellings for Touslesjours is Toutlejour and Torisleyous. LAC, RG 15, vol. 1351, François Herman, 10 Sept. 1906; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1012, file 1521716, Elizabeth Toutlejour, 13 July 1907; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891, Ile a la Crosse/Portage La Loche.

[34]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[35]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 1023, file 1598555, Marie Isabelle Iron Laliberte, 22 Sept. 1906.

[36]LAC, RG 15, vol. 558, file 167786, 22 Oct 1887, Pilagie Morin.

[37]LAC, RG 15, vol. 994, file 1313219, Joseph Lariviere, 28 June 1907; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1354, Joseph Lariviere, 21 Sept. 1906; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1354, Joseph Lariviere, 26 Sept. 1906; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1354, Joseph Lariviere, 14 July 1900; LAC, RG 15, Joseph Lariviere, 2 July 1907; LAC, RG 15, Thomas Lariviere, n.d.; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891, Green Lake; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[38]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[39]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[40]LAC, RG15, vol. 557, file 167734, Raphaël Morin, 22 Oct. 1887; LAC, RG15, vol. 557, file 167725, Betsy Cook Morin, 17 Oct 1887; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1337, Julie Bouvier Morin, 22 Sept. 1906; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, Marie Agnès Morin DeLaronde, 5 July 1900; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[41]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Green Lake; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Portage La Loche.

[42]Devine, *The People Who Own Themselves*, 224-230.

[43]Heather Devine noted that the use of "dit" or "dite" was an old French, and later French Canadian, practice required to differentiate between branches of a family due to the other common francophone Catholic practice of naming children for male of female saints, depending upon their gender. Devine, *The People Who Own Themselves*, 224-225.

[44]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[45]Charles Mair, *Through the Mackenzie Basin: An Account of the Signing of Treaty no. 8 and the Scrip Commission, 1899* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999), 70-71.

[46]Information regarding Jeanne's relationships, because only one of them had a formal marriage certificate, was gleaned through scrip applications for herself and her parents, and childbirth and census records. Without these sources, Jeanne's life would have remained a mystery.

[47]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1342, Bartholomy Cummings, 24 Sept 1906; and Meadow Lake Diamond Jubilee Heritage Group, *Heritage Memories: A History of Meadow Lake and Surrounding Districts* (North Battleford: Turner-Warwick Printers Inc., 1981).

[48]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 1342, Bartholomy Cummings.

[49]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1342, Bartholomy Cummings, 24 Sept 1906.

[50]Furthermore, the raising of children by grandparents was (and is) a common cultural practice in Metis and Cree communities throughout Western Canada, regardless of whether their parents are dead.

[51]LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, Catherine Jolibois Montgrand, 10 Sept. 1906; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1351, Alexandre Herman, 11 Sept. 1906; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1351, Julien Herman, 11 Sept. 1906; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[52]Similarly, George Murray, son of Jack Murray and Marie Elisabeth Jourdain, was adopted and raised by his maternal grandparents. Baptiste Jourdain, Jr. and Nanette Bekattla. The two sons of Marie Clara McKay and Alexandre McCallum were adopted and raised by their maternal grandmother Angele Lariviere, wife of Henry McKay and daughter of Charles Lariviere and a Coullouneur woman. Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1342, Bartholomy Cummings, 24 Sept 1906; LAC, RG 15, Adélaide Lafleur Le Jarre, 15 June 1900; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 1358, Clara McKay McCallum, 21 Sept. 1906.

[53]For evidence of this within Aboriginal societies see Patricia Albers, "Sioux Kinship in a Colonial Setting," *Dialectical Anthropology* 6 (1982): 253-269; Ella Deloria, "Kinship Was the All-Important Matter." In *Native Heritage: Personal Accounts by American Indians, 1790 to Present*, ed. Arlene Hirschfelder (New York: MacMillan, 1995), 9-11; and Harriet Gorham, "Families of Mixed Descent in the Western Great Lakes Region." In *Native People, Native Lands*, ed. B.A. Cox (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1987), 37-55.

[54]HBCA, B.84/e/6, Green Lake (English River District) Post Report, 1897. Because of his abilities, Beeston recommended that Dreaver be transferred to Fort Chipewyan, a more important post in another District.

[55]LAC, Canadian Census Returns,1891, Green Lake.

[56]LAC, Canadian Census Returns,1891, Green Lake.

[57]HBCA, B.89/e/15, Île à la Crosse, Post Report, 1892.

[58]LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, Antoine Moberly, 21 Sept. 1906.

[59]HBCA, B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 31 December 1892, to Henry J. Moberly from Sisters of St. Joseph Hospice.

[60]HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, n.d. to Henry J. Moberly from Sister Agnès.

[61]HBCA, B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1890-1892, 6 June 1892 to Henry J. Moberly from George Dreaver. Emphasis in original.

[62]HBCA, B.89/c/6, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1892-1901, 22 March 1893 to Henry J. Moberly from George Dreaver.

[63]HBCA, D.5/25, Governor George Simpson Correspondence Inward, 29 July 1849, to Gov. George Simpson from Eden Coleville, Île à la Crosse.

[64]Robert Jarvenpa provided an excellent study based on this interpretation in "The Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Chipewyan in the Late Fur Trade Period." In *Le Castor Fait Tout: Selected Papers of the 5th American Fur Trade Conference, 1985*, eds. Bruce Trigger, Toby Morantz, & Louise Dechêne (Montreal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987), 485-517.

[65]HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 1864-1865, 13 November 1864, 27 November 1864 and 5 February 1865; HBCA, B.89/a/32, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1862, 26 October 1862; and HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-1865, 18 October 1865.

[66]HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 22 October 1865.

[67]HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-1865, 5 November 1865.

[68]Similar conclusions about Metis self-identification have been observed in other study areas, such as Burley, Horsfal, and Brandon, *Structural Considerations of Metis Ethnicity*, 15, 34-35.

[69]Ritualized ways of establishing family reinforced a social value that asserted that family members could exist with or without biological relationships. Without social value, cultural concepts like adoption have no meaning. According to Patricia C. Albers, Sioux genealogical connections offered the possibility of collaboration and support for all daily activities, particularly working relationships. These genealogical connections themselves became working relationships that inspired social interaction. That is, genealogy became the primary idiom through which Aboriginal peoples ordered their social relations of production, trade, war, ceremony, and recreation. Family systems themselves were a form of language with meanings that both shaped and responded to social values and established cultural identity. David M. Schneider, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984), 54-55, 60; and Albers, "Sioux Kinship in a Colonial Setting," 251-253.

Chapter Three

Living in the Lands of their Mothers: Metis Wahkootowin Across the English River District

When asked by the clerk of the 1887 Halfbreed Claims Commission for the Treaty Six adhesion region of northwestern Saskatchewan, fifty-seven year old resident Raphaël Morin explained that, in his youth, he had lived at both Athabasca and Île à la Crosse, where his father had been employed in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company.[1] Born in Athabasca around 1830, as a young man Raphaël worked as a freighter for the HBC, and became a rancher after his retirement from the Company. Over the course of his career with the HBC, Raphaël lived at Île à la Crosse and Green Lake. He worked at the latter location until his retirement around 1881, at which time he and his wife, Elizabeth (Betsy) Cook of Lac La Ronge, moved to Devils Lake, near the Shell River to the south of Green Lake.[2] In his scrip application, Raphaël explained that he took his family to Devils Lake "to live in the land of my mother who was originally from the lands of [her] parents [because] we most of the time were in the said lands of her relatives as we had no interest in the lands ... where my father and myself' were born and raised.[3] Raphaël became a farmer in the land of his mother and maternal grandparents after working his entire adult life for the HBC. Raphaël's words, recorded in his scrip application at the 1887 Scrip Commission, were echoed by his sister, Marie Morin, in her application two years later. After her husband's death in 1880, Marie (b. 1840, Île à la Crosse), widow of HBC servant Peter Linklater, took her three youngest children to the Shell River area to live in the "country of her mother."[4] Similarly, their other sister, Sophie Morin (b. between 1844 and 1851, Île à la Crosse), wife of HBC servant William Linklater, stated in her 1889 application at Shell River that by 1874 she had moved to the Shell River district near Devils Lake, and presumably nearer to her brother and sister.[5]

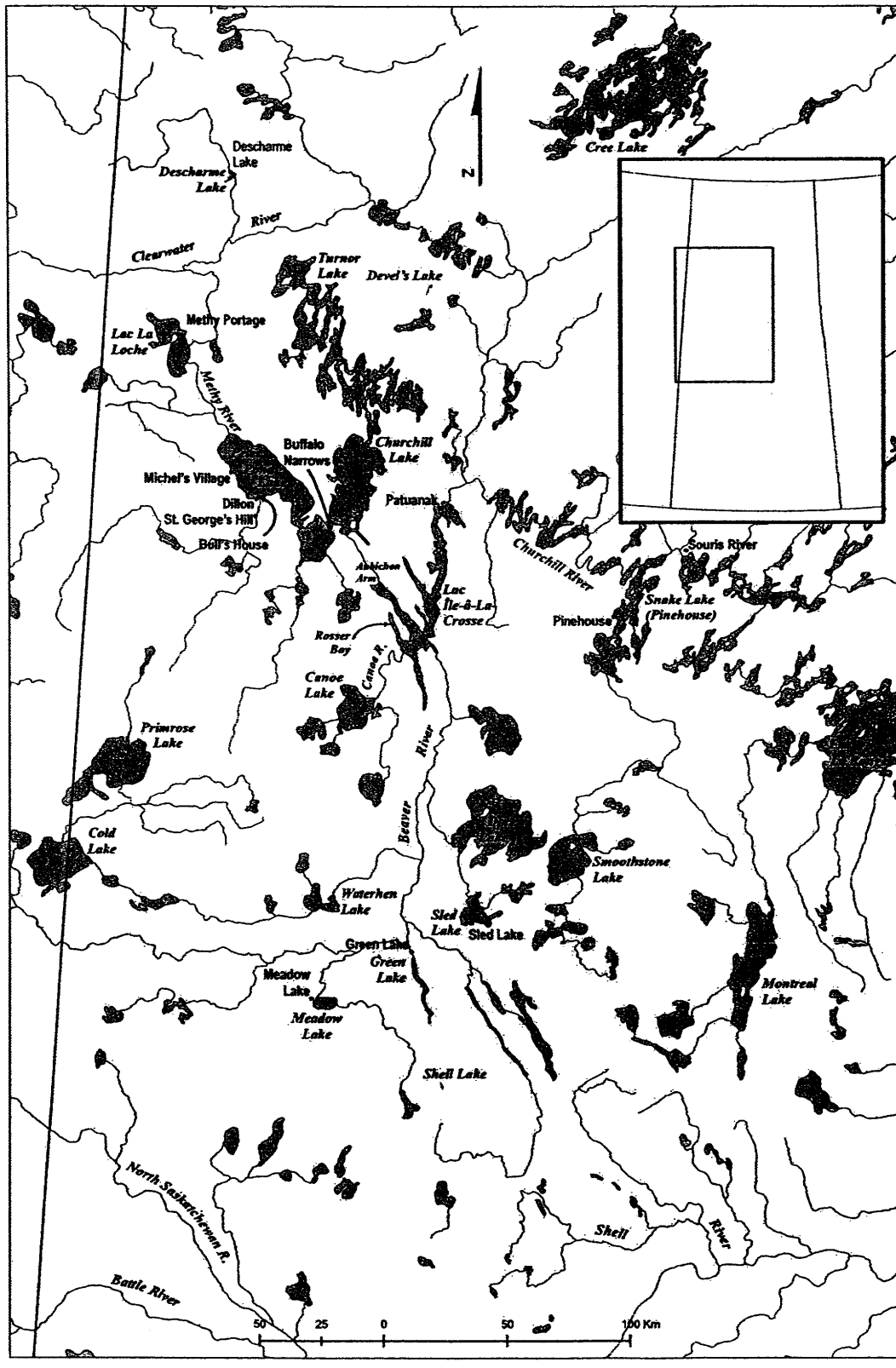
In a scrip application filed at Green Lake in 1887, eighty-four year old Pélagie Boucher, mother of Raphaël, Marie, and Sophie, was recorded by the Commissioners as being known "by the HalfBreeds and Indians generally as a halfbreed, the child of a French Canadian and an Indian [Montagnais] woman."[6] It is very likely that Pélagie's father was Louis Boucher of Berthierville, Quebec, and her mother was Marie-Joseph LeBlanc, a Dene woman from the English River District. Louis Boucher had worked for the North West Company at Île à la Crosse in the late eighteenth century and, by 1811, he and some of the family had apparently retired to Quebec.[7] However, at least two women carrying the Boucher surname remained in the English River District well after Louis' retirement. Born around 1803 at Portage La Loche, Pélagie married Antoine Morin, a French Canadian servant of the HBC at Île à la Crosse, when she was fifteen years of age. Several years later, by 1817, a Marguerite Boucher, likely Pélagie's sister, married Jean Baptiste Riel at Île à la Crosse. Marguerite and Jean Baptiste were the parents of Jean Louis Riel, father to the late nineteenth Metis political leader Louis Riel. However, Marguerite's life at Île à la Crosse ended early. By 1821 she was dead and her husband and son migrated to Quebec.[8] Meanwhile, Pélagie and Antoine remained in the District and had fifteen children, seven of whom were born at Athabasca or Portage La Loche, and the remainder at Île à la Crosse. Furthermore, ten of those children are known to have married and lived throughout northwestern Saskatchewan, from Portage La Loche in the north to Devils Lake in the south, and as far west as Meadow Lake. After her husband's death in 1873 at Île à la Crosse, Pélagie lived with several of her children and grandchildren in the Green Lake region.[9]

What is interesting about the three Morin siblings' claim that they had moved near Green Lake, the land of their mother and maternal grandparents, was that Pélagie Boucher's mother was identified as a Montagnais (Dene) woman and Pélagie was born in the Portage La Loche region, much further north. Furthermore, Raphaël acknowledged that he was born in and lived for a period of time at Athabasca to the north of Portage La Loche, and

Marie and Sophie were both born in Île à la Crosse. Yet, none of these individuals claimed their homeland to be either those territories known to be Dene and/or Metis Dene. Rather, they had all moved to places around Green Lake in the 1870s and declared it to be their homeland and, in Raphaël and Sophie's case, the country of their mother. In the 1880s, Raphaël had deliberately positioned himself at Devils Lake, a location on the Green Lake trail—that important vein of the English River District's supply route. Positioning himself on the Green Lake trail indicates that Raphaël had not, despite his retirement, entirely divorced himself from the English River District's economy, but rather positioned himself where there were several viable economic opportunities. At the very least, based on the statements given in declaratory statements included on their scrip applications, as adults all three Morin children regarded the territory around Devil's Lake/Shell Lake as the southern boundary of their mother's homeland. They clearly stated that they believed the homeland of their mother and her family to be broadly defined to include much of the English River District, rather than Lake Athabasca, where their father had worked as an HBC servant for the first several years of his employment, Portage La Loche, where their mother was born, or even Île à la Crosse, where many of them had been born and eventually married. Clearly, the notion of homeland for the nineteenth century Metis encompassed a regional territory where people worked, traveled, and socialized with one another (see **Figure 4**).

The three middle-aged children of Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher, one of the first generation couples from Île à la Crosse, conveyed to the Scrip Commission that their mother and maternal grandparents created for them a sense of belonging in the English River District. This, in turn, reflects the regionally defined matrilocal influences that gave shape, structure, and contour to a broadly geographically defined, intergenerational wahkootowin. The aim of this chapter is to analyze and discuss the genealogical record of Metis families from northwestern Saskatchewan with an emphasis on the community of Île à la Crosse, exploring the nature of their association with one another and the places where they lived.

Figure 4. Map of Northwestern Saskatchewan

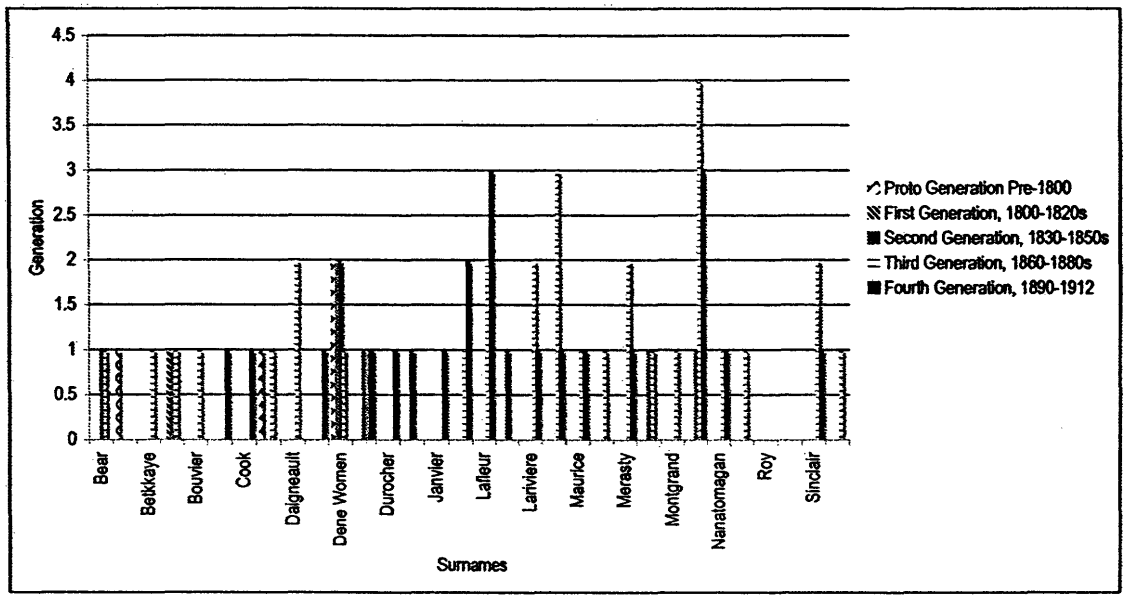


Source: Map projection - UTM Zone 13N, NAD1983; Map source - National Atlas of Canada Vector level - 1:2,000,000, Natural Resources Canada.

An analysis of Île à la Crosse's genealogical record must be done in conjunction with a larger analysis of the northwestern Saskatchewan genealogy because of the regional matrilocal residency pattern. In essence, women served as the anchor for northwestern Saskatchewan culture and society, and through an evaluation of their surnames, we can see that outsider males in particular linked themselves to these women intergenerationally (see **Figure 5**). Furthermore, it is virtually impossible to separate the English River District families from one another due to the high degrees of interfamilial, and therefore intercommunity, intermarriage. Northwestern Saskatchewan communities were founded and inhabited by the same core families since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which influenced the region's subsequent development both economically and socially through expression of cultural values as encompassed within a worldview and expressed behaviourally. It was therefore important to construct a regionally-based genealogy for northwestern Saskatchewan, rather than individual family genealogies based on the Western model of nuclear, or even extended, families. Once the regional genealogy was created, production of extended family profiles was undertaken to assess and evaluate the overall traits and characteristics of Metis culture and society that emerged at Île à la Crosse, historically the centre of and largest community in the English River District. Through an analysis of the genealogical record, two patterns emerged that were related to the development of a Metis cultural identity in northwestern Saskatchewan. Metis culture and society in the English River District was patterned on regionally defined matrilocal organizational structure formed around intergenerational female-centred family networks. Women such as Pélagie Boucher Morin incorporated outsider males through the institution of marriage. Their children were born and belonged to the country because of their mother's lineage. While the matrilocal residency was a regional pattern, families organized themselves at the local level in groupings determined by a patronymic connection. That is, surnames such as Morin became an important focal point for identifying family groupings in communities such as Île à la Crosse. In short, this is

the story of those Metis families who not only belonged to the English River District but actively chose to engage in the gathering of relatives through the development of a unique cultural identity based on wahkootowin (also see **Table 2**).

Figure 5. Marriages To Outsider Males as a Feature of Matrilocality in the English River District by Generation



Sources: Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche.

Popular depictions of the Metis are typically romanticized, with overtones of a culturally-sanctioned machismo, perhaps a consequence of the vigorous physical demands of fur trading, voyageuring, and buffalo hunting—important sectors of Metis economies writ large. Notions of Metis culture have largely relied on a highly descriptive and overly romantic mythology, full of the *joi de vivre* of voyageurs and hunters singing and fiddling as they paddled through the wilderness or roamed the open plains in search of buffalo herds. Filling out this idyllic picture of Metis men were descriptions of Metis camps, wintering sites, parishes, and villages filled with women and children, raucous dances with wild fiddling, and fancily dressed women who had a love for European manufactured goods

such as dresses, ribbons, and china. While these characteristics may have established the basis of the archetypical, masculine Metis culture, it did not necessarily establish the basis for determining the foundational structures of Metis cultural identity or family life.

Within the basis of any stereotype is the smallest glimmer of reality. Whether on the lakes and rivers of northwestern Saskatchewan or the plains where buffalo hunting dominated, the demands of the fur trade in all of its configurations encouraged a male-centric approach to living, but those events were but a small part of nineteenth century Metis culture and society. The other side of Metis cultural identity and lifeways is located in the activities of women and the daily functioning of family life, much of which can be neither romanticized nor glamourized because it was filled with the mundane chores of food collection and preparation, child care, and home maintenance. In his journal, David Thompson wrote that Aboriginal women—particularly Cree, from whom his wife Charlotte Small, a Metis woman born at Île à la Crosse, was descended—expressed far greater concern for ritual and ceremony than men. He saw this concern manifested in the daily activities of Cree women, noting that they carefully disposed of animal remains to avoid displeasing game spirits, and that they were often the storytellers on long winter nights in English River.[10] By focusing on the external or public aspects of Metis society—made easier by references to them in a host of published sources—a full rendering of the socio-cultural history is obscured. Peeling back the layers of the historical record, however, reveals a community where women were significant actors in the process of that society's creation and development.

Female-centred social organization and matrilocal residency was not unique to Île à la Crosse or northwestern Saskatchewan. Keith R. Widder's research into the eighteenth century Metis community of French and Chippewa (Ojibwa) descent on the American side of Lake Superior concluded that, "[t]he Metis family was a dynamic one, shaped by tensions caused by the intersection of European and Indian beliefs, technology, and

material objects."[11] In the case of these American Metis communities, Chippewa mothers retained close ties with their own people and ways while husbands and fathers adapted as much as possible to the females' cultural values and societal organization. As they accepted the opportunity to trade within their wives' family-based trade network, the men also learned to accept the transitory nature of a Chippewa lifestyle driven by the annual food cycle. Similarly, as Metis communities grew up around the southern Great Lakes, the Chippewa mode of living determined the seasonal habits and cultural values of their Metis relatives.[12] The reason for Chippewa culture's great influence on Metis society was directly related to the influence of Metis women over the lives of their families. Women, Widder concluded, "remained in the midst of their own people and surroundings. They continued to speak their Native language and did not have to uproot themselves from the environment in which they had grown up."[13]

In his ethnographic study of Île à la Crosse, Philip T. Spaulding interviewed three female elders in the 1960s about both the historical and contemporary family structures in order to assess the nature of Île à la Crosse society and its cultural continuity. Spaulding concluded that Île à la Crosse had a patrilocal form of residency and bilateral family structure, but that family was recognized as a group of people who lived together in what he termed a residential group. Women, more typically, according to Spaulding, while remaining in the region, went to live with their husband's residential group. While this living arrangement was the ideal, Spaulding noted that there were instances where women and their spouses remained with her family's residential group, rather than live patrilocally. Regardless of where they lived, households belonged to the oldest woman in the residential group, and she had final authority over that space. While family denoted with whom an individual resided, relatives were more broadly defined as being both those people who were biological relations on the male and female family lines and those individuals with whom one developed a close relationship. In both instances, it was important to refer to people regarded as relatives by the appropriate familial term, which in turn inspired that a

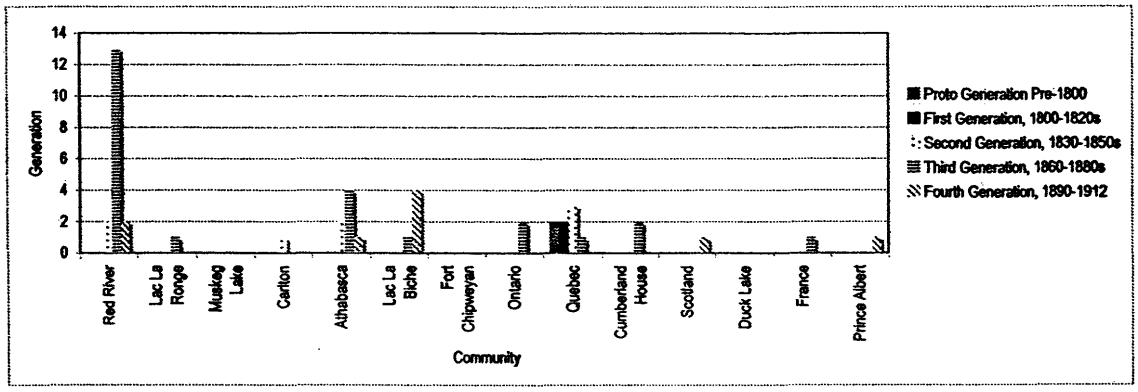
proper set of behaviours be displayed to that person in interpersonal dealings. Relatives, regardless of biological closeness or connectedness, were treated properly according to the relational term used. So, all community elders were known as either nokum (grandmother) or moshom (grandfather), while young children were nosim (grandchild). A relational system governed how the young and old were to be treated, whether or not they were actual, biological relatives.[14]

While revealing important socio-cultural characteristics of Île à la Crosse families, Spaulding's work does not account for the early development of the society or for the integration of newcomers, typically outsider male traders, into the genealogical nexus. Genealogical reconstruction of Metis communities such as Île à la Crosse is one means to actually move the discourse about Metis cultural identity away from stereotypes and generalizations. Genealogies are typically designed to highlight the lifespan of an individual by recording important life events and then tangentially link the individual to his/her nuclear and then extended families. However, genealogies are also capable of revealing larger patterns of familial and community relationships. Familial, community, and regionally-based territorial patterns emerge through the examination of these individuals. By connecting individuals to relatives as far extended intergenerationally as possible, patterns of community behaviour, processes of socialization, values, and a sense of self can be discerned—in short, wahkootowin is revealed.[15] For the Metis of Île à la Crosse, wahkootowin was expressed intergenerationally over this hundred year time-span via the complex linking and re-linking of families through marital alliances and choices of godparents for newborns. It was also expressed through older people converting to Catholicism in order to be married, a possible indicator that adults born outside the region were attempting to belong to a community of families. The types of choices about with whom to ally economically were really choices based on establishing social relationships that were the foundational blocks for cultural identity and intergenerational family and community alliances throughout northwestern Saskatchewan.

Northwestern Saskatchewan Metis society historically had a regionally defined matrilocal organization. That is, Metis and Indian women were the stabilizing force remaining in the region while men, typically trade employees, were more migratory because of employment demands within the District. In the instance of Pélagie and Marguerite Boucher, these two women—the daughters of a French Canadian trader and Dene mother—remained in the region of their birth and eventually married French Canadian traders. While Pélagie lived into her eighties and had quite a large family, Marguerite died early, and so her husband returned to the land of his birth to raise their son. Those who remained and chose to join the wahkootowin, like French Canadian Antoine Morin, Pélagie's husband, were historically acculturated into the regional family structure by women born into, remaining within, and shaping the cultural space of wahkootowin. Alone or unmarried, Antoine could have been a profitable trader or, at the very least, an effective Company servant within the economic regime in the English River District, as HBC clerk George Dreaver had been at Green Lake. But Antoine's choice to belong to the emergent matrilocal society of the region precipitated a decision that saw him, and men like him, remain in the English River District for the remainder of their lives and actively participate in the development of a socio-cultural life defined by the treatment of relatives (see **Figure 6**). Women, whether daughters of fur traders or not, became the centripetal force that shaped the community as outsider males entered the region and integrated themselves into the emerging society through wahkootowin, thus establishing the first Metis generation some twenty years after the establishment of Île à la Crosse (see **Appendix B**).

It should be noted that in a few isolated instances young men from Île à la Crosse and other northwestern communities married women from outside the region, bringing them back and acculturating them into the community. A few examples of this occurred between George Bekattla and Nacy Kippling/Kyplain of Red River and brothers Raphaël and Cyprien Morin marrying Elizabeth (Betsy) and Marie Cook of the Lac La Ronge

Figure 6. Communities for Men Born Outside Who Married Into English River District Families By Generation

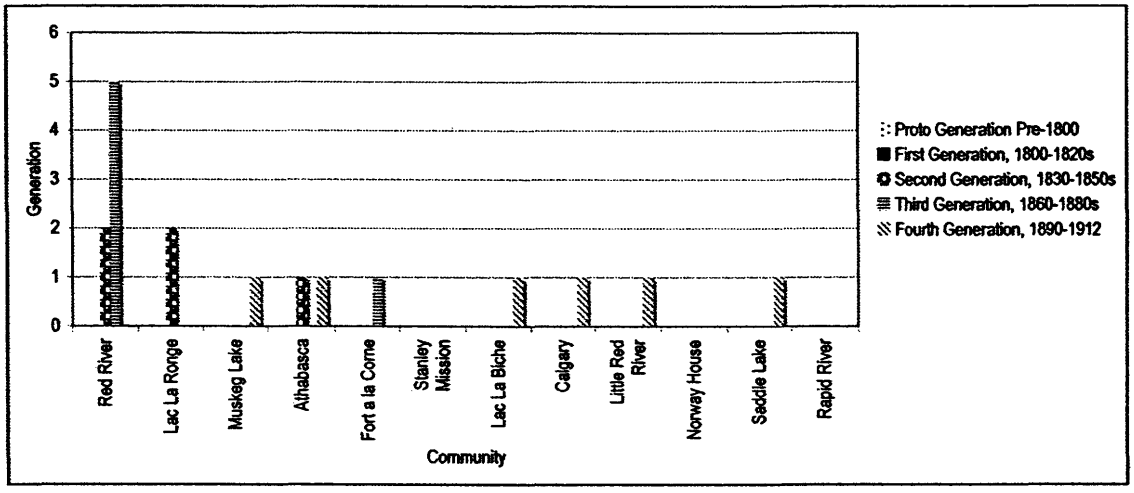


Sources: Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche.

region. Similarly, in the third generation female newcomers were brought into the local wahkootowin, such as Hélène Lafonde from Muskeg Lake, who married Pierre Marie Morin, son of Raphaël Morin and Betsy Cook. However, on the whole, while there were far fewer women acculturated into English River than their male counterparts, the wahkootowin of families with these characteristics, in turn, were then connected up to a wider family nexus spread throughout Rupertsland or based in Red River (see **Figure 7**).

There was an inherent tension between the regionally-defined matrilocal organizational structure and an imprinting of male-derived surnames at the family and community levels that served to identify family groupings. People not carrying these surnames are, in a sense, disenfranchized from the families when only the male lineages are counted and the female lines are ignored. Therefore, to fully see and understand the geographical range and social complexity of wahkootowin, both male and female lines must be equally scrutinized. Locally, family surnames were brought into communities such as Île à la Crosse by outsider males in the four generational stages identified through genealogical reconstruction. In *Metis of the Mackenzie District*, Richard Slobodin argued

Figure 7. Communities for Women Born Outside Who Married Into English River District Families By Generation



Sources: Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche.

that a widespread feature of Metis family and social life was based on the development of a cultural identity centred on a patronymic connection or the carrying of and emphasis on the family surnames as a means of inspiring and creating social and cultural unity. This was explained by the vastness of the region(s) in which they lived and the range of economic activities in which they participated, coupled with the relatively small populations.[16] Through the genealogical reconstruction of Île à la Crosse, this feature of family and social life was clearly evident. The Euro-derived practice of adopting and perpetuating male lines through the use of surnames as a patronymic connection was a useful means for distinguishing between families in northwestern Saskatchewan, particularly as they grew in size over the generations.

Surnames became an important hallmark of Metis history and culture—one's name connected an individual to the history of a region and its people, as well as demonstrated connections between communities and regions. So, while men may have been born in Quebec, in the parishes of Red River, or other communities outside of the English River District, their surnames resonated across northwestern Saskatchewan as well as into other

regions of western and northern Canada, establishing large patronymic connections. For instance, the Desjarlais name, one of the second generation family names at Île à la Crosse, originated in New France as de Gerlaise, but, as a consequence of the fur trade, was by the early 1800s associated with Red River, northwestern Saskatchewan, Lac La Biche in Alberta, and communities across the southern Plains.[17] In Île à la Crosse, two of the earliest known men with that name were Labiche Desjarlais (perhaps attesting to a connection to Lac La Biche located further west) whose child, George, was adopted and raised by Cyprien Morin, and Thomas Desjarlais, Jr., who was originally from St. Boniface in Manitoba and whose eleven children were all born in Île à la Crosse in the mid to late nineteenth century.[18] The Desjarlais' of the English River District came to establish themselves at Île à la Crosse and Green Lake by intermarrying with families such as the Aubichons, Bouviers, Opikokews, Malboeufs, and Mersastys. As with other English River District families, when the Desjarlais traveled throughout the region or left and went to other trading districts, they would have met people with whom they shared a name and, therefore, a patronymic connection. While an important socio-cultural unifier, surnames do not reveal the complexity of intermarriage or, therefore, the family structures themselves. The full range of interfamilial connectedness can be easily overlooked and the role of women in defining that organization becomes obscured if the quest to locate familial, community, and regional unity connections rests solely on surnames.

The full scope of both matrilocal regional residency and local patronymic connections are revealed through genealogical analysis and a description of the regional genealogy of those families who were a part of wahkootowin, as presented in the northwestern Saskatchewan Metis families database. The people of Île à la Crosse and the surrounding region of the English River District were organized into one large database rather than individual family groups sectioned into separate patronymically derived databases because of the high degree of interconnection between northwestern Saskatchewan families. Furthermore, to ensure complete genealogies for each family,

utilizing all the records available for English River District was essential. Therefore, the records for Portage La Loche and Green Lake were included within the database to demonstrate the range of interconnectedness between communities (see **Figure 3**). The genealogies were created using Hudson's Bay Company records for the English River District (1810-1906); the scrip records within the Treaty 6 adhesion for Green Lake taken between 1887 and 1889, and the Treaty 10 region at Île à la Crosse and Portage La Loche taken between 1906 and 1907; the baptismal, burial, and marital records maintained by Oblate missionaries at Île à la Crosse between 1867 to 1912, as well as those from Green Lake (1875-1912) and Portage La Loche (1890-1912); the 1881, 1891, and 1901 Canadian census; and a few textual accounts from the region, such as local histories, dictionaries of surnames, and early fur trade publications.[19]

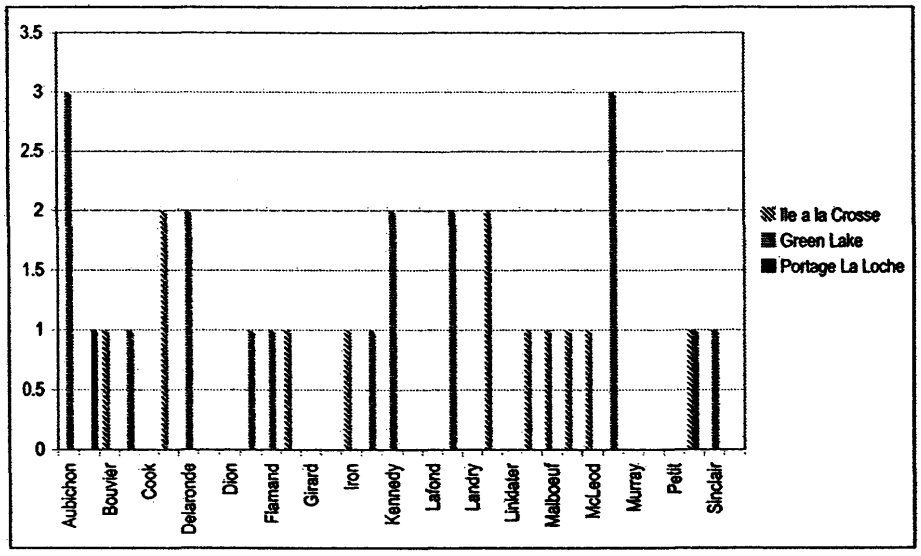
Church records do not exist from Île à la Crosse prior to 1869 due to a number of fires and floods, as well as the lack the resources necessary to transport copies to either the Red River or Montreal diocese during those early years of the mission's history. Yet, although incomplete, the Church records are the most consistent and reliable data source for each family, providing the best range of recorded information about the life spans and biological and social relatedness of individuals by connecting them to parents and godparents, as well as brothers, sisters, grandparents, aunts, and uncles. After the mission records, scrip applications are the next most valuable because they provide permanent data on earlier generations by posing questions regarding an individual's parentage, although that information often lacks precision in terms of dating. For instance, in the case of Sophie Morin the year of her birth appears to be an estimate at best, not an actual date. When compared to the Church and census records, some individuals have wildly varied birth years. Dates aside, Church record information is supported by scrip and census records, providing, beyond basic genealogical data, additional information such as occupations, places of residence, languages spoken, and educational background. The HBC records contain contextual information about those contracted as servants and temporary

labourers, but not their families (although there are incidental passages in journals and correspondence books that name women and children as well as information about the social, economic, and cultural behaviour and community interaction).

Separately, none of the available records provide enough information to construct a fuller genealogical rendering for any one family, but used together they allow for the development of fairly representative genealogical sketches of a number of English River District families. Regardless, for some families the records only begin to provide a basic outline of their history in the region. In all cases, additional resources, such as the Dene Elder's Project publications, community histories, and consultation with living descendants, were required to complete and contextualize the genealogies and demonstrate the range and vitality of wahkootowin.

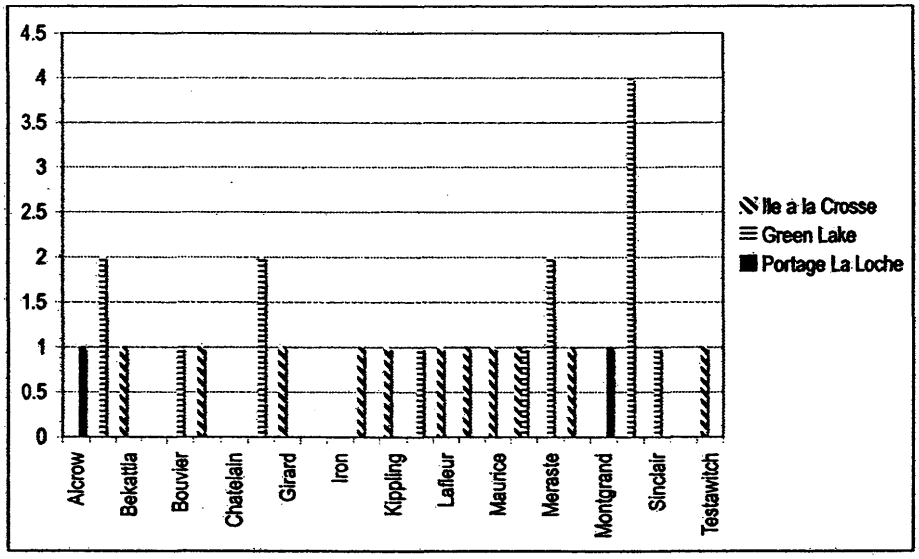
Development of a regional database revealed the high degree of interfamilial connections, be they Metis or Indian, connecting Île à la Crosse to other northwestern Saskatchewan communities. For example, the Lalibertes and Morins, two of the largest families in the database, were linked to the three major communities of Île à la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche and virtually all the smaller centres throughout the region such as Meadow Lake, Souris River, Canoe Lake, Devil's Lake, Lac aux Serpent, Deers Lake, and Bull's House. As a result, these two families are closely linked to one another as well as to other families associated with one or more of the English River District communities. In addition to their connections to the Laliberte family, the Morins were connected through marriage to the Dions and Cooks from the La Ronge region, the Lafonds from the Muskeg Lake area, the Girards and Jourdains of Île à la Crosse, the Linklaters of Devils Lake, and the Delarondes of Green Lake (see **Figure 8**). Similarly, the Lalibertes were connected to the Morins of Île à la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche, the Bekattlas of Bull's House, the Maurices and Testawitchs of Portage La Loche, the Jourdains and Merastes of Green Lake, the Irons of Canoe Lake, the Lafleurs of Reindeer Lake, the Bells of Fort à la Corne, and the Lafleurs of Île à la Crosse to name only a few (see **Figure 9**).

Figure 8. Locations Associated With Families Intermarried with the Morins of the English River District by Patronymic Connection



Sources: Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche.

Figure 9. Locations Associated With Families Intermarried with the Lalibertes of the English River District by Patronymic Connection



Sources: Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche.

Through marriage, then, the wahkootowin of the Morins and Lalibertes extended into seven northwestern Saskatchewan communities, as well as several communities removed geographically from the historical context of the region, such as Muskeg Lake, which is located considerably to the south near Fort Carlton. Through these interfamilial connections, the web of connectedness between Metis families expanded throughout the District. For instance, through their Bekattla relations, the Lalibertes were, albeit distantly, related to the Jourdains of Green Lake and Janviers of Whitefish River, while the Morins, through their Girard relations, could assert a familial relationship with the Aubichons of Île à la Crosse, Bekattlas of Bull's House, and the Misponas/Le'Esperance family of Île à la Crosse (see **Appendices C & D**).

Based on the available genealogical data, a personalized profile for each individual was constructed within the database of the northwestern Saskatchewan Metis families, detailing personal information and identifying the links to other individuals, which, in turn, demonstrated a large and complex web of intercommunity and interfamilial relationships that established the foundation for the social and cultural life of the Metis of northwestern Saskatchewan. For each listed individual, a "card" was created detailing a range of personal information, such as full name, date and place of birth, date and location of baptism, date of death and burial, location of grave, names of godparents, religious denomination(s), years and kind of education acquired, occupations, any racial or cultural identification, languages spoken, and any other pertinent personal information revealed in the records. Women were listed under their maiden rather than married surname within the northwestern Saskatchewan Metis families database both to preserve knowledge of their immediate families and demonstrate the wahkootowin that they created for themselves and their children through marriage (see **Appendix E**).

Within the northwestern Saskatchewan Metis families database, married couples were linked to one another with the date and location of either the wedding or of their union. Directly above the names of the couple are the names of both sets of parents,

thus establishing a continuing link with the families of origin while the names of any children appear below those of their parents and serve as links to the personalized cards of each child. So, for any individual and/or couple, up to three generations of a family are displayed when searching the northwestern Saskatchewan Metis families database. In the case of multiple marriages, adoptions, or any other complicated form(s) of familial relationships, there are additional linkages established by the software via visual indicators that appear by an individual's name. Other cues appear that serve as buttons that transport an individual's genealogy to alternate relatives and, therefore, other genealogies to which they connect. Interestingly, the vast majority of English River District marriages—whether Church sanctioned or not—lasted upwards of twenty or more years and ended only with death.

While uncommon, there were instances where men and women had upwards of four "spouses," although typically not concurrently. Remarriage, when it occurred, was typically after the death of one of the original partners, and instances of quick remarriage occurred when widows and widowers were left with small children. For instance, Baptiste dit Mistikechak Natomagan (b. 1846 Île à la Crosse), the son of Natomagan and Catherine Lariviere, married his first wife, Eliza Durocher, and together the couple had six children. Eliza died in 1903 at Île à la Crosse at about sixty years of age, and three years later Baptiste married Marie Anne Fisher, a woman twenty-five years his junior and with whom he had another three children. An orphan, Marie Anne had been raised at the La Loche mission after the death of her parents, who were believed to be Louis Fisher and Angélique Rabbit-Skin.[20] The case of the Natomagans fits a pattern of older men marrying younger women and having additional children. However, there were also instances of two older individuals marrying after the deaths of their respective spouses. Josephte Durocher (b. 1846 Jackfish Lake) was first married to Bazil Meraste at Green Lake in 1861, with whom she had eight children. After Bazil's death Josephte married James Nicol Sinclair (b. 1843 Fort Francis), an HBC officer at Green Lake who had previously been married to an

unnamed woman and with whom he had one son, Alex Sinclair. When they married in 1879, Josephte and James Nicol were both in their thirties and able to have four more children. In a similar incident, Angèle Laliberte (b. 1836 or 1844 Portage La Loche) married her younger second husband, Raphaël Souris (b. 1851 Dore Lake) at Portage La Loche in 1885 after the death of her first husband François Maurice (b. 1831 Montreal). Raphaël likewise had been associated with two women, Elise and Suzanne, prior to his marriage to Angèle, but nothing more is known about them. Fifty years of age when she remarried, Angèle and Raphaël did not have any children of their own, but adopted two of her grandsons, Charles, son of Julien Aubichon and Rosalind Maurice, and Arthur, son of Jean Thomas Lariviere and Agnès Maurice, raising the boys as their sons.

Although rare, some individuals participated in a form of serial monogamy. That is, with no record of official and/or Church sanctioned marriages, some men and women had multiple partners over the course of their lifetimes that resulted in brothers and sisters sharing a mother or father but not the other parent. The example of Jeanne Bekattla from the previous chapter was one of the more complex cases of multiple partners to sort out, but her case was not an isolated one. Paul Delaronde, Sr., for example, was clearly engaged in a form of serial monogamy during his lifetime in the English River District. Paul was known to have been associated with at least two women, Marguerite Sinclair (also Quinclair), from the mid-1860s to mid-1870s, and Sophie Morin, beginning in the mid-1870s, although there is no Church record to indicate a Catholic ceremony sanctioning either of these relationships.[21] Additionally, the last child of Paul and Marguerite was born the same year as Marie, the only recorded child of Paul and Sophie.[22] However, based on the circumstantial evidence, the relationships with Marguerite and Sophie were "official" in the lives of these couples. With Marguerite, Paul had five children, and with Sophie one child. Additional details about the lives of the Delarondes were discussed in Nicole St-Onge's recent book, *Saint-Laurent, Manitoba: Evolving Metis Identities, 1870-1914.* Paul Delaronde, Sr. was well known to the clergy of Red River, who considered him one

of Saint-Laurent's better educated citizens in the 1870s. However, by the middle of that decade, Delaronde was beginning to make questionable decisions in the opinion of the clergy. In an 1874 letter, Father Taché expressed disappointment in Delaronde's living arrangements. According to Taché, Sophie Morin had been brought to Red River by her first husband, William Linklater. William then "gave her" to Paul, who left with Sophie for the "prairies or somewhere north."[23] Meanwhile, William had gone to Duck Bay to find himself another wife.[24] On the surface, it would seem easy to condemn William Linklater for "giving" his wife to Paul Delaronde, and clearly Father Taché shared that sentiment. However, another way to interpret what occurred was that Sophie Morin Linklater found a means by which she could return home to the lands of her mother—northwestern Saskatchewan—while her husband William made a choice to remain in Manitoba nearer to his own family. By the 1881 census for that region, Paul Sr. and Sophie Morin Linklater and their daughter Marie were living in the household of Jean Baptiste Aubichon, Sr. at Green Lake, and in the 1891 census, Marie and her husband Adolphus Primo, age twenty-three, were living in the household of Paul Delaronde, Sr., although they were listed as "domestic[s]" rather than dependents.[25]

Based upon the information available in the mission records, there is no official history of polygamy amongst the Metis of English River, although it was recorded to have occurred amongst the Cree and Dene.[26] However, in the entirety of records relating to the English River District, there was one documented example of polygamy. Antoine Archie, known alternately as Old Shazhounen, the son of Kkitssazhe In'ka, had married two sisters as a young man, one of whom may have been named Lizette David. Antoine was also known to have had three children William Shazhounen or Archie, and Jean Shazhounen and Marie Shazhounen. Of the three, only William listed Lizette David as his mother. However, apparently after the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission at Île à la Crosse, Antoine Archie was informed by a priest that he could only have one wife if he were to belong to the Church. As a result of this ultimatum, Antoine put Lizette,

William's mother, aside and continued to live with her sister. Consequently, William Archie, according to his family, grew up in poverty because he and his mother had no male relatives to provide for them.

What occurred with William Archie's extended relations, who, under ideal circumstances, would have been able to take in him and his mother, is unknown. However, if any relatives were present, they were unable to care for this woman and her young son. Perhaps it is a testament to the influence that the Church exerted on the extended family system as a consequence of the Dene's early acceptance of Catholicism, or perhaps there were no extended relatives upon whom this family could call. Although wahkootowin was the ideal family structure to which people aspired, as in any society the ideal was not always attainable. Despite his family's ill fortune, William was himself able to improve his standing as an adult when he established a marital connection to the Maurice family, which in turn connected him to a larger family nexus that included the Laliberte and Morin families. William eventually married Marie Angèle Maurice, daughter of François Maurice and Angèle Laliberte, and was known to have skills with traditional medicines, which may have made him a valuable family asset for the Maurice/Laliberte family matrix (see **Appendix F**). As an elderly woman, Lizette and another woman lived together and struggled to support one another by fishing and trapping. Regardless of the region's matilocal organizational structure, without husbands or the support of male relatives, women often struggled to survive, just as they did elsewhere in western Canada during the fur trade. This predicament, coupled with Roman Catholic influence over traditional socio-cultural family structures, in this instance indeed caused hardship. It is unlikely that this is the only case of polygamy within Metis families in the English River District. However, given the history of Christianity's attempts to end polygamous practices amongst other people, it seems reasonable to conclude that any history of polygamy in northwestern Saskatchewan amongst the Metis would not be reflected within the records, but rather only known through family histories, as in the case of the Archie/Shazhounen family.[27]

Assessing familial roles in Île à la Crosse society, with special attention to the emergence of a cultural identity, is based on locating patterns within the genealogical data for each of the forty-three families. The analysis of Île à la Crosse's genealogical reconstruction will be discussed in terms of the four identified generations. The genealogical data were divided into four generations so as to make the immense amount of data for the approximately 3,300 people manageable. The four generations were determined partly by attention to a chronology that underscored the lifecycles of groups of people, as they were born, married, and began their families, and by a more contextual periodization marked by waves of new traders entering the region and integrating into the community through marriage. Each generational cohort comprised a period of between twenty and thirty-years marking the time when young people matured, married, and began establishing their own families.

Genealogical reconstruction highlighted a number of historical socio-cultural patterns in northwestern Saskatchewan Metis society related to both matrilocal residency and patronymic connections. In order to present these patterns in a meaningful way, the profiles of two families in particular, the Lalibertes and Morins, will be highlighted to more fully explore these patterns of regional matrilocal residency and local patronymic connections. The Morins and Lalibertes were selected not because they are more important than others in the region but rather because the range of records and contextual information available for their four generations is more complete than for others. In the case of the Morins, the overall northwestern Saskatchewan Metis families database contains 189 individuals with that surname, while the Laliberte family consists of 119 people. The number of people within those wahkootowin(s) expands markedly when relatives not bearing the Morin and Laliberte surnames are included. These two families also had a significant degree of geographical mobility throughout the English River District, and because of the large amount of territory they moved through they further impacted upon other Metis and Indian families in the region that do not appear to have resided in the same

range of locations. A careful analysis of the entire genealogical record revealed the pattern of outsider males (both non-Native and Metis) marrying into local, female-based families. As will be seen, this basic pattern of marital alliance resonated throughout the District's history.

One such case was that of Antoine Laliberte, born in the late 1700s in Quebec and married to a Belanger woman while trading in the Saskatchewan region.[28] While the first name of Antoine's wife is not revealed in the available records, her children's scrip applications claimed that she was a "Halfbreed" from the northwest.[29] As with his wife, little else is known about Antoine Laliberte except that he was an HBC trader and that in 1817 he and his wife had a son born at Carlton named Pierre (who came to be known as Pierriche) Laliberte. According to the Île à la Crosse Post Journal, a HBC servant named Antoine Laliberte was buried on 4 June 1889 at the post.[30] There was no record of this event in the Catholic Church records, but it can be presumed that this Antoine was the patriarch of the Laliberte family in northwestern Saskatchewan as there was no other Antoine Laliberte to whom this event could be matched.

Antoine's son, Pierriche, first entered the service of the HBC in 1838 and married Sarazine Morin in 1842 or 1843 at Île à la Crosse. Sarazine, daughter of Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher and eldest sister of Raphaël, Marie, and Sophie Morin, was born at Slave Lake around 1824. Throughout his lifetime, Pierriche worked in Île à la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage la Loche as a labourer, trader, steersman, postmaster, and eventually became a private freighter and farmer in the Green Lake region. However, he did not live his entire adult life in the English River District.[31] In 1849, Pierriche retired from the HBC and moved to Red River with his new family, but in 1851 reengaged as a steersman for the Company and returned to the English River District where he remained.[32] Several of Pierriche and Sarazine's children were educated; the eldest sons, specifically Alexandre, attended school at Red River. After the couple's return to English River in 1851, Pierriche first worked for the Company as postmaster at Portage La Loche, where he was in charge

of the trade and transport business, and then at Green Lake in the same capacity. Pierriche and Sarazine were one of the second generation couples of northwest Saskatchewan, and because of their association with so many communities through their father's occupational movements, the Laliberte children and their descendants were well-represented throughout the territory and associated quite closely with their mother's relatives. Like her mother, Pélagie Boucher, Sarazine was a stabilizing force that centred the Laliberte family in the region of her birth because, like Pélagie, few of her descendants migrated out of the region at least prior to 1912. Just as her mother before her, Sarazine lived out her life in the District, gave birth to fourteen children in total, all of whom made their homes in the region. Sarazine and Pierriche additionally raised her granddaughter, Adélaide, in Île à la Crosse after the death of the child's mother, ensuring that she would be raised in close association with her maternal relatives.

After the first generation of families was firmly established at Île à la Crosse, they moved outward into the other communities, perhaps pursuing alternative economic opportunities in new locales. As they did so, Euro-Canadian, Metis, and Indian men married the daughters of first generation couples, thus establishing the second and third generations, which, like the first, hinged on the stability of women as keepers and shapers of wahkootowin (see **Appendices G & H**). The Laliberte and Morin families lived in northwestern Saskatchewan, working as traders, hunters, trappers, and fisherman, and, as detailed in the mission records, were linked to the Catholic Church in the ritualized celebrations of life and death. As with the first generation, several daughters of both Pierriche Laliberte and Antoine Morin married incoming outsider males, drawing them into the ever-expanding wahkootowin of their parents' families and simultaneously establishing wahkootowin for their own newly formed immediate families.

Young women, it seems, rarely, if ever, left the region, but rather remained behind in the territory of their birth to marry incoming traders sent by the HBC or young Metis men from their generation who also remained behind. As was already stated, Pierriche

Laliberte and Sarazine Morin's eldest daughter, Angèle Laliberte married her first husband, François Maurice of Montreal, in the late 1850s or early 1860s. Over the course of their marriage, Angèle Laliberte and François Maurice had six sons and six daughters.[33] Three of those daughters married HBC employees working at Île à la Crosse, Portage La Loche, and Souris River, while four of their sons were recorded HBC employees who married into the Île à la Crosse and Portage La Loche families of Lariviere, Couillonneur, Bouvier, and Nanatamogan. When François died at forty-nine years of age, Angèle married Raphaël Souris, and, as noted earlier, adopted two of her daughter's sons.[34] Of Sarazine's other two daughters and Angèle's sisters, Marie and Catherine, genealogical data was only available for the latter. Catherine married Charles Lafleur, and their daughter, Adélaide, was raised by Sarazine and Pierriche after Catherine's death in 1873, shortly after her baby's birth. Like her daughter Angèle, Sarazine raised a grandchild ensuring that Adélaide was raised amongst her mother's relatives and in the homeland of their birth. Together, Angèle Laliberte Maurice, her mother Sarazine Morin Laliberte, and paternal and maternal grandmothers (the female Belanger and Pélagie Boucher Morin) nurtured a wahkootowin that survived into the twentieth century, linking them and their descendants to other prominent trading families and to Cree and Dene communities. Establishment and perpetuation of wahkootowin rested on the women—Angèle, Sarazine, the Belanger woman, and Pélagie—through this process of marriage by grounding their children and grandchildren in the country of their origin and, perhaps more importantly, through their efforts to acculturate men like François, Pierriche, and the Antoines into that system.

This pattern of female-centric cultural development and outsider acculturation through marriage occurred because of the demands of the trading lifestyle. Unlike their female relatives, men had greater potential to travel to other districts for education or employment opportunities. Some of the first generation's sons, like Antoine Morin, Jr., the eldest son of Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher, became traders and left the region to join posts in other districts. Antoine Jr. (b. 1826 Athabasca River) left the English River

District and ended up in northeastern Saskatchewan, taking scrip at Cumberland House in 1886. However, the first sons may have chosen as their wives the daughters of families with whom they had grown up or from nearby communities, such as Pierriche Laliberte of Carlton marrying Sarazine Morin of the English River District. Overwhelmingly, sons born to the first generation couples remained in the lands of their maternal ancestors, establishing family a nexus throughout the English River District. In the Laliberte and Morin families, second generation sons followed their fathers and grandfathers into the fur trade in various capacities forging marital alliances that positively impacted both individual and familial economic opportunities. Of Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin's eight recorded sons who survived childhood (Cyprien died as an infant in 1870) and had families of their own, it appears that all worked in some capacity for the HBC at Île à la Crosse and Green Lake. Pierre Jr. became a labourer and fisherman at Green Lake; Antoine was a sawyer; Raphaël was a hunter, fisherman, and general labourer; Alexandre attended school in Manitoba for several years and then served as an "Indian trader," interpreter, and voyageur for the HBC and later Revillon Freres after moving to the Lac la Plonge/Beauval district; Jean Baptiste was a voyageur, clerk, and postmaster; Louis (better known as petit Roi) was a general servant; and François was a labourer and fisherman. Only Joseph's occupation was not identified in the records.[35] (See **Appendix C**).

All eight living Laliberte sons married women from the region who came from either HBC families or families engaged in trade as primary procurers of furs and/or country produce or were closely connected to Indian leaders from local Dene and Cree communities. Pierre Jr. married Géneviève Jourdain, daughter of Jean Baptiste Jourdain and Margaret Bear/ L'Ours, in 1872. Together, the couple had twenty-two children, sixteen of whom lived to adulthood.[36] Antoine first married the daughter (name unknown) of George Sanderson, an HBC servant, but she eventually left him and went to live at St. Peter's parish in Manitoba. Antoine then married Mathilda Collings (alternately known by the last names of Fraser and Clement), about whom no additional information is available.[37]

Raphaël first married a woman named Jane Bell from Prince Albert, and then, following Jane's death, married Eliza Bekattla, a Metis Chipewyan and daughter of George Bekattla and Nancy Kippling/Kylain, with whom he had nine children.[38] At Île à la Crosse in 1879, Alexandre married Mary Isabelle (also known as Elizabeth) Iron, daughter of Chief Raphaël Iron of the Canoe Lake Cree and Eupehmie Opikokew/Lachance. Together, the couple had fourteen children, nine of whom survived to adulthood.[39]

Also in 1879 at Île à la Crosse, Jean Baptiste Laliberte married Marie Philomène Testawitch and/or Courtarais, daughter of Michel Testawich/Courtairais and Sophie LaChance. The name Testawitch was apparently associated with the Iroquois traders who came west as HBC servants in the early nineteenth century.[40] This couple had thirteen children, eleven of whom lived to adulthood. Louis (petit Roi) was married in 1881 to Virginie Meraste, daughter of Bazil Meraste and Josephte Durocher, and had thirteen children, two of whom died as children.[41] By 1885, Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher's eleven children had a significant impact on the culture and society that emerged in northwestern Saskatchewan. Of their children, four were daughters, although significant genealogical information only exists for Sarazine. Of Sarazine Morin Laliberte's three sisters, as already noted, there are a few records available for Sophie and Marie to demonstrate the impact of their wahkootowin in the region (See **Appendix D**).[45]

In 1861, Sophie Morin married William Linklater and the couple lived at Île à la Crosse until 1868, when they moved to Lake Manitoba because of Linklater's contractual obligations with the HBC.[46] In 1869, Sophie and William moved to the Waterhen River, where they lived until 1874 before moving to Shell River, near Devils Lake on the way to Green Lake. Although not well documented, it appears that by the late 1870s/early 1880s William Linklater had left the region with his wife. However, Sophie later returned, and by 1881 was living in Green Lake with Paul Delaronde, Sr., the son of a woman from the North West Territories and a French Canadian father. In her scrip application, Sophie stated that she and William had no children, although, as noted earlier, she eventually had

her only daughter, Marie, with Paul Delaronde, Sr.[47] Marie Morin, meanwhile, married Peter Linklater—possibly William's brother—and had thirteen children. In 1885, Peter Linklater arrived in Île à la Crosse from Manitoba as a servant of the HBC. By 1870, Peter and his wife, Marie, originally from Île à la Crosse, were living at Lac la Caribou (Reindeer Lake). Peter died there in 1880 while still in the service of the HBC. While in Lac la Caribou, Marie lived at the post with her husband at the Company's expense. In her scrip application, Marie claimed that both her husband's parents, whom she did not name, were halfbreeds. After her husband's death in 1880, Marie, as already noted, was residing at Shell River with her children. Of the other Morin daughters, Judule married Louis Lafond of the Muskeg Lake area, but after that there is no information available on her or her family based on the records used in this study.[48]

Several of the nine Morin sons, like their counterparts in the Laliberte family, made a lasting imprint on the history of northwestern Saskatchewan. No biographical information exists beyond birth years for four of the Morin sons—James (b. 1840), Magloire (b. 1842), Baptiste (b. 1850), and Jacob (b. ?) and, as already noted, Antoine, Jr. relocated to Cumberland House.[49] Of the remaining four sons—Raphaël, Cyprien, Zephrin dit Catholique, and Louis—all worked for the HBC and spread out across northwestern Saskatchewan into several of the communities. Raphaël Morin married Elizabeth (Betsy) Cook in 1834 at La Ronge, and together the couple had fifteen children, fourteen of whom lived to adulthood. As already noted, Raphaël lived throughout the northwest and worked for the HBC until his retirement around 1887 when he moved to Devils Lake and became a farmer.[50]

Cyprien was perhaps one of the best remembered people in the entire region as a founder of Meadow Lake and Catholic devotee who built the Church there on his own land. Born in 1836 near the Athabasca River, Cyprien lived to be ninety-six and died in 1932 at Meadow Lake. After moving to Meadow Lake in 1873 with his family, Cyprien became a farmer and rancher on the lake's west side at Island Hill on the Meadow River. Like

his brother Raphaël, Cyprien was a freighter for the Company, and served as postmaster at Meadow Lake in 1873. Cyprien married Marie Cook, and with her had twelve natural children, nine of whom survived, and an adopted son, George Desjarlais.[51]

Zephrin dit Catholique, also a freighter and farmer, was employed as a fisherman and carpenter, working for both the Company and himself at Île à la Crosse and then, by 1887, at Green Lake. In 1858, Zépherin married Madeleine Girard from Red River, the daughter of Joseph Girard and Margaret Jackson, with whom he had fifteen children, thirteen of whom lived to adulthood. Madeleine arrived in Île à la Crosse with her parents after her father was sent to the English River District by the HBC. By 1887, Zépherin and his family had left Île à la Crosse and were living at the HBC post on the east side of Green Lake. In 1912, after Madeleine's death the previous year at the age of 67, a 74 year old Zépherin married Marie Elizabeth Jourdain, daughter of Baptiste Jourdain, Jr. and Nanette Bekattla, a woman thirty-five years his junior, and with whom he had two more children.[52] Finally, Louis Morin, like his older brothers, was a freighter and farmer, as well as a general labourer for the HBC. In 1853, Louis married Marguerite Jourdain, the daughter of Jean Baptiste Jourdain and Margaret Bear, and sister to Géneviève Jourdain, who was married to Pierre Laliberte, Jr. and aunt to Marie Elizabeth Jourdain, the second wife of his own brother Zépherin. Together Louis and Marguerite had fifteen children, ten of whom lived to adulthood.[53]

In the second, third, and fourth generations of Lalibertes and Morins, there was both a retrenchment of their interfamilial connection through successive instances of intermarriage as well as an extension of wahkootowin into other communities—Metis and Indian—throughout the region. Marital patterns in both these families do not appear to have been randomly or carelessly made. An analysis of the genealogies reveals that there were clear attempts by the Lalibertes and Morins to ally their families with one another, as well as forge new connections through successive intergenerational intermarriage with other families, such as the Maurices, Aubichons, Girards, Kipplings/Kyplians,

Bouviers, Larivieres, Nanatomagans, Irons, Bekkatlas, Lafleurs, Caisses, Merastes, Delarondes, Daigneaults, Bears, and the Jourdains. All these families have long histories and associations in northwestern Saskatchewan, although they have diverse economic and cultural origins.

Of the families who married into the Morin and Laliberte families, the Maurice, Girard, Kipplings/Kyplain, Bouvier, Daigneault, Lariviere, Jourdain, Caisse, and Lafleur families had long associations with HBC operations in the region, while the Nanatomagans and Bekkatlas were hunting and fishing families who, while possibly supplying the HBC with country produce, did not have a history of establishing long-term contracts with the Company. The Merastes and Aubichons worked within both economic niches, having short-term, seasonal associations with the Company while also living off the land as subsistence hunters and fishermen. Furthermore, the Morins, Bouviers, Daigneaults, and Larivieres in particular had histories of working for the Catholic mission and assisting in the establishment of new mission stations in the District. While all these families were ethnically mixed, having intermarried with traders since their arrival in the region in the late eighteenth century, the Irons and Bears became known as "Indians" when they took treaty.

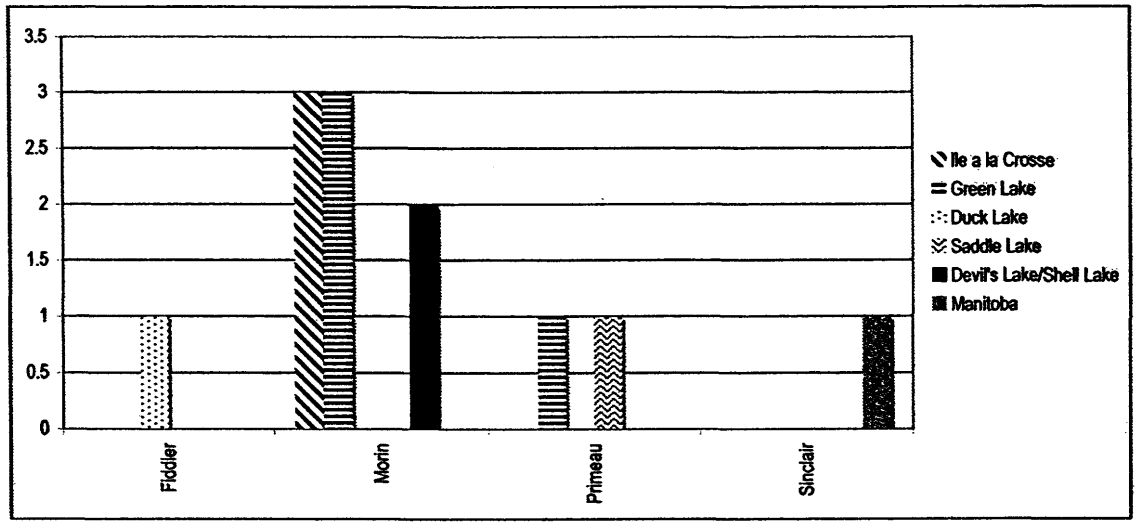
Within each generation, old marriage patterns were reinforced by additional marital alliances between families that had already forged alliances with one another in some instances or newer alliances forged with alternate families in others, allowing the Île à la Crosse wahkootowin to expand outwards in ever larger concentric circles and encompass more communities and territory. Beginning in the second generation and escalating in the third generation, a pattern of familial intermarriage continuously reintroduced specific surnames into one or more of core forty-three families. For example, the two daughters of Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher—Marie and Sophie—married Linklaters. While there was not enough genealogical data on either of these men to demonstrate a familial connection, due to the unusual nature of this name in northwestern Saskatchewan it can be

assumed that they were related (most likely brothers). Also within the second generation, Pierre Laliberte, Jr., son of Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin, married Géneviève Jourdain, sister of Marguerite Jourdain who was married to Louis Morin, son of Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher, and therefore brother to Sarazine Morin Laliberte. In short, Sarazine's son and brother married sisters.

While there were "cross-over" marriages, such as those between families in the second generation that reinforced familial alliances, in the third and fourth generations solid intermarriages between Morins and Lalibertes, as well as with additional families to which they have been connected, were becoming a clear pattern that makes genealogical connections quite complicated and intricately woven—something only realized as the genealogies, and therefore wahkootowin, are reconstructed and examined. For example, Virginie Laliberte, daughter of Pierre Laliberte, Jr. and Géneviève Jourdain, married Augustin Morin, the son of Jérémie Morin and Marie Anasthasia Bear. Jérémie Morin was the son of Cyprien Morin and Marie Cook. Pierre Laliberte Jr. was the son of Sarazine Morin and Pierriche Laliberte, making Virginie and Augustin second cousins. Similarly, three children of Antoine Laliberte (son of Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin) and Mathilda Collings/Fraser/Clement—Clement, Pierre Goodwin Marchand, and Marguerite Marie—married Morins. Clement and Marguerite Marie Laliberte married Aldina and Placide Morin, respectively, daughter and son of Pierre Marie Morin (the son of Raphaël Morin and Betsy Cook) and Hélène Lafond. Pierre Goodwin Marchand married Rose Meraste, the daughter of Célestin Meraste and Pélagie Morin (the daughter of Louis Morin and Marguerite Jourdain). Rose's mother, Pélagie, was the cousin of Aldina and Placide Morin, making Rose their second cousin (see **Figure 10**).

To further add to the complicated inter-connectedness of the Morins and Lalibertes, of Angèle Laliberte (eldest daughter of Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin) and François Maurice's grandchildren, several married into these families, keeping the wahkootowin between them active through the Maurice/Laliberte branch of the family that came to reside

Figure 10. Locations Associated With Families Intermarried with the Delarondes of the English River District by Patronymic Connection



Sources: Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche.

in the Portage La Loche region. François Maurice, son of Magloire Maurice (himself the son of Angèle Laliberte and François Maurice) and Philomène Lariviere, married Marie Adele Laliberte, daughter of Alexandre Laliberte and Mary Isabelle/Elizabeth Iron. Alexandre Laliberte was the brother of Sarazine Morin, and therefore uncle to Angèle Laliberte, great uncle to Magloire Maurice, and great-great uncle to his new son-in-law. François' sister, Hélène/Ellen Maurice married Louis Morin, the son of Zépherin dit Catholique Morin, who was also the brother of Sarazine Morin, and so was additionally the great-great uncle of his new daughter-in-law.

Similar, although less obviously, was the marriage between Isadore Roy and Adélaide Malboeuf. Without knowing the family connections revealed only through the regional genealogical record, this couple would appear to be unrelated prior to their marriage because of their different surnames. However, Isadore Roy was the first cousin to François and Hélène/Ellen Maurice, the children of Magloire Maurice and Philomène Lariviere. Courrone/Carmine Maurice, sister of Magloire and daughter of François

Maurice and Angèle Laliberte, married Louison Roy, producing Isadore. Meanwhile, Adélaide's parents were Pierriche Malboeuf and Pélagie Morin who was the daughter of Cyprien Morin and Marie Cook. Therefore Pélagie was Sarazine Morin's niece and Angèle Laliberte's cousin.

One could spend considerable of time attempting to puzzle out the biological relatedness in the unions between Morins, Lalibertes, and eventually Maurices, such as whether the marriages were between cousins, second cousins, or third cousins twice removed. As observed in the earlier form of kinship studies, it has often been the degrees of relatedness rather than the social meanings and cultural values that has held scholars' attention.[54] However, the greater point to consider is that early in the nineteenth century the Morins and Lalibertes established a connection that first linked their families across the English River District, and then actively worked to both maintain and perpetuate that connection intergenerationally as sons, daughters, nieces, nephews, and grandchildren came of age and sought suitable marriage partners. Due to the frequency of intermarriage between the Laliberte and Morin families, it would be difficult to consider these unions accidental or even random occurrences. Clearly these are deliberately and methodically undertaken choices because, on the whole, none of the marriages outlined are between individuals of close biological relatedness. Each of these marriages demonstrated enough biological distance to indicate that there were rules regarding appropriate marital arrangements and that care was taken to ensure that only the most "distant" of relatives married. It could further be argued that the reason that there was such a prevalence of intergenerational, interfamilial marriages was because of the limited opportunities to find partners from outside the family. However, there are numerous examples of young men and women locating spouses from as far afield as Muskeg Lake near Carlton, Lac La Ronge, and Red River.

Perhaps one of the overriding purposes behind such "cross-over" marriages, or more precisely inter-familial intergenerational marriages, was predicated upon notions of

building community loyalty and regional unity. Through his research on the Metis of the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories, Richard Slobodin concluded that extended family loyalty overrode community loyalty despite the fact that "every Metis household [was] embedded in a far flung network of relationships."[55] Yet, after reconstructing the genealogies of the Île à la Crosse Metis, it is difficult to see how family—extended or otherwise—was distinct from community. Individuals from each of the core forty-three families were found within many of the northwestern Saskatchewan villages or were somehow related to other families located throughout the English River District. The intergenerational, interregional marriages were a definite strategy of uniting people across a large geographical domain with limited communication between families as they traveled to hunt, fish, or work for the Company. In a similar study on the Metis community at Batoche, Diane Payment asserted that "the19th-century French Canadian/Metis family was guided by the principle of unity, the need to maintain tradition and valued the primacy of collectivity over the individual."[56] Of course there was a concept of individuality, but it was a quite different notion than that expressed in the Western European tradition. Metis society, according to Payment, placed obligations and responsibilities on individuals to ensure that the well-being of the collective was a primary cultural value. Mutual aid and support extended throughout Metis communities between large family collectivities and the localized patronymic connections was one means by which relatives could locate one another.[57]

While there were obvious and subtle continued associations between them, the Morin and Laliberte families sought out marital alliances with other Metis and Indian families from the northwest. The alliances with such families as the Delarondes, Nanatomagans, Larivieres, Caisses, and Daigneaults, in particular will be highlighted in order to articulate how intricately interwoven were particular families—especially those associated with the fur trade and Roman Catholic mission—over the four generations identified in this study. Paul Delaronde, Sr.'s children with Marguerite Sinclair, who became Marie Morin's

stepchildren, married the latter woman's nieces and nephews (see **Appendix I**). William Morin, son of Raphaël Morin and Betsy Cook, married Judille Delaronde, and his sister, Marie Agnès Morin, married Alexandre Delaronde. Another Marie Agnès Morin, cousin to William and Marie Agnès Morin, the daughter of Cyprien Morin and Marie Cook, had as her first husband William Delaronde, brother to Alexandre and Judille. Meanwhile, Pierre Delaronde, Jr. married Marie Philomène Morin, daughter of Raphaël Morin and Betsy Cook. A generation later, Marie Agnès Delaronde, the daughter of Pierre Delaronde, Jr. and Marie Philomène Morin, married Ernest Morin, son of Baptiste dit petit Baptiste Morin and Marie dite Pakama Desjarlais. To further complicate matters, Ernest's sister, Eugenie, was, prior to her death, married to an Antoine Charles Kennedy who, upon being widowed, re-married his deceased wife's aunt, Marie Agnès Morin, who had herself been previously married to William Delaronde. Furthermore, William Delaronde and Marie Agnès Morin's daughter Elise Delaronde married Joseph Anesyme (Onisine) Morin, son of Baptiste dit petit Baptiste Morin and his second wife, Marguerite Marie Aubichon, and, therefore, was the half-brother of Ernest and Eugenie Morin. Finally, drawing to a close the complicated wahkootowin of the Morins and Delarondes, Charlie Delaronde, son of Paul Delaronde, Jr. and Marie Philomène Morin, married Celina Morin, daughter of Baptiste dit petit Baptiste Morin and Marguerite Marie Aubichon. As already mentioned, Sophie Morin, sister of Baptiste dit petit Baptiste Morin, had a relationship with Paul Delaronde, Sr., which produced one child, Marie, making her half-aunt to her cousins.

As intertwined as the Delarondes were with the Morin family, so were the Nanatomagans and Caisses with the children and grandchildren of François Maurice and Angèle Laliberte. Two of Baptiste dit Mistikechak Natomagan and Eliza Durocher's children married two of the Maurice children, highlighting another fairly common marital pattern—two siblings of one family marrying two siblings of another. Pierre dit Merchant Maurice married Therese Roberge Nanatomagan, while his younger sister, Josephine Maurice, married Joseph Nanatomagan. In the case of the Maurice/Caisse unions, three

Maurice cousins married three Caisse cousins. The year 1903 marked the marriage of Marie Rose Maurice, daughter of Charles Maurice and Julie dite Canadienne Bouvier, to Charles Caisse, the son of Joseph Caisse and Philomène Malboeuf. In 1907, Philipe Roy, son of Courrone Maurice, who may have been the twin sister of Magloire Maurice, and her husband Louison Roy, married Flora Caisse, the daughter of Louis Caisse and Sophie Lariviere. Several years later, Abraham Maurice, son of Magloire Maurice and Philomène Lariviere, married Adeline Caisse, daughter of Jérémie Caisse and Anna Ross. At the parental level of these young married couples, Joseph, Louis, and Jérémie Caisse were brothers, while Charles, Courrone, and Magloire were siblings (see **Appendix F**).

The marriages of the Lariviere and Daigneault families into the Maurice family were more complicated and conducted in much the same way that the Delarondes married into the Morins. Beginning with Magloire Maurice's 1883 marriage to Philomène Lariviere, daughter of Abraham and Mary/Marie Petawchamwistewin, the Maurice and Lariviere families were intimately intertwined intergenerationally. The difficulty with the Lariviere family, however, is that, as of yet, there is not enough genealogical information to link up all branches of the family. Regardless, the surname had a clear impact on the shape and structure of the Maurice wahkootowin. Following on the heels of her brother, Courrone Maurice married a member of the Lariviere wahkootowin, although her husband's surname was Roy, rather than Lariviere. Two of her children likewise married into that wahkootowin, but in different ways. In 1877, Courrone married Louison Roy, the son of François Roy and Marie Lariviere, and two decades later Marguerite Marie Roy married Louis Joseph Larivere, son of Thomas Lariviere and Véronique Bouvier. Thomas Larivere was the son of Abraham Lariveiere and Mary/Marie Petawchamwistewin, and therefore the brother of Philomène Lariviere. As noted earlier, Flora Caisse, daughter of Louis Caisse and Sophie Lariviere, married Phillipe Roy, another of Courrone's children. Sophie was the daughter of Abraham Lariveiere and Mary/Marie Petawchamwistewin, and, was therefore the sister of Thomas and Philomène Lariviere. Finally, Courrone and Magloire's sister and brother,

Agnès and Célestin Maurice, married Jean Thomas Lariviere and Catherine Lariviere, respectively the son and daughter of Thomas Lariviere and Véronique Bouvier. Agnès and Célestin, of course, were the aunt and uncle of Marguerite Marie. The final linking of the Maurice/Lariviere wahkootowin was between Lucia Aubichon, daughter of Rosalind Maurice and Julien Aubichon, and Célestine McKay, son of Henry McKay and Angèle Lariviere. It is unclear at this point how (or if) Angèle's branch of the Lariviere family links up genealogically to the Abraham Lariviere family (see **Appendix F**).

The one obvious marriage between the Daigneault and Maurice families was that of Marie Josephine Maurice, daughter of Magloire Maurice and Philomène Lariviere, and Prosper Daigneault, son of Vincent Daigneault, Sr. and Marguerite Bouvier. It was through the Maurice/Daigneault interfamily marriages that the Bouvier wahkootowin was continually reintroduced and interwoven into the genealogy. As already shown, children of Julie dite Canadienne and Véronique Bouvier and their husbands married into the Maurice wahkootowin, but so too did a child of Marguerite Bouvier and her husband Vincent Daigneault, Sr. Marguerite and Véronique were the children of Michel Bouvier, Sr. and Julie Desjarlais, while Julie dite Canadienne was the daughter of the sisters' brother, Michel Bouvier, Jr., and his wife Julie Marie Morin, the daughter of Raphaël Morin and Betsy Cook, thus linking the wahkootowin back to the Morins. The Morin/Daigneault wahkootowin was solidified by the marriages of brothers and sisters in the third generation. Véronique and Félix Paul Morin, daughter and son of Zephrin dit Catholique Morin and his first wife Madeleine Girard, married François Xavier and Catherine Marguerite Daigneault, respectively, who were the children of Vincent Daigenault, Sr. and Marguerite Bouvier. Finally, while there was no recorded marriage, there was a relationship between Jules Emile dit Venne Morin, brother of Véronique and Félix Paul, and Jane or Geanne Daigneault, daughter of Eliza/Lucia Gardiner, sister of François Xavier and Catherine Marguerite, and her husband Robert Gardiner (see **Appendices F & J**).

The complex interweaving of the genealogies demonstrates the continued creation and reinforcement of wahkootowin intergenerationally as families connected and reconnected to one another through male and female lines. The Morin, Laliberte, and Maurice wahkootowin began as incoming, outsider males forged alliances with females known to have been Metis women born in northwestern Saskatchewan. Men helped to define the community of Île à la Crosse specifically and the English River District more generally as their surnames became central to the organization of family units, were associated with specific familial alliances, and were linked to specific communities and occupations. Meanwhile, the grandmothers, mothers, wives, and sisters of men established a foundational base from which intercommunity and interfamily socio-cultural, religious, and economic alliances were formed. The records make clear that the four generations formed the most stable and trackable core of the community over time, and were, by and large, a part of a significant and dominant HBC servant's class within the fur trade. In addition to the Lalibertes and Morins, the surnames Aubichon, Bekkattla, Bouvier, Caisse, Catfish, Corrigal, Daigneault, Delaronde, Girard, Halcrow, Kippling, Lafleur, Malboeuf, Maurice, Moberly, Roy, and Sinclair were all linked to the HBC through servants' records and post journals dating to the early nineteenth century. Some of these surnames spread out of Île à la Crosse and into other communities of northwestern Saskatchewan, such as Portage La Loche and Green Lake.

The impact that the Laliberte, Morin, and indeed the forty-three core families had on the English River District can be understood through an evaluation of fur trade and mission records. Within the established local and regional residency patterns, as men and women worked to create and nurture a viable cultural identity predicated upon familial relationships as defined by wahkootowin, other patterns of behaviour emerged that supported family before all else. The names of these families are liberally scattered throughout HBC trade journals, correspondence, and employment registries. It is through these records that a fuller picture of family life in Île à la Crosse and the District as a whole

emerges. The Metis used their wahkootowin to locate advantages in trade that benefited first their most immediate and then their extended families. In particular, the power of Metis families is revealed in how they directed the possibilities and opportunities of trade for themselves and the HBC.

Endnotes

[1]LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167727, 1 March 1887/17 October 1887, Raphaël Morin; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, Green Lake; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891, Green Lake. It is unclear whether "Athabasca" refers to a location within the Athabasca District or to living at or near Lake Athabasca.

[2]LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167727, 1 March 1887/17 October 1887, Raphaël Morin. Raphaël and Betsy were married at Île à la Crosse about 1850.

[3]LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167727, 1 March 1887/17 October 1887, Raphaël Morin. Raphaël's father, Antoine Morin, was French Canadian, and so the family had no association with the land of their father's birth.

[4]LAC, RG 15, vol. 682, file 320835, 8 March 1889 Marie Morin.

[5]The reason for the two birth dates associated with Sophie Morin is a result of either record keepers or Sophie herself estimating her age for the census and the scrip applications. There is no birth certificate for Sophie at Île à la Crosse to establish her actual year of birth. LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, 8 March 1899, Sophie Morin Linklater.

[6]LAC, RG 15, vol. 558, file 167786, 22 October 1887, Pilagie Morin. Montagnais was a term used by French speakers to indicate the Dene, also known as Chipewyan, people.

[7]Harry W. Duckworth, ed., *The English River Book: A North West Company Journal & Account Book, 1796* (Montreal: Rupertsland Society Series, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); and Rev. A.G. Morice, OMI, *Dictionnaire Historique Des Canadiens et des Métis français de L'Ouest* (Montreal: Chez Granger Freres, 1908).

[8]This history connects Île à la Crosse and the Riel family. After Jean Louis' birth at Île à la Crosse in 1817, the family lived in English River for another five years and then left for Quebec after the merger of the companies. Jean Louis married Julie Lagimodiere in 1844 at Red River, and their son Louis was born that same year. The couple's next child to live past infancy was Sara Riel, who became a Grey Nun and served at the mission at Île à la Crosse from 1872 until her death in 1883.

[9]In 1881, according to census records, Pélagie was living with her grandson, Pierre Marie. By 1887, according to her scrip application, she was living with her son, Louis Morin, on the east side of Green Lake. Louis, like his sisters, was born in Île à la Crosse, but by 1870 was living and working for the HBC at Green Lake. By the time of the 1901 Canadian census, Pélagie was living at Green Lake with her daughter Sophie and her custom of the country husband, Paul Delaronde, Sr. Overall, the Morin family of the English River District, all of whom were descended from Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher, lived in most of the communities throughout northwestern Saskatchewan and married extensively into both Metis and Indian (Cree and Dene) families across the territory. LAC, RG 15, vol. 558, file 167786, 22 October 1887, Pilagie Morin; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, Green Lake; LAC, RG 15, vol. 558, file 167786, 22 October 1887, Pilagie Morin; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1901, Green Lake.

[10]The story of Charlotte Small and David Thompson is one of the best known Canadian stories, and is remarkable because Charlotte traveled with her husband on all his exploratory expeditions. Charlotte was the daughter of Patrick Small of the NWC and his Indian wife. Small departed from the region in 1791 after seven years of service, leaving behind at least one son, Patrick Jr., and two daughters, Charlotte and Nancy. Patrick Jr., like his father, left the territory to trade in a different region, while Charlotte and Nancy both married outsider males. Charlotte became the wife of David Thompson, first an NWC and then HBC surveyor and cartographer, on 10 June 1799, at about the age of thirteen. Had Thompson's job with the HBC been as a contracted servant tied to a post or trading district, the couple very well might have remained in the region. However, the couple eventually left due to the demands of his occupation. The couple left the English River District traveling throughout Western Canada and British Columbia before retiring to Williamstown, Ontario where they remained until their deaths. The Thompson's died in Montreal within three months of each other in 1857. Thompson as quoted in Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and the Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 36. For more on David and Charlotte Thompson, see also Robert Longpré, *Ile-a-la-Crosse, 1776-1976* (Ile a la Crosse Bi-Centennial Committee: Ile a la Crosse Local Community Authority, 1976), 5-6; Gordon Charles Davidson, *The Northwest Company* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918), 95; Stewart W. Wallace, *The Pedlars from Quebec and Other Papers on the Nor'Westers* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), 68; Arthur S. Morton, *Under Western Skies: A Series of Pen-Pictures of the Canadian West in Early Fur Trade Times* (Toronto: T. Nelson, 1937), 198-199, 201; and Jack Nisbett, *Sources of the River: Tracking David Thompson Across Western North America* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1999), 49.

[11]Keith R. Widder, *Battle for the Soul: Métis Children Encounter Evangelical Protestants at Mackinaw Mission, 1823-1837* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), xviii.

[12]Widder, *Battle for the Soul*, 3, 7.

[13]Widder, *Battle for the Soul*, 11.

[14]Philip T. Spaulding, "The Metis of Ile-a-la-Crosse." Ph.D. diss., (University of Washington, 1970), 49 & 85-87; and Spaulding, "The Social Integration of a Northern Community: White Mythology and Metis Reality." In *A Northern Dilemma: Reference Papers*, ed. Arthur K. Davis, 91-111. (Bellingham: Western Washington State College, 1967), 100-103.

[15]There have been genealogical studies undertaken of other minority cultures and societies that have revealed a great deal about the inner-lifestyle of peoples not a part of the majority culture. See, for instance, F.J. Woods, *Marginality and Identity: A Colored Creole Family Through Ten Generations* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972).

[16]Slobodin, *Metis of the Mackenzie District*, 70-71, 163-164.

[17]In this context, the use of the word "community" is not intended to designate a settled village or town, but rather a collection of individuals and families living together as a community of people.

[18]For a fuller history of one branch of the Desjarlais family in Western Canada, see Heather Devine, *The People Who Own Themselves: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis in a Canadian Family, 1660—1900* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004).

[19]Registres paroissiaux, 1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8c, "Scrip Applications, 1886-1906," volumes 1333-1371; LAC, RG15, Series DII 8m, "North-West Half-Breeds and Original White Settlers, Registers and Indexes, 1877-1927," volumes 1425-1555; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Green Lake; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Portage La

Loche; HBCA, "Post Journals, 1805-1904," B.89/a/1-38; HBCA, "Isle a la Crosse, Correspondence, 1820-1875," B.89/b/1-4; HBCA, "Correspondence Inward, 1810-62," B.89/c/1; HBCA, "Isle a la Crosse, Correspondence, 1822-1864," B.89/e/1-4; HBCA, "Isle a la Crosse, Lists of Servants, 1865-82," B.89/f/1; HBCA, "Isle a la Crosse, Miscellaneous, 1814-1903," B.89/z/1-6; Duckworth, ed., *The English River Book;* Morice, *Dictionnaire Historique Des Canadiens et des Métis français de L'Ouest*; Paul Hurly, "Beauval, Saskatchewan: An Historical Sketch," *Saskatchewan History* 33(1980): 102-110; Longpré, *Ile-a-la-Crosse, 1776-1976*; Meadow Lake Diamond Jubilee Heritage Group, *Heritage Memories: A History of Meadow Lake and Surrounding Districts* (North Battleford: Turner-Warwick Printers Inc., 1981); Richard Wuorinen, *A History of Buffalo Narrows* (Buffalo Narrows: Buffalo Narrows Celebrate Saskatchewan Committee, 1981); Lynda Holland, *The Dene Elders Project: Stories and History from the Westside* (La Ronge: Holland-Dalby Educational Consulting, 2002); and Lynda Holland and Mary Ann Kkailther, *They Will Have Our Words: The Dene Elders Project,* vol. 2 (La Ronge: Holland-Dalby Educational Consulting, 2003).

[20]Louis Fisher was alternately known as Louis Daldonille, while Angélique may have actually had the given name Adeline and was known by the surname Wapousweyan, Cree for rabbit. Before marrying Baptiste, Marie Anne married her first husband, Baptiste Charlebois, and then Alexis Sylvestre, with whom she had one son, Georges Marie Sylvestre.

[21]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 1343, 11 July 1900, William De Laronde.

[22]The baptismal records of the Roman Catholic Church do not identify whether the children being baptized were themselves legitimate or illegitimate. Rather, the records distinguish whether the marriages of parents were legitimate (Church sanctioned) or illegitimate (all unions formed outside of the Church).

[23]Nicole St-Onge, *Saint-Laurent, Manitoba: Evolving Metis Identities, 1870-1914.* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2004),38.

[24]St-Onge, *Saint-Laurent, Manitoba,* 38 & 66. Paul Delaronde's first wife, according to St-Onge's research, was listed in the 1891 census at St. Laurent as the forty-eight year old widow of Paul Delaronde, and headed a household that included her son William, who was then working as a salaried farm hand.

[25]LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891, Green Lake.

[26]There was polygamy in Cree culture as well, although the number of co-wives apparently never exceeded three and even that number was rare. Hudson's Bay Company men interpreted the cultural practice of polygamy as protection for widows and their children after their husbands died. Men would take as a second wife the widow of their deceased male relatives and friends to ensure their survival and safety. Until the mid- to late-nineteenth century, polygamy was a common Dene cultural practice. Hunters who had established their reputation and ability to care for multiple wives were permitted to take additional wives if the first wife supported such action. There have been a couple of ways suggested for why the practice of polygamy ended amongst the Dene and Cree, not the least of which was the influence of the Church. After 1821, there were fewer trading options for the Dene who, if they wanted, were only able to trade with the Company, which in turn reduced the number of posts in the region. Consequently, particular hunting bands became centred around posts, married into the post through the personnel, and over time were pressured to limit and then end the social tradition of polygamy entirely. Furthermore, missionaries of the Catholic Church campaigned to end the practice by refusing to baptize Dene with multiple wives. See Martha McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene, 1847-1921* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1995); Richard J. Preston, "Eastern Cree Notions of Social Grouping," in *Papers of the 11th Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1980), 40-48; and Robert A. Brightman, *Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[27]Holland, *The Dene Elders Project: Stories and History from the Westside,* 107-108.

[28]LAC, RG 15, vol. 556, file 167712, 22 October 1887, Pierre Laliberte, Sr. Antoine did not file a scrip application and is listed in his son's application, as was the surname of his wife. In the absence of a Church record of the event and unless otherwise stated in an alternate source, the use of the terms "married" or "marriage" for couples with long-term associations with each other will still be used to reflect the existence of enduring relationships, as demonstrated by births of children.

[29]LAC, RG 15, vol. 556, file 167712, 22 October 1887, Pierre Laliberte, Sr.; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167746, 22 October 1887, Sarazine Laliberte Morin.

[30]HBCA, B.89/a/36-38, Isle a la Crosse Post Journals, 1865-1904.

[31]LAC, RG 15, vol. 556, file 167712, 22 October 1887, Pierre Laliberte, Sr.; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Green Lake.

[32]LAC, RG 15, vol. 556, file 167712, 22 October 1887, Pierre Laliberte, Sr.; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167746, 22 October 1887, Sarazine Laliberte Morin.

[33]LAC, RG 15, vol. 1023, file 1599001, 26 June 1907, Josephine Maurice Natomagan; LAC, RG 15, vol. N/A, 25 September 1906 Marie Angèle Maurice Archie; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1334, 21 September 1906, Rosalie Maurice Aubichon; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1357, 19 September 1906, Célestine Maurice; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1357, 19 September 1906, Charles Maurice; LAC, RG 15, vol. N/A, 19 September 1906, François Maurice; LAC, RG 15, vol. N/A, 20 September 1906, Magloire Maurice; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1357, 20 September 1906, Norbert Maurice; LAC, RG 15, vol. N/A, 19 September 1906, Pierre Maurice; LAC, RG 15, vol. N/A, 12 July 1900, Lucia Maurice Meraste; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1365, 21 September 1906, Carmine Maurice; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; and Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan.

[34]LAC, RG 15, vol. 1367, N/A, Angèle Laliberte Souris; LAC, RG 15, Vol. 991, File 1247280, 27 June 1907, Angèle Souris; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 1367, 21 September 1906, Raphaël Souris.

[35]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167740, 22 October 1887, Pierre Laliberte; LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167734, 22 October 1887, Raphaël Laliberte; LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167736, 22 October 1887, Alexandre Laliberte; LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167742, 22 October 1887, Louis Laliberte; LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167744, 22 October 1887, François Laliberte; LAC, RG 15, vol. 167732, 25 February 1889, Joseph Laliberte; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1901 Green Lake; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1901 Ile a la Crosse; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891 Green Lake; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881 Green Lake.

[36]LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167740, 22 October 1887, Pierre Laliberte; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1352, 5 March 1889, Géneviève Jourdain; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; and Registres paroissiaux, 1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan.

[37]Registres paroissiaux, 1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan.

[38]LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167734, 22 October 1887, Raphaël Laliberte; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1353, 12 September 1906, Eliza Percateler Laliberte; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1901 Ile a la Crosse; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891 Green Lake.

[39]LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167736, 22 October 1887, Alexandre Laliberte; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1023, file 1598551-1598555, 28 June 1907, Mary Isabelle Laliberte Iron; Registres paroissiaux, 1875-1912Eglise

catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[40]Jan Grabowski and Nicole St-Onge discuss the westward migration of the Iroquois as fur traders in their article, "Montreal Iroquois *Engagés* in the Western Fur Trade, 1800-1821," in *From Rupert's Land to Canada*, eds. Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. McLeod (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001), 23-58.

[41]LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167742, 22 October 1887, Louis Laliberte; Registres paroissiaux, 1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1901Green Lake.

[42]LAC, RG 15, vol. 167732, 25 February 1889, Joseph Laliberte; LAC, RG 15, vol. 556, file 167709, Virginie Miraste Laliberte; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[43]Registres paroissiaux,1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891 Green Lake.

[44]LAC, RG 15, vol. 1369, 15 June 1900, Adélaide Lafleur Lejarre.

[45]LAC, RG 15, vol. 682, file 320835, 8 March 1889 Marie Morin; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, 8 March 1899, Sophie Morin Linklater; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 558, file 167786, 22 October 1887, Pilagie Morin.

[46]A William Linklater in Île à la Crosse in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century built one of the first HBC posts at Sandy Point on Lac Île à la Crosse. It is unlikely that Sophie married this particular William Linklater, but very likely married his son.

[47]LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, 8 March 1899, Sophie Morin Linklater; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891, Green Lake; and Registres paroissiaux, 1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan.

[48]LAC, RG 15, vol. 558, file 167786, 22 October 1887, Pilagie Morin. Consultation of scrip records or treaty pay lists that are beyond the scope of this study for the Muskeg Lake region may reveal significant information on Judule Morin.

[49]LAC, RG 15, vol. 558, file 167786, 22 October 1887, Pilagie Morin.

[50]LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167727, 1 March 1887/17 October 1887, Raphaël Morin; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, Green Lake; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891, Green Lake.

[51]Meadow Lake, *Heritage Memories*,179.

[52]Registres paroissiaux, 1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, 12 July 1900 Zephirin Morin dit Catholique; and LAC, RG 15, vol. 556, file 167701, Madeleine Girard Morin, 21 October 1887.

[53]Registres paroissiaux, 1875-1912Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912, Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG 15, vol. 558, file 167774, 22 October 1887, Marguerite Jourdain Morin; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891 Green Lake; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1901 Ile a la Crosse.

[54]Beginning with the pioneering work of Lewis Henry Morgan, kinship studies have long been about the degrees of relatedness rather than the social and cultural meaning behind the relationships. Lewis Henry Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, vol XVII (Washington: The Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1871); Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York: Holt, 1877); Michael Asch, *Kinship and the Drum Dance in a Northern Dene Community* (Calgary: The Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, 1989); Scott Rushforth, *Bear Lake Althabascan Kinship and Task Group Formation* (Canadian Ethnology Service. no. 96, 1984); Henry S. Sharp, *Chipewyan Marriage* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, no. 58, 1979); and Henry Stephen Sharp, "The Kinship System of the Black Lake Chipewyan" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1973).

[55]Slobodin, *Metis of the Mackenzie District*. p. 57.

[56]Diane Payment, *"The Free People—Otipemisiwak": Batoche, Saskatchewan, 1870-1930* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks Service, 1990), 38.

[57]Payment, *"The Free People—Otipemisiwak"*, 43

Chapter Four

"I Thought it Advisable to Furnish Him": The Influence of Metis Families on the English River Fur Trade, 1821-1900

In 1890, Pierriche Laliberte, the seventy-three year old husband of Sarazine Morin, patriarch of the Laliberte family, and postmaster of Portage La Loche, announced to the HBC headquarters at Île à la Crosse that he wanted to retire from the service the following spring. Pierriche requested a Company pension and permission to retire in the Green Lake region. To establish Laliberte's right to a pension, Henry J. Moberly, Île à la Crosse's Chief Trader, was instructed to provide the Company's administrative office in Winnipeg with information about Laliberte's age, length of service, and any particulars about his life and work for the Company. In turn, Moberly was informed that Laliberte owed $1,984 on his Company accounts that would have to be paid at the time of his retirement.[1] After several inquiries to Winnipeg by Moberly, Pierriche Laliberte was granted a pension in the fall of 1890 and his family moved to the Green Lake region to live. Although retired, Pierriche remained in the occasional employ of the Company as a freeman collecting and delivering furs. This, apparently, was not an unusual arrangement.

Freemen, unlike free traders, were not independent operators trading for their own profit, but rather were an important labour force to the Company's commercial operations.[2] Freemen were often retired servants who continued to live inland in their home districts. While they had no permanent contract, they often performed occasional labour for the Company while pursuing other economic opportunities, such as subsistence hunting and fishing. Among the roles fulfilled for the HBC's commercial enterprise in the English River District, they served as hunters and trappers, procuring provisions and furs for the posts; operated commercial enterprises, such as freighting, transporting, or trading

establishments; and occasionally sold their physical labour to the HBC for the same price as contracted servants. Marcel Giraud described the prefix *free* in freemen as illusory because the HBC asserted that it held the right to expel these uncontracted servants from the territories where they lived if deemed offensive to the officers-in-charge. Such offenses included a lack of discipline, refusal to respond to Company directives, or harming trade by competing against the District's interests.[3]

When freemen moved beyond a role defined, supported, and encouraged by the Company, they were labeled free traders—a considerably less positive descriptor despite the shared prefix. In an 1892 Post Report submitted by George Dreaver, the Green Lake postmaster, to Henry Moberly at Île à la Crosse, Pierriche Laliberte and James Nicol Sinclair, another retired Company clerk with a pension who was the step-father-in-law to Laliberte's son Louis (Roy), were both described as occasionally employed by the Company to deliver furs.[4] Dreaver advised that the pensions of both men be revoked and that they no longer be permitted to work for the Company in the capacity of freemen because they were attempting to trade for their own gain in opposition to the Company.[5] Despite Dreaver's recommendation, Moberly believed that revoking Laliberte's pension and barring him from trading would be a mistake. In a letter to Winnipeg, Moberly argued that Laliberte "has a huge part of his family married and settled in the vicinity of Green Lake, and by his keeping a small stock of goods, which are actually sold by some of his sons under his inspection, his sons are kept from taking Outfits to oppose the HBC from the Merchants at Prince Albert and as we gain by the Transaction in more ways than one, I thought it advisable to furnish him."[6] Mobery suspected that Laliberte may have been trading against the Company, but, despite his reservations, ensured Pierriche obtained his outfit from the post at Île à la Crosse that year anyway (as opposed to Prince Albert, Lac La Biche, or Winnipeg) perhaps to preempt such action. In return for receiving his outfit from Île à la Crosse, Laliberte sold all the furs that he had collected at a reasonable price to the English River District post. More importantly, he employed some of his sons in his

operations, which kept them from becoming free traders in opposition to the English River District's posts.

By his retirement in 1890, many of Pierriche's sons, and a son-in-law, were employed by the Company in various capacities, several of them in the District's two key trade and transport regions—Portage La Loche and Green Lake. Antoine tended the Company's cattle for Methy Portage and hauled wood for the HBC that winter, agreeing to be paid half price for his work in the winter of 1890 on the condition that he be given any calves born under his care. By the 1821 merger, one of the English River District's key operations was the trade and transport activities of the Portage La Loche Brigade at Methy Portage administered by Île à la Crosse, the District headquarters. In 1823, the York boats, notable for their size and capacity, were in regular use on Methy Portage, making it difficult for the men to manage the sheer physical labour required to transport furs and goods along the arduous portage. Introduction of the York boats necessitated the use of horses and oxen to both transport goods and furs as well as haul the boats across the Portage, which, in turn, meant that entire communities, such as Portage La Loche and Bull's House, the feeding place for the Methy Portage livestock, were devoted to the care and upkeep of the animals and boats.[7] Meanwhile, Jean Baptiste (known simply as Baptiste) was his father's successor as postmaster at Portage La Loche in 1890. The Company had apprenticed Baptiste with his father at Portage La Loche and, after a total of eight years in the Company's service, he was deemed reliable enough to be a clerk.[8]

Along with his brothers-in-law, François Maurice, husband of Pierriche and Sarazine's eldest daughter, Angèle, worked at Portage La Loche. François was an HBC servant born in Quebec who first entered the service in 1851 arriving in the English River District around 1857. Over the course of his career with the Company, François served as a labourer, interpreter, and eventually a postmaster at Portage La Loche from 1879-1885. After François' death, Angèle married Raphaël Souris and continued to live at Portage La Loche.

To the District's southern end, Alexandre Laliberte served as a Green Lake postmaster in 1892, an appointment that came after his having operated the outpost at Canoe Lake from 1888-1890. Baptiste's wife, Mary Isabelle or Elizabeth Iron, was the daughter of Chief Raphaël Iron of Canoe Lake.[9] Catherine Laliberte, Pierriche's third daughter, was married to a Charles Lafleur, although nothing more is known about him, probably because of Catherine's untimely death while giving birth at the age of seventeen in 1873. As families spread out across the District farther away from Company headquarters, smaller communities and outposts became a part of the Metis wahkootowin.

The sentiment expressed by Dreaver and Company officials in Winnipeg in 1892 was at odds with the reality of life in the English River District, where family loyalty often superseded loyalty to the Company. Moberly understood that withdrawing Pierriche's pension because of the possibility that he might be trading against the Company could be interpreted by the Laliberte family as a call to arms. The influence of Pierriche, the patriarch of the Laliberte wahkootowin, extended beyond that which he had over his sons, and potentially included his wife's relatives—the Morins—and the relatives established through the marriages of his sons and daughters. Through marriage, the Lalibertes were directly related to the Maurice, Souris, Lafleur, Jourdain, Collings, Bekkattla, Iron, Testawitch, Meraste, Bell/Bull, and Chatelain families. Pierriche Laliberte and his family may have been atypical—few other families in the English River District received such intense scrutiny by Company officials within the records of the English River District's posts. But the possibility that any Metis family wielded enough socio-economic power to threaten the Company's sense of economic security warrants a reevaluation of the HBC's authority to direct or control the behaviour of Metis families within the trade district.

Familial relationships such as those established by the Laliberte family created a social framework and reflected a cultural identity that impacted economic operations of Île à la Crosse and other posts throughout the District. The social behaviour and

cultural values of Metis families as expressed through wahkootowin influenced economic decisions such as those that inspired men like Pierriche to become freemen or free traders. The worldview centred on relatedness and the potential for creating relationships had significant implications for establishing economic opportunities in the English River District. To understand how wahkootowin was expressed through economic activities, it is necessary to look at the types of activities and behaviours manifested through that venue, particularly the roles of freemen and free traders, and how the former could quickly become the latter.

Over the last thirty years, scholars have transformed our understanding of the fur trade by focusing on the human aspects of the trade, such as the experiences of families like the Lalibertes.[10] Familial relationships contributed to the trade's economic profitability and spawned a range of economic, political, and social alliances. While this scholarship has transformed our understanding of both Indian societies and a powerful economic system, it tends to emphasize that Metis communities were a simple amalgamation of Western European and indigenous North American values, customs, and behaviours. Furthermore, Metis communities have been interpreted as being the most influenced by Western culture and institutions because of their obvious connection to European males. Consequently, one focus of academic discourse has been to establish whether they were more *Indian* or more *white* in their behaviour and outlook.[11] By implication, the fur trade shaped the form and content of Metis society and their cultural identity.

What is suggested here, however, is that Metis cultural identity, rather than being shaped by the necessities of trade, had a role to play in determining the nature of trade relations within their home territories because of a world view that emphasized familial loyalty and placed an emphasis on the roles and responsibilities of family members towards one another. In short, wahkootowin both augmented and challenged the economic system of the fur trade.[12] In particular, when the men were servants of the Company or acted in the capacity of either freemen or free traders, they were also serving the interests of themselves

and their relatives as much as possible. Just as French, Scottish, and English traders brought with them the attitudes, ideas, and behaviours of their homelands that shaped their family life in northwestern Saskatchewan, so, too, indigenous attitudes, ideas, and behaviours shaped the cultural expression of wahkootowin.[13] What set the Metis apart from their Cree and Chipewyan relatives was not exclusively their occupation, but their interpretation of wahkootowin that gave them a sense of who they were and how it distinguished them from other peoples. As Diane Payment observed in her study of Batoche, "the network of 'la parenté' (kinship) promoted solidarity, social stability, and continuity."[14] Evaluating the significance of wahkootowin is not to suggest that the Company was not a powerful economic force in the English River District, but to establish a greater understanding of how the Metis recognized their role within this economy. There are several excellent studies of the economy of the HBC fur trade that detail the financial realities of that enterprise over its centuries of operation, and this study does not seek to replicate that work.[15] It should be noted, though, that whatever the actual economy was like, the HBC posts in any district were governed by men whose perceptions of the local Aboriginal population were necessarily guided by attitudes derived from their daily interactions with one another. Indeed, as will be explored, Company Chief Factors, postmasters, and clerks operating within the English River District often believed that their—and by extension, the Company's—authority was tempered by actions taken by individuals seeking to maximize the opportunities of their families, which, in turn, cultivated and nurtured a cultural identity predicated upon familial loyalty.

This chapter, then, is an analysis of families in the English River District immediately after the 1821 merger and a number of the events that fostered a growing cultural identity based on familial loyalty. This type of analysis is accomplished by evaluating the HBC's perceptions of attitudes towards the local Metis population and their activities as revealed through entries in post journals and general correspondence. By the 1820s, the region's wahkootowin(s) were coalescing in structure, largely because the number of outsider

males entering the District was reduced due to the Company's restructuring. This ensured that Metis society became inwardly focused for cultural and social development.[16] Furthermore, there was, after 1821, a new economic era that fostered the growth of an independent spirit amongst Metis families throughout Western Canada. Giraud concluded that between 1820-1850 the Metis faced economic uncertainty because of larger forces that reduced the Company's profit margin and resulted in their restructuring.[17] Similarly, ethnoarcheologists Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach, after conducting audits on the financial returns of the English River District from the 1870s to 1890s, concurred, and further noted that Metis self-sufficiency only increased in this later time period as economic opportunities diversified. They concluded that the HBC at Île à la Crosse, upon determining that it could only afford to feed a small number of servants, nevertheless required full-time employees to hunt and sow gardens to support themselves and their families. As a result, the Metis adapted by becoming more economically self-reliant than earlier in the century, with some families pursuing their own economic agendas by freighting, trapping, and/or trading independently, obtaining essential trade goods such as flour and tea from the Company's posts as needed.[18] While doing this, Metis men were also regularly employed or sought occasional employment with the Company as casual labourers. It was in this economic environment, then, that Metis men emerged as both freemen and, by the late nineteenth century, free traders.

At Île à la Crosse, HBC servants' families forged large and powerful cultural, social, and spiritual alliances throughout the English River District that impacted their economic choices and, to a large degree, directed the Company's trade. The wahkootowins of Île à la Crosse specifically, and the English River District generally, were so pervasive throughout the region that in 1892 Moberly had had cause to caution the Company against revoking the elder Laliberte's pension and preventing him from becoming a free trader. Moberly warned that not only would Pierriche engage in free trading, his sons would

also begin trading against the Company in support of their father. The breadth of the Laliberte family's interfamilial and intergenerational connections throughout the English River District has already been partially explored in the previous chapter. The influence of Metis family life on the fur trade will be explored more fully here through the experiences of the Laliberte, Lafleur, Janvier, and Delaronde families as they worked for and against the Company's interests in the region as freemen and free traders. Perhaps, from the Company's perspective, the term *free* was a convenient semantic fiction, but to the Metis of Île à la Crosse their sense of freedom was not only real but reflected how they lived.

Pierriche Laliberte was one of the most discussed men in the English River District's records. He was first hired on with the Company in 1838 at twenty–one years of age and worked on and off for the Company for almost his entire adult life in the English River District. Although retiring periodically, Pierriche regularly re-engaged with the Company in various capacities, including steersman, general labourer, trader, interpreter, and postmaster. As an HBC servant, Pierriche worked throughout the District at the larger posts of Île à la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche. After his 1842 or 1843 marriage to Sarazine Morin, he became the head of a large family (see **Appendix C**). Pierriche and Sarazine were able to send at least two of their sons to school in Red River at St. Boniface College, a not inexpensive venture for a servant whose highest rank was postmaster of a northern department outpost. While his sons were in school in Manitoba, Laliberte paid the Company to have them return yearly on the spring brigades traveling to English River so that the family could stay together.[19]

Attesting to the power of the Laliberte connections in trade and his effectiveness as Company servant, French speaking Pierriche rose to the rank of postmaster despite being completely unable to read or write, nor capable of speaking English to sufficiently communicate with his largely English-speaking superiors. While Pierriche was working as an interpreter for Chief Trader Samuel Mackenzie in 1857, Île à la Crosse's Chief Factor George Deschambeault suggested that he be promoted to postmaster of Portage La Loche

because he was "industrious, careful and interested." Further, "he can make wheels and carts, and I [Deschambeault], do not see a better hand in the country than this Pierre La Liberte. He is at the same time a first rate trader and all the Indians like and respect him."[20] Deschambeault's request was granted and Laliberte was promoted that year. At Portage La Loche he was responsible for overseeing the Portage La Loche Brigade, maintaining Methy Portage, hiring the men required to support tasks associated with the Portage, engaging in general trade duties, and traveling to Carlton when necessary to obtain dry goods for the post.[21]

Over the years, he was joined by his sons and sons-in-law in the Company's employ as they came of age and took their own contracts. At least seven of Pierriche's nine sons worked closely with him in the English River District, assisting with the posts' operation until they were old enough to become servants with their own contracts and career paths. By 1868, when Pierriche was in charge of the Green Lake post, his sons Pierre Jr. and Antoine were trading and transporting goods from Carlton to Green Lake and traveling to Île à la Crosse to obtain the year's outfit for their father's post.[22] According to census records, Pierre Jr. was also an occasional labourer and fisherman—perhaps a freeman—for the Company, while Antoine was a sawyer and general labourer. François was a hunter, fisherman, and labourer in the Green Lake area. Unlike his brothers, François was not discussed in the Company records. Raphaël was a labourer, hunter, and fisherman. Alexandre was an Indian trader, interpreter, and voyageur for the HBC before being put in charge of the Canoe Lake outpost. In the spring of 1899, Alexandre retired from the Company and took a free trading position with a fur trader operating out of Prince Albert. Company officials were of the opinion that Alexandre was unduly encouraged to retire by the Prince Albert traders. At some point, Alexandre was rehired by the Company, but retired again in 1902, much to the Company's regret, as he, like his father, was an excellent trader.[23]

Meanwhile, Baptiste was a voyageur, clerk, and then, by 1889, postmaster at Portage La Loche, where his brother Louis (Roy) was a servant. Like his father, Baptiste's relationship with the Company was not always so positive. In an 1877 letter to Portage La Loche from Walter West, clerk at Île à la Crosse, Pierriche was advised that men from his post had arrived nine days ahead of schedule despite clear instructions given to Baptiste personally. Although the exact nature of the problem that this early arrival caused was not articulated in the letter, Pierriche was informed that, because Baptiste was unable to get things right, the Company would do better without him. West declared that Baptiste was "no longer considered [to be] in the service—He can look out for himself some other way."[24] It is unclear when Baptiste was rehired by the Company, but in 1888 he was described as "a careful post manager" who was "more likely to err on the side of excessive caution and economy ... not the reverse."[25] Several years later, in 1892, the same year that his father was accused of free trading, Baptiste requested a promotion to the rank of clerk and a wage increase, stating that he would otherwise leave the service entirely. Moberly supported Baptiste's request, noting that he had provided more than satisfactory service as postmaster and expected that there would be no drop in his performance if promoted. Winnipeg chose not to promote Baptiste, but nevertheless increased his wages. Considering Moberly's concern that Laliberte's sons would become free traders if their father was not placated, it is not surprising that Baptiste was re-engaged as postmaster on another three-year contract at a higher rate of pay.[26] The Company's final assessment of Baptiste was that, while he was a fairly good man, he was undoubtedly "under priestly influence and very likely assisting the Traders."[27]

The role of the Laliberte family in the English River District trade extended beyond the male line and to the couple's daughters when daughter Angèle married Company servant, interpreter, and postmaster François Maurice, and went to live at Portage La Loche. During the 1870s, Maurice dealt with free traders in his quarter of the District. In an 1873 letter, William McMurray notified François Maurice that his wife's uncle, Raphaël

Morin, had just returned to Île à la Crosse in the fall with an "astonishing ten cart loads" of goods from Manitoba, and it was believed that he would be traveling north in the spring to trade with the Dene.[28] McMurray further informed Maurice that two men, one named Primeau and the other Louis Mariou, had established themselves at Cold Lake and Goose Lake with a large supply of goods themselves. McMurray was concerned that Primeau in particular would be successful in his trading goals because he knew the Indians of those quarters quite well. Therefore, he wanted Maurice to send two of his most trustworthy men into those regions and collect the furs from a man named Delttaize as well as other Dene men.[29] Pierriche and Sarazine's children followed their father into the trade in various legitimate capacities, spreading out throughout the English River District, marrying into the local Metis and Indian communities, and protecting the HBC from free traders (while sometimes dabbling in the activity themselves).

Although Pierriche had retired from the Company once before in 1849, when he left the service and moved to Red River before reengaging in 1851 as a steersman (in all likelihood a means of returning to the English River District), it was not until after he achieved the rank of postmaster in 1857 that his potential to disrupt the trade became a real threat to the Company. After relying on Pierriche, who had forged for himself a marital alliance with another large and well-connected family, the Morins, the Company was now faced with the proposition of having an extremely skilled trader and manager living inland who by now had a few adult children beginning to forge their own alliances and further expand their parents' wahkootowin into other HBC families and Indian communities. At the same time, the Company was facing a growing threat to their monopoly in the form of free traders entering the English River District from Manitoba and northern Alberta. For example, Pierriche's son, Alexandre, was dealing with a free trader at Canoe Lake named William Venne, who had gained the trade of several of that region's Indian families.[30]

Upon his retirement, it was Pierriche Laliberte's wish to become a freeman, purchase his outfit from Manitoba and operate on the Green Lake road connecting the

English River District to Carlton. He asked Île à la Crosse Chief Factor William McMurray to assist him in reaching an agreement with the Company to obtain twenty draught oxen, good harnesses and carts, and goods from Fort Gary at Red River. McMurray forwarded Laliberte's request to Winnipeg endorsing the proposal, adding that he felt Pierriche was "honest & reliable" and would make an excellent freighter. Furthermore, McMurray did not "think that Mr. Laliberte has any intentions of setting up as a 'free trader' if he can do otherwise."[31] Perhaps more importantly, according to McMurray, Laliberte "is besides connected with the Morins and others in this district—If he were to get a contract for Freight, his relatives would receive employment from him, and would thus be prevented from entering the service of our opponents."[32] By giving Laliberte a legitimate freeman's business to operate, the Company understood that they would face no opposition from his sons or extended relatives, who would be more inclined to support their relative rather than the Company.

By the late 1870s, the Laliberte family was well connected to the Morins through Pierriche's wife Sarazine, as well as to the Maurice, Jourdain, and Collings families. Like the Lalibertes, the Morins were the only other family in the English River District to live in all three main communities—Île à la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche—as well as smaller communities, such as Devils Lake, Lac la Caribou (Reindeer Lake), and Meadow Lake (see **Figure 9**). Sarazine's father, Antoine, a French Canadian, and her mother, Pélagie Boucher, had fifteen children between 1824 and the 1850s (see **Appendix D**). Five of Sarazine's younger brothers held contracts with the HBC and lived throughout the District with equally large families, while two of her sisters married HBC servants. By the end of the nineteenth century, Raphaël, Sophie, and Marie Morin had relocated to the Shell River/Devils Lake area located on the Green Lake road. Of Pierriche and Sarazine's sons, Pierre Jr. married Géneviève Jourdain, the daughter of Jean Baptiste Jourdain, another HBC servant from Montreal, and Margaret Bear (L'Ours), a Cree woman from the English River District. Finally, Antoine, then a sawyer for the HBC, was married to his

first wife who, although unnamed in the records, was the daughter of HBC servant George Sanderson. By the 1870s, Antoine may have married Mathilda Collings (also known by the surnames Fraser and/or Clement), about whom no other information was recorded (see **Appendix C**).

A year after retiring, Pierriche changed his mind and decided to reengage in the service for at least one more contract. In the fall of 1875, he also decided to have his two sons return from St. Boniface College so that they could work with him. To facilitate their return, he requested that the Company transport them to Green Lake. McMurray directed that the Company in Winnipeg make arrangements for the boy's travel to Green Lake with the understanding that Laliberte would repay the expense.[33] The decision to bring his two sons home meant that Pierriche was not only able to employ his sons at Green Lake, but also, and more importantly, strengthen the presence of his wahkootowin in the area through their social and economic efforts. This was surely a tactical maneuver intended to send a message to the Company not to trifle with the Laliberte family, for the next year Pierriche openly began discussing retirement yet again. By this time, Pierriche felt that, besides his trading operation, his position as post manager at Green Lake was requiring too much additional work.[34]

Unlike two years earlier, the comments written about Laliberte's character in 1876-77 were much less flattering. The Company no longer described him as "honest & reliable." Although still regarded as an excellent post manager, his inability to read or write was now considered an "embarrassment" and a hindrance to the Company's reputation, making Green Lake a less reputable post.[35] The Company sought to relocate Pierriche to a smaller outpost, but he refused to be reassigned and indicated that Green Lake would be his home upon retirement.[36] McMurray's description of Laliberte as an embarrassment was secondary to his assertions in an 1875 letter to a John McTavish that he negatively impacted the reputation of the Green Lake post. Despite the obvious lack of respect for Laliberte, McMurray must have believed that it was beyond his capacity

to force him out of the area because Laliberte remained at Green Lake. Ideally, from a Company perspective, when Pierriche retired he should not have remained in the English River District, but rather left and gone to Manitoba, as he had in 1849.[37] This, perhaps, more than any other comment about him, spoke to Laliberte's influence, that he was able to prevent the Company from either relocating or demoting him to a lesser class of servant. Laliberte was, however, subsequently denied an opportunity to retire until his current contract ended, and so remained managing the Green Lake post.

Despite friction with the Company over his retirement plans for 1876, Laliberte continued to hope that he would be permitted to establish a freighting business as a freeman when his contract expired. However, he knew that he would require the Company's assistance in obtaining contracts and procuring goods to haul. Negative comments about Pierriche's literacy levels notwithstanding, McMurray supported Laliberte's post-retirement plans. McMurray wrote that he understood that the Company did not like to extend credit to individuals establishing their own business ventures, but felt that on this occasion they should make an exception, stating once more that as long as Laliberte received aid he would not contribute to the betterment of the Company's actual free trading opponents. He cited as example Paul Delaronde, Sr., a man associated with Sarazine Morin Laliberte's sister Sophie, who had recently moved into the Green Lake District and was a known "Indian trader." McMurray felt that Delaronde wanted Laliberte's assistance in his free trading efforts. As part of his final plea, McMurray asked the Company to remember that Laliberte and his sons could not afford to lead an idle life at Green Lake and required something to occupy them, otherwise they would surely begin their own free trading operations.[38] Laliberte retired in the spring of 1876 and immediately went to Winnipeg to negotiate a freighting agreement with the Company for an operation in the English River District. He was apparently successful because the next mention of him in the Île à la Crosse records was in June 1877, when his men arrived at the post to begin freighting.

It is unclear exactly what occurred next, but by 1879 Laliberte was back in the service at Green Lake, although no longer in charge of the post. According to Ewan McDonald, chief trader for Île à la Crosse from 1876-1883, Laliberte still desired to be a freighter and remain at Green Lake. McDonald further stated that he knew that Laliberte was "removed" from service because he was incapable of managing the Green Lake post any longer due to his illiteracy and inability to speak or understand English. Still, McDonald felt that Pierriche's ability to work effectively with the Indians and speak their language(s) made him a good employee and effective assistant to the new post manager. Despite such ambivalence about him, Laliberte remained in the Company's employ at Green Lake until June 1882. In that year, according to McDonald, Laliberte was still refusing to move away from Green Lake even after his official retirement. With no other options, McDonald arranged for Laliberte to live in his own house apart from the post on the understanding that he would have to look after his own living. Clearly, the Company was not committing itself to assist Laliberte's attempt to establish his own business or pay a pension that would support him and his large family.[39]

By the late 1880s, Pierriche Laliberte was once again employed by the Company, but now, at the age of seventy-two years, he was again the postmaster at Portage La Loche. The 1889 Portage La Loche Post Report recorded that one of the HBC's dwellings was occupied by Pierriche, Sarazine, and an unnamed daughter who may have been their granddaughter, Adélaide Lafleur, whom they were by then raising. Interestingly, despite his often combative relationship with the Company, Pierriche was still regarded as a good and honest trader, although it was felt that he was getting too old for active service. Pierriche was not alone at Portage La Loche. Just as at Green Lake, his children played a pivotal role in their father's career. His sons Baptiste and Antoine were by then at Portage La Loche with their families, as was his daughter Angèle and her family. Mathilda Collings, Antoine's wife, and three of their children were with him while Baptiste's wife Marie Philomène Testawich (also known by the alternate surnames Courtarais and Rupert), daughter of Michel Testawich and Sophie La Chance, was also there.[40]

Meanwhile, in that same year, Roy Laliberte (whose actual name was Louis, but he preferred to be called Roy) was engaged at Green Lake as a fisherman for a nine-month contract. Roy was married to Virginie Merasty, daughter of Bazile Merasty and Josephte Durocher. In the Green Lake records, Roy was listed as the stepson-in-law of James Nicol Sinclair, the former HBC employee who was now married to Josephte Durocher and also accused of free trading by the Company in 1892.[41] Alexandre was also at Green Lake with his wife and family.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Laliberte children were married into the Souris, Meraste, Sinclair, Lafleur, Jourdain, Collings, Bekattla, Iron, Testawitch, Girard, and Chatelain families via both the second generation and the maturing grandchildren of Pierriche and Sarazine. The Lafleur and Meraste families were Metis Cree based at Île à la Crosse, Canoe Lake, and Green Lake. Conversely, the Bekattla family was known as Metis Dene from Portage La Loche, Bull's House, and Île à la Crosse, and, although a small family in comparison, well respected throughout English River by other Metis families and the HBC. The Irons have historically been known as both Metis and Cree, with members of the family signing Treaty Ten and becoming members of the Canoe Lake Cree Indian band. As already noted, one of Pierriche's daughters-in-law, Mary Isabelle/ Elizabeth, was the daughter of Raphaël Iron, a Chief at Canoe Lake. The Sinclairs, Jourdains, and Girards were well-established Metis Cree HBC families working in the Île à la Crosse region. Based on these direct extended family connections to Indian and Metis communities throughout the English River District, the Company had every reason to be wary of the power that Pierriche and his children would have in re-directing the trade and opposing the Company if they so chose (see **Appendix C**).

Clearly, one of the HBC's greatest concerns was that experienced servants, such as Pierriche Laliberte, would disengage and become free traders, thereby helping other trading firms. It had become less likely that disengaging servants, who had lived inland for

many years, married, and had families, would willingly or quietly retire to Europe, eastern Canada, or Red River. Rather, it was more likely that they would engage in alternative economies. There were, throughout the nineteenth century, men, and sometimes women, who engaged in a variety of economic activities to support themselves and fulfill roles important to the HBC, but tasks that were not necessarily cost effective for the Company to assign to contracted servants. Consequently, the economic niche of freemen expanded in relevance and became a payment for service position in the early nineteenth century, and eventually led to the establishment of the free trader class by the late 1850s. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, there appears to have been a fairly clear distinction in Île à la Crosse between freemen and free traders. The term "freemen" officially indicated men retired from the service of the HBC living inland, occasionally contracting with the Company as labourers or purchasing trade outfits and then selling the furs they obtained back to the Company. Free traders, however, were involved with commercial trading outfits that infringed on the Company's monopoly and took profits away from one District of origin while often supported and supplied by competing HBC trade districts, if not independent fur companies.

By the 1870s, American companies and small, independent trading companies with which the free traders could trade were operating in the Northwest. It appears that in the post-1870 period, free traders at Île à la Crosse purchased trade outfits from Lac La Biche, Prince Albert, and Winnipeg, and then sold their furs to those locations, thereby diverting fur returns and profits away from HBC operations in the English River District. For instance, the Île à la Crosse post journal in July 1892 noted that Michel Bouvier, Sr. went to meet with American traders at Deer River.[42] Several years later, the Post Report for the 1896-1897 season noted that the post was experiencing competition with Lac La Biche, especially from Louis'on Janvier.[43] Similarly, the 1900 Portage La Loche Report noted that Messers Marcelain and Lalonde along with Elliam Gordon had their traders in that region all winter, well stocked with provisions and dry goods. No details about Marcelain

and Lalonde were given, but Gordon was described as being from Fort McMurray and, unlike the others, personally supervising his own business at Portage La Loche.[44] At about the same time, Revillon Freres, the Paris-based furrier, had diversified its operations and began opening up fur posts in the Canadian subarctic to compete with the HBC.[45]

While there is a clear distinction between freemen and free traders, the boundary between the two concepts sometimes became blurred and the terms were often used interchangeably. Freemen were likely to become free traders when it benefited the economic needs of their wahkootowin. The Company was in the habit of extending debt to freemen for their summer and winter operations further inland, but expected that the furs that they collected would be sold to the post at a reasonable price. Keith recorded in September 1823 that Jean Baptiste le Mai, a freeman in debt to the Company, left Île à la Crosse for Indian Lake. Less than a year later, he expressed concern over a "parcel of renegade freemen" from around Green Lake who had obtained supplies at Île à la Crosse for their summer outfits and then left.[46] It is difficult to discern what separated a freeman from a renegade except, perhaps, that it was a man who had engaged in illicit free trading. Or, maybe, renegades simply asserted greater independence from the Company than other freemen who purchased goods on credit and returned faithfully to the post to pay off those debts with the product of their labour. Perhaps renegade freemen had a more literal interpretation of *free* than did the Company.

The issuing of pensions to men such as Pierriche Laliberte was an effective form of insurance against having well-placed family men engage in free trading. Having drawn upon their family connections to ensure steady and profitable trade with the Company, it was believed that they would likely use those connections to support their individual commercial endeavours. The threat of free traders necessitated that the Company take action that it was not necessarily content with doing, such as issuing pensions to particularly well-placed servants on the verge of retiring. In a 1 June 1891 letter from H.J. Moberly,

the Officer in Charge of Île à la Crosse, written to the Department Office, the following assessment was made regarding an unidentified pensioner:

> In consideration of the services rendered to the HBCo during a long life time and his honesty & good character as well as the fact that all his sons are long as they lived here always worked faithfully for the HBCo I have granted him a Pension of 50MB a year from this date as long as I remain in charge of Isle a la Crosse District and hope that my successor will continue the same as long as the old man lives. Now that his last son has died in our employment and he has no one to assist him in His Old Age.[47]

It is hard to know how many retired servants became freemen or engaged in free trading because, again, the analysis of this issue is based only on comments made by officers when they felt that their operations were threatened and not on statistical information gleaned from English River District fur returns.

There was an undertone of insecurity expressed in many of the Company's journal entries and letters concerning men retiring from service—how would they seek their fortunes, who would ensure that they were cared for, where would they live? Were retired servants on pensions unacknowledged freemen or did they have greater potential to become free traders? In a January 1844 letter to George Simpson, Chief Factor Roderick Mackenzie of Île à la Crosse noted that as of 1 June of that year, the contracts of ten men would expire and he did not know how many would decide to renew, although he was told that many were determined to leave the service. Mackenzie noted that "the greatest number of them are Natives of this District, and from Red River, and are very good men."[48] Although retired, former servants would need to continue working to support themselves and their families, and at a place like Île à la Crosse with few other economic options, and with few other skills and experience, they were likely to continue trading with friends and relatives, thereby diverting trade from the Company as long as they were able to

obtain outfits from the District's competitors. It was up to the HBC to determine how best to harness the energies and engender loyalty to the Company as a priority over familial loyalty.

While the HBC began to worry about independent free traders in the English River District immediately after 1821, by the 1840s their presence became great enough to cause problems for the Company. The options available for non-Company employment in Île à la Crosse were limited, and those with relatives in English River laid off because of the merger had to locate alternative economic opportunities beyond even free trading. Agricultural pursuits beyond gardens and some grain crops were not possible in this often uncertain environment. Perhaps it was the lack of agricultural or non-fur trade employment opportunities that prompted some of the Morin family to move south to Meadow Lake, Beauval, and the Big River areas in the late nineteenth century. Hunting and fishing in the English River District was certainly possible, as was procuring foods to trade to the Company itself, but perhaps not feasible for many to engage in such pursuits. For men who had spent all their adult lives engaged in commercially driven occupations and were used to purchasing goods of luxury and necessity, and had large numbers of dependents, free trading was likely an attractive alternative to other economic pursuits. Further, as with the free traders in the Red River region during the 1840s and 1850s, it is likely that the Metis of Île à la Crosse did not fully recognize the authority of the Company's monopoly to control their personal economic endeavours. After all, from their perspective had the Company not benefited from the personal familial alliances that were the backbone of many of its operations? From a historically Metis perspective, the alliances and connections forged by Company men, not the monopoly, had made the trade profitable.

Based upon incidental if vague Company references, throughout the 1840s and 1850s, there were an indeterminate number of free traders. However, while the numbers or actual financial influence of these men is not well articulated within the types of qualitative records used in this study, concern over their influence in the region is revealed through the

Île à la Crosse posts' increased references to their activities and movements. It was at this time that the earlier, fairly clear distinction between freemen and free traders began to blur. By the mid-nineteenth century, free traders were described as being a part of "bands," with one man typically identified as being in charge. Presumably, these were extended family groups led by senior adult males. Free trader bands were typically Metis families with intimate connections to Chipewyan or Cree communities, most likely through extended family relationships. Such an arrangement seems to have been the case with the Janvier family of the Portage La Loche region, who were known to be closely intermarried with the Chipewyan of that territory.

In the spring of 1845, while the men packed for the annual journey to York Factory with the winter's returns, the Île à la Crosse officer in charge was awaiting the arrival of Baptiste Janvier and Little Ice's Chipewyan bands with their winter furs. The officers did not want to embark for York Factory until the furs from these two bands were a part of Île à la Crosse's inventory. "Janvier's band" made regular visits to Île à la Crosse throughout the 1840s, sometimes with provisions to trade to the post that they exchanged for required goods for the upcoming season inland. It would appear that Baptiste Janvier's bands were operating in the capacity of freemen with a fairly good relationship with the Company.[49] Fifty years later, in February 1893, Henry J. Moberly at Portage La Loche notified Île à la Crosse that a man in Louison Janvier's (possibly the son of Baptiste Janvier) band was trading contrary to the agreement that the Company had made with Janvier. Moberly confiscated the man's goods and prepared an inventory to be sent to Île à la Crosse. Louison Janvier, a resident of Portage La Loche, was described by the Company as "belong[ing] to Portage La Loche and ... related to many of the Indians there."[50] So, Louison Janvier was categorized as free trader rather than freeman, and yet the Company continued to have an expectation that his bands would trade at Île à la Crosse, not Lac La Biche.

While there were a number of Janvier families (who, at this time, are not adequately linked genealogically), it is known that Louison Janvier was the brother of Pascal Janvier,

son of Janvier and Marguerite Piche, and married to his cousin Elizabeth Janvier (her parentage unknown). Louison's father may have indeed been the Baptiste Janvier to whom was referred in 1845. Decades later, Louison was supplied with trade goods by the HBC post at Lac La Biche, and since 1890 had traded a great deal with Indians at Fort McMurray and Portage La Loche. According to the Company, the success of Louison's free trading operation was because he belonged to the Portage La Loche area and was related to many of the Chipewayan, and that, consequently, he "makes that an excuse for going among them."[51] Louison Janvier was therefore in regular competition with the HBC posts at Portage La Loche and Fort McMurray in the early 1890s, receiving his supplies from the HBC post at Lac La Biche and using his family connections to further his economic agenda.[52]

According to Company officials in Winnipeg, when Janvier made his annual visits to Portage La Loche he was actually paying higher prices for furs than the HBC post there, which was why he was able to compete so effectively against them. Yet, much to the Company's annoyance in the English River District, the HBC depot at Lac La Biche continued to supply Janvier with goods throughout the 1890s. Not surprisingly, English River District officials regularly demanded that this practice cease. Janvier's enterprise in the region was so extensive that in the winter of 1892 he established independent winter posts at Portage La Loche, Jackfish Lake (23 miles from Portage La Loche), Whitefish Lake (20 miles from Portage La Loche), and Swan Lake (on the headwaters of Clearwater River). As annoyed as the officer in charge was with Janvier's behaviour, he felt that Lac La Biche should be compelled by Winnipeg to stop Janvier from infringing on Portage La Loche's trade, and therefore the English River District's, and compel him to trade with Île à la Crosse.[53]

The influence of these freemen and/or free trader bands to interfere with the Company's monopoly became so significant that from the 1850s to 1890s Île à la Crosse officials spent a great deal of time ruminating on how to neutralize their effects. Beginning

in the late 1840s, there was an apparent increase in the amount of free trading taking place in the English River District, as evidenced by the growing number of journal entries, letters, and district reports on the topic. In the summer of 1847, Mr. McPherson at the Portage La Loche post reported that a man named L'Esperance was starting his own traffic in leather, although the man was denying any such efforts. McPherson and his crews had taken all the leather that they could from freemen such as L'Esperance along the Portage route. More troublesome, though, according to McPherson, was that the Halfbreeds on the Mackenzie River were obtaining skins from the Dene of Fort Chipewyan and delivering them to their "countrymen" at the Portage. McPherson's crews claimed to have stopped about half of this traffic in leather.[54]

To prevent the movement of free traders into the District from other trade territories or Red River, the HBC's northern department began policing travel routes and attempted to stop from entering all men not contracted to particular Districts. In January 1854, George Deschambeault of Île à la Crosse notified Simpson that no free traders traveling by boat had been able to enter the District the previous fall. There had been reports that at least two boats were destined for Île à la Crosse, but Deschambeault heard that Scott W. Simpson's crews at Green Lake persuaded them to go in another direction. Grateful for the assistance, Deschambeault further impressed upon Simpson that if a large party of free traders from outside the District chose to descend on Île à la Crosse, the post would be unable to defend against them. Île à la Crosse had neither enough contracted servants to prevent them from trading as they pleased nor the necessary goods needed to compete effectively for the trade against them.

Despite all best efforts to prevent their entrance into the English River District, free traders appeared at both Deers Lake and Lac La Ronge in 1856.[55] Pierre Bruce, for example, made it to La Ronge and was seeking out furs from the Cree of that area.[56] According to Deschambeault,

> This man is a native of English River and will give us some trouble. I was told that he appears to be much interested for the welfare and

> prosperity of 'Mr. Samuel Indians' [*sic*] and is well known to be real adept at deception. I am informed that he brought an outfit of eight or nine pieces of Trade and has changed Entirely the Tariff of that Place. It is said that on his way up he collected a large pack of furs which he traded with Cumberland Indians a privilege which we have not even ourselves to trade with Indians of another District, but his ambition which has no bounds did more and I am sorry to say on account of the respect and regard we have for the Church Mission that this wanderer found a passage both for himself and Baggage into one of their Boats from Cumberland to Mr. Samuel's place.[57]

Reverend Tate of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) attempted to prevent Bruce from taking passage in one of their boats, but the Indians manning the boat rejected Tate's authority and "they actually threatened to leave Mr. Tate and his Boat if he objected to Embark Bruce and his property." Deschambeault did not want Simpson to blame either the minister or the CMS for Bruce's actions because he had no power to prevent what had transpired.[58]

As a direct consequence of the incident with Bruce in La Ronge, Deschambeault immediately stocked both Green Lake and La Ronge with every conceivable trade good to try to compete more effectively with the free traders. Furthermore, the Company men in English River remained vigilant. Even as Deschambeault was writing to Simpson he had received word that Samuel Mackenzie had sent two of his best men after some free traders. It was Deschambeault's opinion that the number of free traders was increasing and that their operations in English River were becoming so extensive that they would soon "overrun the whole country even to the Frozen Ocean with American goods."[59] Perhaps more damaging, the free traders supposedly did everything they could to corrupt the Indians of the District by telling them lies and stories about the Company. Fortunately, Deschambeault felt that most of the Indians would remain loyal to the Company and refuse to trade with the interlopers.[60]

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, there were growing concerns about the movements of free traders into and around English River. According to Company officials, the traders

were causing great "acts of destruction" among Indians throughout the District by introducing a trade in alcohol. The worst offenders, according to George Deschambeault, were "The Desjarlais."[61] While it is unclear which Desjarlais was/were being referred to because there were several large families of Desjarlais spread throughout the English River District and into northern Alberta, Deschambeault clearly felt that he, more than any other free trader, had tainted the act of trading with his wickedness. In 1858, according to Deschambeault,

> The Desjarlais and the two Murderers of poor old Naulet [Paulet] Paul and of that poor little Englishman Houston at [T]he Pas are making themselves conspicuous among those who are working against the Company. Those scamps have so far escaped retribution for their crimes but leaving their wickedness and follies aside, It is nevertheless vexing and I should say almost beyond the limits of human endurance to see with our own eyes those Miscreants walking freely abroad with their hands in their pockets and a feather upon their caps much as to say they did not care a button either for law, justice or in fact any thing else.[62]

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the Company began noting that free traders from Red River and other trading districts were moving into, and establishing themselves in, the English River District. In the fall of 1862, Île à la Crosse was told to expect their first free trader that winter, a Charles McDermott of Red River.[63] Île à la Crosse was also cautioned that others were on their way from Red River, and that the post needed to prepare itself for their incursion into the English River trade.[64] The exact number of free traders from Red River who entered English River is unknown, although they were possibly relocating because of changes brought to the area as a result of the events leading up to that community's entrance into Canadian Confederation and the growing influx of eastern Canadian immigrants to the territory, or just reflective of the Metis trading class in that region attempting to expand their operations.

From 1865-1870, Île à la Crosse also began keeping an extensive and growing list of freemen in the District. Amongst the list of freemen over those five years were "the Widow

Morin" and many men who had once been regularly contracted as HBC servants, such as Pierre Laliberte, François Roy, Alex Robillard, Vincent Daigneault, George Sanderson, and Joseph Girard.[65] Over those five years, there was an average of thirteen freemen per year in the District (see **Table 4**). The surnames were common to English River: Cook, Lafleur, Lariviere, McCallum, Merasty, Rat, Sylvestre, and Touslesjour/Herman. Perhaps more interesting, though, listed amongst individual freemen were categories of "Est." associated with particular men.[66] For example, in 1867, in the freeman's balances were the "Est. of Baptiste Jourdain," "Est. of Antoine Morin," and "Est. of Robert McKinnon." The notion of "Est." was a reference to "establishments" of freemen, which may be similar to the basic organization of a hunting band where the patriarch was the leader, surrounded by his family who worked together rather than with a trading house per se. There was no description of what a freeman establishment was, but presumably it referred to a commercial freeman and his family-based enterprise supported by the Company as an alternative to having men become free traders.[67]

The situation with free traders only worsened in the 1880s. The District Report for those years lamented that the employment of so many free traders throughout the English River District was a product of a greater evil—the free traders inspired Indians to all kinds of bad behaviour, including trading at night so that they could slip past the post unnoticed.[68] Baptiste Laliberte at Portage La Loche was facing opposition from two free traders, Peeche Pruden of Fort McMurray and another from Lac La Biche. Furthermore, in the Green Lake region, free trader William Venne was active. In 1888, Venne was one of the Company's main opponents, organizing a large business with three traders at Canoe Lake in opposition to Alexandre Laliberte, three more down the English River, and two at Buffalo Lake. In a Post Report from Île à la Crosse in the late 1880s, it was noted that Venne had "gotten a hold of the Irons and Coulleneurs," despite Alexandre Laliberte being married to the chief's daughter, Mary Isabelle/Elizabeth Iron. The Company report appears to be a bit of an exaggeration, as it goes on to note that Alexandre, because of his

Table 4. Freemen in the English River District, 1857-1870

	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870
Anderson, William							x	x	x					
Bell, Thomas								x	x					
Cook, George	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Cook, William	x	x					x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Cook, William [a]	x	x												
Daigneault, Vincent										x				
Desjarlais, Joseph	x	x	x	x	x	x								
Frog, John Pibor			x	x										
Girard, Joseph														x
Jourdain, Baptiste							x	x	x	x				
Jourdain, Est. of Baptiste											x	x	x	
Jourdain, Baptiste Daigneault												x	x	
Lachance, Charles	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x			
Lafleur, Charles											x	x	x	x
Lafleur, Pierre							x	x	x					
Laliberte, Pierre										x				
Lariviere, Abraham								x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Malbauf, Pierre		x	x	x	x									
McCallum, James												x	x	
McCallum, John												x	x	
McKay, Thomas									x	x				
McKenzie, Thomas	x	x	x	x	x									
McKinnon, Robert or Est. of										x	x			
Mirasty, David			x	x		x								
Mirasty, Magloire												x	x	
Mirasty, Philip		x												x
Morin, Antoine or Est. of			x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x
Morin, Baptiste														x

	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870
Morin, Raphaël	x													
Morin, Widow									x	x				
Morriseau, Michel			x											
Nepetappeanaise														x
Rat, William							x		x	x	x			
Ray, William								x						
Robillard, Alexis											x			
Roy, François										x			x	
Rupert, George								x						
Sanderson, George C.										x				
Sanderson, William										x				
Sasty, Charles				x	x	x	x	x						
Stevens, George	x													
Sylvestre, Jean Baptiste		x		x		x		x	x	x	x			
Tapecappo, Louison													x	
Tawepissime, Michel	x	x	x	x										
Testawich, Michel or Est. of								x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Touslesjour, André		x		x	x	x	x			x	x			

Source: HBCA, B.89/g/1, file 1, Abstracts of Servants Accounts.

position, had indeed obtained a large number of furs from his wife's family, but in return was distributing too much debt to them and that that practice had to stop regardless of Venne's presence.[69] It is clear that Alexandre was utilizing the Company's resources to placate his relations for the benefit of the Company. Venne also had a northern operation in the Buffalo Narrows region. Baptiste Charlot Lafleur, a headman, and two Indians from that region were trading the produce from their hunts exclusively to Venne. Furthermore, to oppose free traders, Île à la Crosse had to post both an interpreter and an additional man at Canoe Lake, an officer and fisherman at the Buffalo Narrows winter post under Charles Pierre Lafleur, and additional men at the Souris River post. Otherwise, Île à la Crosse assigned men to visit the Indian communities weekly or bi-weekly to obtain provisions and furs. As a result of these measures, the expenses of the District rose steadily.[70] Ironically, Charles Pierre Lafleur, the man sent to Buffalo Narrows to protect the region against free traders, eventually became one himself.

In the instances of Venne at Canoe Lake and Baptiste Charlot Lafleur at Buffalo Narrows, the District clearly recognized and attempted to utilize the power of wahkootowin to stop their activities. Venne's operation called upon the Irons and Couillonneurs to trade with him against the Green Lake post, so the Company placed Alexandre Laliberte, husband of Mary Isabelle/Elizabeth Iron and therefore son-in-law to the chief, at Canoe Lake to try to utilize their familial loyalty for him and English River operation.

In the case of Baptiste Charlot Lafleur, a Charles Pierre Lafleur was engaged in Buffalo Narrows. Born in the English River District, Charles Pierre Lafleur first signed on with the Company in 1861 as an interpreter for the Chipewyan language and eventually served as postmaster at the Buffalo Narrows outpost from 1888 to 1890 to protect it from free traders. Charles Pierre and Baptiste Charlot Lafleur were roughly the same age and both were sons of men named Charles Lafleur, although they had different mothers. It is possible that these two men were relatives—perhaps brothers—but the overall lack of documentation for the Lafleur family makes any final determination impossible. While

employed by the Company, Charles Pierre became one of its highest paid employees and was regarded as an honest and trustworthy servant. After being hurt in the early 1890s, Lafleur sought to retire and requested a pension. In a letter to Henry Moberly at Île à la Crosse, C.C. Chipman of Winnipeg wrote that Lafleur was hardly old enough to receive a pension, although he would be granted one because he had been injured. The pension allotted to Lafleur was only £8 per year and would be given only at the Company's pleasure, not as an entitlement for Lafleur's loyalty as a servant. Furthermore, the pension was to be borne by the English River District accounts, not Winnipeg's. Presumably because he was still relatively young and the pension not especially generous, by the late 1890s Lafleur was a free trader working in Prince Albert with Baker and Company. When Winnipeg learned this, they alerted Île à la Crosse that the pension could be immediately cancelled if proof were obtained that Lafleur was trading against the Company.[71] The use of pensions was a common means of controlling former servants to prevent them from trading against Company interests in regions like Île à la Crosse during an era when the alternative for several men was to engage in free trading. Although pensions were typically only paid to members of a retired (i.e. inactive) workforce, the case of Charles Lafleur demonstrates that those who were able continued to engage in economic pursuits.

When asked to take charge of Île à la Crosse in the early 1890s by Chief Commissioner Wrigley in Manitoba, Henry Moberly was advised that the post was in dire straits because it was overrun with free traders and plagued by unreliable servants. According to Wrigley, Île à la Crosse had "gone to the devil."[72] By 1891, Moberly had considered leaving the service himself but decided to remain for another three-year contract to be properly promoted and increase his pension, and so he took the job at Île à la Crosse. Upon arriving at the post, Moberly claimed to have dismissed "the ringleaders among the refactory servants, letting the rest understand I would tolerate no insubordination."[73] He then visited the outposts, put them in order, and returned his attention to the free traders. By the end of 1891, Moberly declared that Île à la Crosse was rid of free traders and the Company's

predominance restored.[74] Interestingly, this was the same chief trader who had advised the Company against cancelling Pierriche Laliberte's pension and barring him from trading, thereby alienating him and his large wahkootowin. Arguably, to restore the power of the English River District, Moberly needed to harness the more powerful families, such as the Lalibertes, and convince them to remain loyal to the Company—a task that could only be accomplished if the Company itself acknowledged the Metis wahkootowin.

Moberly's hopeful words were short lived. Two years later, he suggested to his superiors at Winnipeg that Magloire Maurice of Portage La Loche, along with another temporary labourer, be sent to establish an outpost at Cree Lake the following winter. According to Moberly, there were good furs in the Cree Lake area, but to prevent the Indians from trading with the free traders that were located throughout the English River District, it was advisable to establish an outpost there under a loyal servant. Having entered the service in 1879, by the late 1880s, Magloire, son of François Maurice and Angèle Laliberte, was in charge of Pine River, and in the winter of 1892-1893 he was put charge of Portage La Loche's winter outpost, Cree Lake (Sandy Lake), servicing a largely Dene population. Magloire was deemed by the Company to be a good servant, so much so that, while in the employ of the Company, he and his wife Philomène Lariviere lived in housing supplied by the Company. At the time of establishing the Cree Lake outpost, Moberly was already preparing the supplies that needed to be shipped to Cree Lake by August, and so he demanded a prompt response from Winnipeg.[75]

A similar concern to the HBC throughout the 1890s was free trader and sometime HBC employee, Paul Delaronde, Sr. Little personal information is available regarding Paul Delaronde's life and career in Île à la Crosse. He came from Manitoba and had children with Marguerite Sinclair and Sophie Morin, although he did not marry either of them in the Île à la Crosse mission.[76] He first appears in the post records in the 1870s, and attempted to establish various commercial enterprises throughout the English River District over the next two decades while a permanent resident of the region.

As early as September 1874, Chief Factor William McMurray of Île à la Crosse noticed that a free trader named Paul Delaronde had arrived at Green Lake, well-stocked with goods and provisions, and established himself near the post. McMurray estimated that the amount of supplies in Delaronde's possession would cause a considerable amount of loss and trouble for the Company. After a year in the District, according to the Company, Delaronde had managed to get furs from the Cree around Green Lake despite their best efforts to stop him. However, it was felt that Delaronde would not make too much profit that year because he had given out too much debt to entice the Cree to his business. Delaronde did not spend the winter in Green Lake that year, but the Company felt that not only would he return, other free traders would follow. Indeed, Delaronde returned, and throughout the remainder of the decade he continued to actively oppose the Company with his business. While his first year may not have been profitable, his activities made enough of an impact on the Company that they attempted to engage him as a servant in 1880. According to Ewan McDonald, chief trader at Île à la Crosse following McMurray, Delaronde refused their offer because he would not take orders from any man. McDonald, however, felt that the real reason was that he had already obtained a trading outfit for that year (see **Appendix I**).[77]

Continuing to deal with the Delaronde issue, Company officials at Île à la Crosse began to feel that at least part of the reason for his success as a free trader was the behaviour of Ewan McDonald, who served at Île à la Crosse from 1876 to 1883. Returning to Prince Albert from Edmonton in 1880, Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke found three chiefs and their headmen from Île à la Crosse awaiting him. According to Clarke, he and the chiefs spoke for over twelve hours about McDonald's treatment of the Indians in his District. According to the chiefs, they were so poorly treated by McDonald that they were now refusing to trade with the Company as long as he continued on in his present position in their territory. To calm the men over the short term and as a show of good faith, Clarke gave each chief a $50 credit and the young men who accompanied them $25-35 worth of credit

each, which was then taken out of Île à la Crosse's accounts. Clarke was also aware that Delaronde was trading for a company known as Ashdown and Agnew of Winnipeg and for an individual named Baptiste Stobart (also known in the Duck Lake region) in opposition to the Company, giving the Indians other opportunities to dispose of their furs. Clarke wrote to McDonald, detailing the complaints and notifying him that the Commissioners in Winnipeg had likewise been informed of the trouble. Clarke suggested to McDonald that perhaps it was time for him to leave the region voluntarily.[78]

Feeling that the best way to neutralize Delaronde's influence was to get him into the Company, in 1881 McDonald successfully signed him on as a freeman with his own outfit. McDonald was informed by Chief Moshonas of Pelican Lake that the Indians of that region did not like Delaronde and preferred not to deal with him, and so Delaronde operated to the south at Green Lake.[79] Considering the seriousness of the complaints lodged against McDonald less than a year earlier, it is not a stretch to surmise that he was attempting to salvage his own reputation by painting Delaronde as unliked by the Indians. Overall, Delaronde's behaviour towards the Indians of English River District could not have been too egregious because the Company was still outfitting him four years later. For the 1884 trading season, Delaronde and the Company negotiated their same arrangement, and, beginning in 1885, he was regularly engaged as a clerk at £100 per annum. More importantly, from the Company's perspective, by receiving his yearly outfits from the Company, Delaronde fell into debt. Roderick Ross at Île à la Crosse was notified that if Delaronde was unable to pay off his debts by the end of the 1884 trading season, he would be obliged to hand over his cattle to the Company at market rates.[80] Slowly, the Company was gaining financial control of Delaronde's behaviour and economic choices. In May 1888, Paul Delaronde was once more a topic of discussion at the HBC post of Île à la Crosse. Joseph Fortescue wrote to Lawrence Clarke at Prince Albert, describing Delaronde as having once been a thorn in the side of the English River District. Fortescue went on to comment that while Delaronde had been difficult back in Ewan McDonald's time, he was now beaten and broken.[81]

This uneasy relationship between Delaronde and the Company continued throughout the late 1880s until 1893, when Delaronde was ready to relocate from Green Lake after almost twenty years. In March 1893, Henry Moberly informed Winnipeg that Delaronde had written for permission to establish a store at Muskeg Lake, southwest of Prince Albert and nearer to Carlton, having already built himself a house there on an acre of land. Moberly felt that granting Delaronde permission would add to the Shell River outpost's profits, but not add too much additional expense for the Company. In supporting Delaronde's request, Moberly laid out a justification for permitting the new arrangement, stating that Muskeg Lake was a community of thirteen Indian families with a Roman Catholic mission that employed eleven to twelve men on their farm, meaning that a resident customer-base therefore existed. At that time, all the supplies for Muskeg Lake had to be transported a considerable distance from Prince Albert or Carlton, and so the opening of an outpost was not only feasible, but desirable. Furthermore, according to the mission priests, "settlers" were expected to arrive shortly, and for that reason a store was required to support the growing population. A store was built on Delaronde's land and opened by him once a week. When he was not there, the priest opened the store without expecting to be paid for his efforts. According to Moberly, the only thing required from the Company was to supply an outfit of groceries.[82]

By the time they wrote to Winnipeg, Moberly and Delaronde had already established a solid plan that would benefit both him and the Company. While the post records do not reveal the outcome, Delaronde had been apparently supplied with another three year contract as clerk and presumably moved to Muskeg Lake. Île à la Crosse's mission and scrip records reveal that Delaronde's son with Marguerite Sinclair, Alexandre Delaronde, married Marie Agnès Morin and remained in the English River District to raise his family. Muskeg Lake was near the Shell River/Devils Lake region, where his brother-in-law, Raphaël Morin, had established himself in the 1880s. However, by the time of his move, Paul Delaronde was already associated with Sophie Morin, who had been living at Shell River by 1874.[83]

Nothing more appears in the Île à la Crosse records regarding Paul Delaronde until the 1900/1901 season, when, to the Company's surprise, he resumed his earlier career as their opponent, having received his last outfit on credit from Winnipeg.[84] The 1900/1901 District Report for Green Lake reported that Paul Delaronde was the Company's "most persistent opponent [and] with his sons and relatives reaches almost every camp tributary to Green Lake. His experience must be out of proportion to his trade and he cannot, I think, be making headway. He gives more trouble than all of the other petty traders in this section."[85] Delaronde had three recorded sons—Alexandre, Paul Jr., and William—all of whom later married Morin women. Alexandre, as already noted, married Marie Agnès Morin, Paul Jr. married or associated with both Marie Philomène Morin (Marie Agnès' sister) and Mariade Primeau, and William was married to another Marie Agnès Morin, the cousin of his elder brother's wife. Of Delaronde's daughters, Judille married William Morin, brother to the wives of Alexandre and Paul Jr. Through his own second partner or wife, Sophie, Delaronde connected himself to the Laliberte wahkootowin because she was the sister of Sarazine, wife of Pierriche Laliberte. The interconnections of the Laliberte, Morin, and Delaronde families were complicated and grew throughout successive generations. These three families in particular had equally complicated relationships with the HBC as men moved from being loyal servants to realizing that their interests were better served either in the capacity of freemen or free traders. Just as important, the Company recognized their value, as evidenced through its comments about the power of individual men like Pierriche to influence the economic decisions of his extended relatives in the District and its attempts to hire men like Paul Delaronde, Sr.

It is clear that, from the beginning, the men—whether servants, freemen, or free traders—at Île à la Crosse and its subsidiary posts enjoyed a family life that both supported and frustrated the Company. As trying as the families could be, the Company tried to harness, or at least direct wahkootowin when it suited its interests. In the nineteenth century,

family life and relations were both important and detrimental to Company operations as seen through the operations of freemen and free traders. As in the case(s) of the Laliberte family, the Company was aware of the relationships forged by their employees, and clearly understood that these family wahkootowins could either help or hurt Company interests. The power of family alliances resonated in the English River District's nineteenth century economy as some of them moved from being loyal servants, to freemen on the Company accounts, and then free traders when it suited their interests. The HBC is generally regarded as a powerful economic force that so altered the economies of Aboriginal societies and imposed dependency, and yet, based on the stories of many of the English River District families, economic choices were made and a certain level of independence was asserted up until at least the early 1900s. The abilities of families to establish a cultural worldview that emphasized familial loyalty in a manner that made the Company insecure in their position is evident and influenced the nature of trade relations for much of the nineteenth century.

Endnotes

[1]HBCA, B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1890-92, 22 August 1890 to Henry J. Moberly from J. Wrigley, Winnipeg.

[2]Perhaps the most comprehensive description of the freemen can be found in Marcel Giraud's *The Metis in the Canadian West*, 2 vols, trans. George Woodcock (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986). Freemen, or *les gens libres*, originated in the eighteenth century French trade. Perhaps the best known incident of a free man becoming a free trader was the famous trial of Pierre Guillame Sayer at Red River in 1849. The buffalo hunters of the plains also worked for no one but themselves and commonly infringed on the Company's ability to operate. For more on freemen, see Heather Devine, "Les Desjarlais: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis and Diaspora in a Canadien Family" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 2001), 129-132.

[3]Giraurd, *The Metis in the Canadian West*, 2: 322-323.

[4]HBCA, B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1890-92, 6 September 1890 to H.J. Moberly from George Dreaver, Green Lake & 16 October 1890 to H.J. Moberly from George Dreaver, Green Lake; HBCA, B.84/e/3, Green Lake Post Report, 1892.

[5]HBCA, B.84/e/3, Green Lake Post Report, 1892.

[6]HBCA, B.89/b/18, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-93, 8 December 1892 to C.C. Chipman, HBC Chief Commissioner from Henry J. Moberly.

[7]Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson's Bay Company, 1770-1879* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), 7-8; Greg Marchildon and Sid Robinson,

Canoeing the Churchill: A Practical Guide to the Historic Voyageur Highway (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2002), 93-96.

[8]HBCA, B.167/e/2, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1890.

[9]HBCA, B.89/e/20, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1900-01; HBCA, B.89/b/21, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1899-1902, 5 February 1902 to Bell, Prince Albert from Thomas Anderson, Île à la Crosse ; HBCA, B.89/e/10a, Île à la Crosse Post Reports, 1888-90.

[10]At the vanguard of these studies are: Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980); Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); Jacqueline Peterson, "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1980); Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[11]The most recent expression of this notion of Metis cultural expression is Devine's "Les Desjarlais: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis and Diaspora in a Canadien Family." See also Sylvia Van Kirk, "'What if Mama is an Indian': The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family." In *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America*, eds. Jacqueline Peterson & Jennifer S.H. Brown (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1981), 207-217; Trudy Nicks, "Mary Anne's Dilemma: The Ethnohistory of an Ambivalent Identity," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 17.2 (1985): 103-114; Claudio Sant, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[12]In his study of the Sioux during the colonial fur trade, Gary Clayton Anderson reached much the same conclusion. See the introduction of *Kinsmen of Another Kind.* This is not, however, to argue that the economic mechanisms were either developed or controlled by the Metis. There was, of course, as pointed out by Frank Tough, a world market that determined the overall scope of trade by setting prices, determining values of furs, and marketing them to consumers world-wide. The world market was something of which the Metis of the English River District likely had little knowledge or interest. See Frank Tough, *"As Their Natural Resources Fail:" Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996).

[13]Brown's *Strangers in Blood* gives an excellent, comprehensive description of how the NWC and HBC structures were shaped by French, English, and Scottish ideals of family life that, in turn, influenced types of Metis communities.

[14]Diane Payment, *"The Free People—Otipemisiwak": Batoche, Saskatchewan, 1870-1930* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks Service, 1990), 311.

[15]In recent years, detailed studies of fur returns have shed light upon the economics of trade, such as Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) and *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), both of which deal very broadly with the trade in Canada; Frank Tough, *"As Their Natural Resources Fail,"* which focuses on a regional expository of northern Manitoba; and Robert Jarvenpa, "The Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Chipewyan in the Late Fur Trade Period." In *Le Castor Fait Tout: Selected Papers of the 5th American Fur Trade Conference, 1985*, eds. Bruce Trigger, Toby Morantz, and Louise Dechêne (Montreal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987), 485-517, which focuses very specifically on northwestern Saskatchewan.

[16]For studies addressing the structures of the HBC pre-and post-merger, see Tough, *"As Their Natural Resources Fail"*; Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age*' and Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company.*

[17]Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumback, "Occupational Status, Ethnicity and Ecology: Metis Adaptations in a Canadian Trading Frontier," *Human Ecology* 13.3 (1985): 325; Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West,* 2: 330.

[18]Jarvenpa and Brumbach, "Occupational Status, Ethnicity, and Ecology," 325.

[19]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-91, 14 March 1874 to John McTavish, Fort Garry from William McMurray.

[20]HBCA, D.5/43, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 26 April 1857 to George Simpson from George Deschambeault.

[21]HBCA, D.5/48, fos. 97-98, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 21 January 1859, to George Simpson to George Deschambeault; HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-65, 25 November 1864; HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-65, 26 November 1864.

[22]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-75, 10 December 1872, to Pierre Laliberte, Green Lake from William McMurray, Île à la Crosse ; HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-75, 24 February no year, to Pierre Laliberte from William McMurray.

[23]HBCA, B.89/e/20, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1900-01; HBCA, B.89/b/21, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1899-1902, 5 February 1902 to Bell, Prince Albert from Thomas Anderson, Île à la Crosse ; HBCA, B.89/e/10a, Île à la Crosse Post Reports, 1888-90.

[24]HBCA, B.89/b/6, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, 1 Junje 1877 to Pierriche Laliberte from Walter West [Best], Île à la Crosse.

[25]HBCA, B.89/e/6, Île à la Crosse Post Reports, 1888, 10 August 1888.

[26]HBCA, B.89/e/10a, Île à la Crosse Post Reports, 1888-90.

[27]HBCA, B.89/e/19, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1897.

[28]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-1891, 12 December 1873 to F. Maurice from Wm. McMurray.

[29]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-1891, 12 December 1873 to F. Maurice from Wm. McMurray.

[30]HBCA, B.89/b/18, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-93, 2 April 1892 to C.C. Chipman, HBC Winnipeg from Henry J. Moberly; HBCA, B.89/b/18, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-93, 30 June 1892, to C.C. Chipman, Winnipeg from Henry J. Moberly; HBCA, B.84/e/3, Green Lake Post Reports, 1892; HBCA, B.89/b/19, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1892-94, 17 June 1893 to Baptiste Laliberte from Henry J. Moberly.

[31]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-91, 5 December 1874 to James A. Grahame, HBC Chief Commissioner from William McMurray.

[32]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-91, 5 December 1874 to James A. Grahame, HBC Chief Commissioner to William McMurray.

[33]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-91, 10 July 1875 to John McTavish from William McMurray.

[34]HBCA, B.89/b/5, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1875-1877, 10 March 1876 to John McTavish from William McMurray; HBCA, B.89/b/5, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1875-1877, 10 March 1876 to James A. Grahame from William McMurray.

[35]HBCA, B.89/b/5, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1875-1877, 10 March 1876 to John McTavish from William McMurray.

[36]HBCA, B.89/b/6, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-1881, 15 September 1879 to Ewan McDonald from James A. Grahame.

[37]By now, the Red River settlement was a thriving community shaped by retired HBC servants and their Aboriginal families. Servants like Pierriche Laliberte and his family were encouraged by Company officials to retire to Red River as a means of removing these potential competitors from their trade districts.

[38]HBCA, B.89/b/5, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1875-77, 10 March 1876 to J. McTavish from William McMurray; HBCA, B.89/b/5, 10 March 1876 to James A. Grahame, HBC Chief Commissioner from William McMurray.

[39]HBCA, B.89/b/5, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1875-77, 20 May 1876 to J. McTavish from William McMurray; HBCA, B.89/b/6, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book 1877-81, 1 June 1877, to Pierre Laliberte from Walter West, Île à la Crosse & 15 September 1879, to James A. Grahame, HBC Chief Commissioner from Ewan McDonald; HBCA, B.89/b/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1881-85, 6 October 1881, to James A. Grahame, HBC Chief Commissioner from Ewan McDonald.

[40]HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-96, 4 & 5 June 1889; HBCA, B.167/e/1, Portage La Loche Post Report, 1889; HBCA, B.89/e/1, Green Lake Post Report, 1889.

[41]HBCA, B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1890-92, 6 September 1890 to H.J. Moberly from George Dreaver, Green Lake & 16 October 1890 to H.J. Moberly from George Dreaver, Green Lake; HBCA, B.84/e/3, Green Lake Post Report, 1892.

[42]HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896.

[43]HBCA B.167/e/3, Portage La Loche Post Reports, 1896.

[44]HBCA, B.167/b/1, Portage La Loche Correspondence Book, 1895-1901.

[45]The history of the Revillon Freres is interesting because, unlike other small trading firms, it was the most comprehensive assault on the HBC monopoly in the subarctic since the era of competition with NWC (although it was decidedly less violent in nature). See Marcel Sexé, *Two Centuries of Fur Trading, 1723-1923: Romance of the Revillon Family* (Paris: Draeger Frères, 1923) for a comprehensive survey of that company's history.

[46]HBCA, B.89/a/5, Ile ala Crosse Post Journal, 1822-23, 25 September 1822; HBCA, B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1824-25, 28 May 1825; HBCA, D.5/10, fos. 331-333, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 2 March 1844 to George Simpson from Roderick Mackenzie, Île à la Crosse.

[47]HBCA B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, Circulars from Department Office, 1 June 1891 from H.J. Moberly.

[48]HBCA, D.5/10, fos. 20-21, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 2 January 1844 to George Simpson from Roderick Mackenzie, Île à la Crosse .

[49]HBCA, B.89/a/23, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1843-45, 22 May 1845; HBCA, B.89/a/27, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1849-52, 15 September 1849 & 11 October 1849.

[50]HBCA, B.89/e/15, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1892.

[51]HBCA, B.89/e/15, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1892; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891, Portage La Loche. In the 1891 census returns, there was a Louison who was listed as being eighty-five years of age and married to Elizabeth. In the 1901 census for the Chiweyan section of the Île à la Crosse census, the Janviers are all listed as "Chipeweyan Breeds," but in the 1881 Portage La Loche census they are listed as "French Breeds."

[52]HBCA, B.89/e/15, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1892.

[53]HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, 27 February 1893 from Henry J. Moberly to William Gardiner; HBCA, B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1890-92, 13 May 1890 to Officer in Charge, Île à la Crosse, English River District from J. Wrigley, Winnipeg; HBCA, B.89/ e/15, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1892.

[54]HBCA, D.5/20, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 25 July 1847 to George Simpson from M. McPherson, Portage La Loche. The L'Esperance to whom McPherson referred may have been Alexis L'Esperance, a Canadien who was the father of Samuel L'Esperance, a hunter in the Snake Lake region of English River. There is nothing else known about Alexis. However, the name L'Esperance was, at some point, transformed into the Cree name Misponas, which continues today in Île à la Crosse. There are no families in northwestern Saskatchewan with the name L'Esperance.

[55]HBCA, D.5/43, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 24 January 1854 to George Simpson from George Deschambeault; HBCA, D.5/43, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 24 January 1854.

[56]For a number of years, the Lac La Ronge post was a part of the English River District and therefore administered by Île à la Crosse.

[57]HBCA, D.5/41, fos. 14-17, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 10 January 1856 to George Simpson from George Deschambeault.

[58]HBCA, D.5/41, fos. 14-17, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 10 January 1856 to George Simpson from George Deschambeault.

[59]Clearly, Deschambeault's fears were greater than the reality of how much influence or ability of the free traders over market forces or transport routes. Realistically, until market forces dictated increased fur prices or transportation networks were improved, free traders could not have had a great deal of influence. However, even when there are significant changes and improvements in these two forces, as they were in the psot-1870 era, the HBC was still able to dominate the trade economy.

[60]HBCA, D.5/41, fos. 14-17, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 10 January 1856 to George Simpson from George Deschambeault.

[61]There are too many Desjarlais in the English River District for a positive identification, but the one being referred to here may actually be the Le Desjarlais from Heather Devine's "Les Desjarlais: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis and Diaspora in a Canadien Family."

[62]HBCA, D.5/46, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 16 January 1858 from George Deschambeault.

[63]Charles may have been the father of Andréw Miles McDermott, an HBC employee in English River in the 1880s and 1890s.

[64]HBCA, B.89/a/32, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1862, 15 September 1862.

[65]HBCA, B.89/z/1, fos. 27-42, 1857-1870, Freeman's Balances, English River District. Freemen might indicate the endurance of an earlier usage that equated freemen and Metis as one in the same, but there is no indication that this was indeed what was occurring, and there is not enough information to determine precisely how it was being utilized when those lists were being compiled to make that connection effectively.

[66]"Est" could refer to "estate" but it is unlikely. Based on the genealogical records, the men and women associated with "Est" were not, in fact, deceased at the time of the notation by the HBC.

[67]HBCA, B.89/z/1, fos. 27-42, 1857-1870, Freeman's Balances, English River District.

[68]HBCA, B.89/e/10a, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1888-1890.

[69]HBCA, B.89/e/10a, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1888-1890.

[70]HBCA, B.89/e/6, Île à la Crosse Post Reports, 1888, 10 August 1888 to J. Wrigley, Winnipeg.

[71]HBCA, B.89/e/15, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 1892; HBCA, B.89/c/6, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1892-1901, 25 March 1896 from C.C. Chipman, Winnipeg to N.C. King, Île à la Crosse; HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, 8 February no year from C.C. Chipman, Winnipeg to Henry J. Moberly.

[72]Henry John Moberly, *When Fur Was King* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1929), 175.

[73]Moberly, *When Fur Was King*, 176.

[74]Moberly, *When Fur Was King*, 176.

[75]HBCA, B.89/B/19, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1892-1894, 17 June 1893 to C.C. Chipman from Henry J. Moberly.

[76]Nothing is known about Marguerite Sinclair except that an alternative last name for her was Quinclair. Sophie Morin, as noted in the previous chapter, was the daughter of Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher, and therefore the sister to Sarazine Morin Laliberte and sister-in-law to Pierriche Laliberte.

[77]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-91, 2 December 1874 to Roderick McFarlane, Fort Chipewyan from William McMurray & 30 June 1875 to James A. Grahame, Chief Commissioner from McMurray; HBCA, B.89/b/6, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1877-81, 1 October 1880 to James A. Grahame from Ewan McDonald.

[78]HBCA, B.89/c/2, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1871-85, 10 October 1880 to Ewan McDonald from Lawrence Clarke; HBCA B.89/b/6, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book 1877-81, 1 November 1880 to Lawrence Clarke from Ewan McDonald.

[79]HBCA, B.89/b/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1881-85, 22 July 1881 to Lawrence Clarke from Ewan McDonald.

[80]HBCA, B.89/c/2, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1871-85, 16 October 1884 to Roderick Ross from Lawrence Clarke.

[81]HBCA, D.20/59/20, Commissioner's Office, Inward Correspondence, 10 May 1888 to Lawrence Clarke from Joseph Fortescue.

[82]HBCA, B.89/b/19, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1892-1894, 31 March 1893 to C.C. Chipman from Henry Moberly.

[83]LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167727, 1 March 1887/17 Oct 1887, Raphaël Morin; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1360, 8 Mar 1899, Sophie Morin Linklater; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; RG 15, Vol. 1360, 5 July 1900, Marie Agnis deLaronde.

[84]HBCA, B.89/b/19, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1892-94, 31 March 1893 to C.C. Chipman, Winnipeg from Henry J. Moberly; HBCA B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, 4 October 1893 to Henry J. Moberly from Lawrence Clarke; HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, 24 December 1901 from Lawrence Clarke to Thomas Anderson, Île à la Crosse .

[85]HBCA, B.84/e/7, Green Lake Post Report (English River District), 1900-01.

Chapter Five:

"The Comforts of Married Life": Metis Family Life, Labour, and the Hudson's Bay Company

On the afternoon of 31 July 1889, Julie Bouvier, her daughter Augustine Mary Desjarlais, and granddaughter Eliza, as well as Angela Catfish, Véronique Daigneault, and Caroline and Margaret Lafleur began weeding the HBC's potato field at Île à la Crosse, an activity that lasted three more days. Company families annually planted, sowed, and harvested a variety of root crops between May and October, contributing to a winter diet based on a staple of fish and root vegetables.[1] What was unusual about the 1889 activity was not that women were working at Company jobs, but rather that the Company clerk identified them all by name. Usually Company records simply made reference to the "women of the establishment" or "all the women belonging to the post" working or socializing.[2] On the surface, other than the stated mother and daughter relationships between the Bouvier/Desjarlais women in the potato field that day, there is no obvious patronymic connection between the other women. However, by closely examining the genealogies of the women listed as working in the Company garden in 1889, a rather intricate wahkootowin linking male HBC employees to local female family networks is revealed. In a sense, the HBC, while not a part of the wahkootowin itself, served as a conduit that drew particular families together into a collectivity shaped by common employment, a sense of loyalty to a common economic purpose at the posts, and a traditional sense of obligation towards one another.

Julie Bouvier was born Julie Marie Morin, the daughter of HBC freighter Raphaël Morin and Betsy Cook, and granddaughter of Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher. In 1868, Julie Marie married Michel Bouvier, Jr., son of Michel Bouvier, Sr. and Julie Desjarlais,

at Île à la Crosse. Throughout his lifetime, Michel Jr. was occasionally employed by the Company, tripping and freighting or fishing when extra fishermen were needed. Michel Jr.'s paternal grandfather was Jean Baptiste Bouvier, one of the early NWC fishermen at Île à la Crosse in the early 1800s. Both Jean Baptiste and his son Michel Sr. continued serving the HBC after the 1821 merger.[3] There is no recorded connection between Julie Marie's daughter, Augustine Mary, and a male Desjarlais at this time, although there could have been an unrecorded relationship that transpired prior to her known marriage to Charles dit Ladébeauch Caisse in 1891. After her first recorded husband's death, Augustine married HBC employee John Thomas Corrigal. Corrigal arrived in Île à la Crosse in 1869 (or thereabouts) and was first married to Sophie (Lucia) Daigneault, daughter of Vincent Daigneault and Marguerite Bouvier, sister of Michel Jr., and therefore sister-in-law to Julie Marie Morin.[4] Through their mother and father, respectively, John Thomas' two wives, Sophie (Lucia) Daigneault and Augustine Bouvier, were related through their mother and father, respectively (see **Appendix J**).[5]

Besides genealogical connections for some, all the women working in the potato field in 1889 shared a connection through male relatives to the HBC as primary employer in the commercial economy of the English River District. While they themselves were not necessarily directly related, all the women were daughters of and/or eventually married to men employed by the HBC, and so they came to comprise a core of Company families. Of the approximately forty-three core Metis families identified in the English River District from available genealogical records, there were twenty-six specific families with long histories of employment in the fur trade with both the NWC and the HBC. As economic institutions, the fur companies relied upon the local wahkootowin of its male employees to stabilize their operations in the English River District and, in turn, provided a venue through which social solidarity, familial loyalty, and cultural identity were reinforced through informal, unpaid, and often unnoted labour. Beyond the Bouvier/Desjarlais connections, evaluating the genealogies of the women at work allows for more connections

to be drawn between the families and the fur trade generally, and the HBC particularly. Angela Catfish was the daughter of John Catfish, an HBC employee originally born in Red River, and Marie Betkkaye of Île à la Crosse (see **Appendix K**). John and Marie had six daughters although only Angela lived to adulthood and had children of her own. Angela's first relationship was with Baptiste Misponas or L'Esperance in the 1890s before she married Louis Caisse at the Île à la Crosse mission in 1905.[6] Little is known about Baptiste Misponas, but Louis Caisse was born in the community in the late 1850s or early 1860s and became a seasonal labourer for the Company. Like Michel Bouvier, Jr., Louis was employed as a fisherman when his services were required.[7] There is currently no obvious connection between Catherine and Marguerite Lafleur apart from their last name. Caroline Lafleur was born at Île à la Crosse in 1872 to HBC fisherman Baptiste Charlot Lafleur, and Angélique Jourdain (see **Appendix L**). In 1891, Caroline married Joseph Alexandre Michel Bouvier, the son of Michel Bouvier, Jr. and Julie Marie Morin Bouvier. Marguerite Lafleur was born three years later, the daughter of Charles Pierre Lafleur and Josephette Lagimodiere (see **Appendix M**).[8] Interestingly, although there is no obvious genealogical connection yet, Baptiste Chalot Lafleur was a free trader in the Buffalo Narrows region during the 1880s, while Charles Pierre Lafleur was the Company servant sent into the District to try to neutralize his actions.

Finally, the last named woman in the potato field was Véronique Daigneault, daughter of Zépherin dit Catholique Morin and Madeleine Girard, and, therefore, Julie Marie's cousin. Zépherin Morin was himself the son of HBC servant Antoine Morin and his wife Pélagie Boucher, who were one of Île à la Crosse's first generation couples. Like his father, Zépherin was an HBC employee, although he eventually became a farmer in the Green Lake region. Véronique was married in 1885 at Green Lake to François Xavier Daigneault, another Company fisherman and the son of Vincent Daigneault and Marguerite Bouvier. Vincent Daigneault was an HBC carpenter who arrived in Île à la Crosse in the early 1860s, while Marguerite was the daughter of one of the community's

first generation couples, Michel Bouvier, Sr. and Julie Desjarlais. Vincent and Marguerite had ten children, all of whom married into other families employed by the HBC, such as the Morins, Sinclairs, Aubichons, and Maurices. The eldest of Vincent and Marguerite's daughters, Eliza Daigeneault, was the first wife of incoming trader Robert Gardiner. Robert (known as Roby) was born between 1859 and 1861 at Red River and arrived in Île à la Crosse in the early 1880s as a labourer, working as a cattle keeper for the Company (see **Appendices D & J**).[9]

Much has been written regarding the HBC's policies and sentiment towards the families of its servants at their posts.[10] Throughout its long history, the Company often displayed an ambivalence toward the social activities of its servant class that, over time, came to be manifested in a subtle but complex web of contradictory policies and behaviours. In its early years, the Company was uncomfortable with its employees marrying into local Aboriginal communities and so enacted formal policies to ban such activity at its posts, although it was never able to effectively enforce those policies. As a result, almost from the beginning, employees in the field made personal and professional choices that supported their own values and fulfilled individual goals as social beings, and so as a consequence family life became a part of the Company's informal trade practice. It was no accident that the wives, daughters, nieces, and sisters of HBC employees were working in the Company potato field in 1889. They did so because the job needed to be done, because their husbands, fathers, and brothers were otherwise engaged, and, just as important, because they expected to receive a portion of the harvest in order to support their own households.

By the early nineteenth century, at least in the English River District, the Company recognized the value of such personal choices when they had an economic benefit and therefore permitted families to be a part of the Company structure. Although uncontracted, women and children of HBC servants worked for the Company at a variety of tasks. In return, those families expected access to the Company's food resources and demanded

support particularly during times of personal hardship. However, by the mid-to late-nineteenth century, as Company resources became strained, the HBC regarded the financial cost of those families as burdensome, and so looked for ways to disassociate from them economically. Faced with the Company's growing resentment, familial loyalty of male servants eventually superseded their loyalty to the HBC as an institution. The balance between formal Company policy and the reality of trade practice in their remote fur district established an ambivalent relationship between Company local elite—the Chief Factors and Traders—in the English River District and officials in Winnipeg and HBC servants and their families. Despite this ambivalence, HBC families established a secondary labour force of women and children whose loyalty to their husbands and fathers drew them into the economic system as an unacknowledged category of servants.

In geographically distant regions such as the English River District the reality was that family life, and in particular the female-centred family networks, was central to the well-being of its servants and to the Company's ability to successfully complete its seasonal activities.[11] Whether a conscious choice or not, every influx of outsider males into the region throughout the nineteenth century either became a part of the regional wahkootowin or remained unconnected to the intergenerational extended family system. Generally, this latter pattern was found amongst Anglo-Protestant outsider males who formed the elite HBC strata of chief factors and traders, while men of the servant class—particularly, but not exclusively, Franco-Catholics—typically married and, therefore, joined a wahkootowin. Marriage did more than create a nuclear family comprised of a husband, wife, and children. Marriage linked an individual to a range of family members upon whom he could rely for assistance through the regional matrilocal familial network of relatives, something which contributed, in turn, to the development of a Metis cultural identity. The ability of some families to rely on one another was facilitated partially by their association with the HBC and, to a lesser extent, a shared religion, Roman Catholicism. In a sense, the incorporation of outsider males into the familial nexus bounded by wahkootowin

can be described as a form of acculturation or integration because Cree wahkootowin was modified to accept them. At the same time, Christianity (in this case Catholicism) and the men modified their own expectations to accept indigenous practices, such as the reciprocal family model or regionally-defined matrilocality.[12] Just as important, the choices of servants and subsequent behaviour of their families wove the Company—the institution—into the broad, regional, matrilocally-defined wahkootowin, so much so that by the turn-of-the-century servants and their HBC families placed loyalty to one another above that offered the Company, as was witnessed through the growth in District-born free traders in the late nineteenth century.

This chapter, then, is an examination of how Metis wahkootwin in the English River District was reinforced through familial associations with the HBC, with particular attention to how Company families reciprocally supported one another through intermarriage, group labour (regardless of age or gender), and the sharing of their lives with one another, which, by extension, created a sense of family, community, and home within what was otherwise solely an economic endeavour. Importantly, the HBC families, established by outsider Metis and Euro-Canadian males and locally-born women of the proto-generation, created a long term pattern of integrating men into the established family nexus marked by the regional matrilocal residency, and, in turn, these families supported both their husbands and the trade with their labour. The HBC engaged servants and their families in diverse capacities throughout the region, relying on them to fulfill a variety of tasks required for basic comfort, survival, and well-being in the English River District. Spaulding's research determined that, from a Metis perspective, large families were highly valued and a source of esteem because family members were bound to one another by ties of loyalty, with obligations to speak and act upon a relative's behalf when required, as well as to support them materially or emotionally. Spaulding concluded that Metis people traditionally placed such a value on family that individuals without relatives were non-persons in Metis society, making them an object of pity rather than esteem.[13] This value placed on

family and familial loyalty in turn shaped the Metis community's relationship with the HBC. The argument here is not that these HBC families controlled either the trade or the Company. By and large, these were loyal HBC families with patriarchs who had good relationships with their superiors and the institution itself. However, the familial loyalty integral to wahkootowin created a tension within the HBC hierarchy as large families asserted cultural solidarity within the work space afforded them, which was oftentimes at odds with Company interests.

For male servants, there was a strong socio-cultural expectation to not abandon their primary responsibilities of being a good relative despite duties with the HBC. While it is not the intention here to essentialize Aboriginal societies, there was a commonly held tenet that family relationships were central to an individual's well-being and determined how people were expected to interact, regardless of their involvement in wage or contracted labour with fur companies.[14] According to Sioux anthropologist Beatrice Medicine, the Aboriginal conceptual model guiding social and economic interaction was best described as a "reciprocity family model," which established familial alliances by providing a broader network for group social and cultural interaction through a web of flexible support systems.[15] Although Medicine's work spoke to her own Sioux cultural experience, this notion of family resonated with such geographically distant peoples as the Sioux, Plains Cree and Metis, Woodlands Cree and Dene, and subarctic Metis. In each of these groups, all relatives, no matter how far removed from direct genealogical connections, were recognized as family members, and, as such, were obliged to provide assistance and hospitality to one another as dictated by the reciprocal family model.[16] In the words of Tom Johnson, a Pomo from California, having no family to look to for comfort and support was the true definition of poverty in Aboriginal societies.[17]

The belief that an individual surrounded by family was wealthy shaped how twenty-six of the core forty-three Metis families associated with the HBC in the English

River District approached their employment. Company families looked to one another as a social and cultural support network, marrying into each others' families and strengthening those networks. Based on the women working in the Company garden in 1889, there were clear genealogical connections between the Bouvier, Desjarlais, Morin, Caisse, Catfish, and Daigneault families, and by extension those families into which they had married. Each of these families had long histories of employment and association with the HBC in the English River District, with several of them dating back to the late 1700s. A great number of HBC men, particularly of the servant class, such as Michel Bouvier, Sr. and Jr., John Catfish, and Vincent Daigneault, not only helped to create the sense of wahkootowin in Île à la Crosse, they ensured its longevity and strength by linking their families intergenerationally.

The interconnection of HBC servants was equally complex, and quite often groups of them worked at tasks requiring multiple labourers. Throughout February 1892, a particular group of closely related men often worked together. However, the familial connections between men is not apparent unless examined via the women within their families. On 10 February 1892, for instance, Charles Maurice, son of François Maurice and Angèle Laliberte, went with his stepfather, Raphaël Souris and his in-law, François Xavier Daigneault to Water Hen River with eight horses to pick up freight.[18] François Xavier was the son of Vincent Daigneault and Marguerite Bouvier, while Charles Maurice was married to Julie dite Canadienne Bouvier, the daughter of Michel Bouvier, Jr. and Julie Marie Morin. Marguerite and Michel Bouvier, Jr. were siblings, which means that Charles and François Xavier were cousins-in-law (see **Appendices F & J**). Five days later, the post journal recorded that Joseph Bouvier, Marcial [*sic*] Desjarlais, François Bouvier, and Vincent Daigneault's son had left Île à la Crosse for Buffalo Narrows with a load of flour destined for Portage La Loche.[19] While Daigneault's son was unidentified by his Christian name in the journal entry, he was likely François Xavier, the only son old enough at the time to be officially employed by the Company (by 1892, he was a contracted HBC fisherman).

Furthermore, François Xavier's mother, as already stated, was the sister of Michel Jr., and therefore the aunt of Joseph and François Bouvier. "Marcial" Desjarlais was actually Jean Marie Martial Desjarlais, husband of Marie Octavie Bouvier, who was the sister of Joseph and François. So, traveling together to Portage La Loche were two brothers, Joseph and François Bouvier, their brother–in-law, Jean Marie Martial Desjarlais, and their cousin François Xavier Daigneault.[20]

By living and working together, men and women established labour cohorts that drew upon their genealogical connections, which, in turn, further reinforced community cohesion. A part of the reinforcement of community was only accomplished through the continual integration of the outsider males into the community through marriage, labour, and religious conversion, which marked an integration into wahkootowin. The reason that many Company servants who were initially outsiders to the English River District chose to take the step beyond marriage—to accept integration into wahkootowin—was twofold. First, beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, some French Canadian engagés and pedlars adapted to the Aboriginal communities with which they traded by marrying Aboriginal women, but more significantly remaining inland and raising their families. Arguably, this pattern was part of a larger strategy encouraged by trading Companies vying for economic success in the highly competitive trade. However, the implications of such a practice were far more profound. In the English River District, like other regions of the NWC trade, this pattern of adopting the social and cultural values of Aboriginal societies occurred within the first generation long before 1821 and carried on as a well-established pattern of behaviour primarily for the servant class after the merger. Conversely, it was far more likely that Chief Factors and Traders like Roderick and Samuel McKenzie and George Dreaver would be reassigned to other fur districts or retire outside the English River District. It was a combination of culture and economic class that formed the division between the HBC elite within any given fur district and the servant categories of employees. Within the English River District, there was a separation of elite Company men—Chief Factors and

Traders in particular, but also some of the skilled labourers—at the District headquarters from the general servant class, as defined by semi-skilled to unskilled labourers employed at both the headquarters, but also in charge of more distant outposts such as Portage La Loche, Green Lake, Souris River, and Bull's House, based on their willingness to integrate into the local wahkootowin and use their positions within the Company to support those families.[21]

In the second instance, the original NWC trading pattern matched a natural human impulse to belong. As the outsider males arrived in foreign territory, lived among those peoples who controlled that land, and came to understand the environment, quite often their first impulse was to integrate into the socio-cultural process of the Aboriginal community. For many, accepting that they might never return to their own homelands, and with non-Native women banned from Rupertsland by the HBC prior to the 1820s, acculturating and becoming a part of a wahkootowin was made that much easier.[22] Outsider males, regardless of their own cultural or racial background, married local women whose ancestral roots stretched deep within the English River District. Similarly, each man's wife came from a diverse family background, sharing with her husband her ancestral land, family, and socio-economic, political, and cultural alliances, as well as physical and emotional strength. In the first generation families, women such as Pélagie Boucher (m. Antoine Morin), Julie Desjarlais (m. Michel Bouvier, Sr.), Elizabeth Janvier (m. Louison Janvier), and Margaret L'Ours/Bear (m. Jean Baptiste Jourdain) grounded their families in their homeland and introduced them to the accepted socio-cultural norms of their community. And, for many families in the region, the first male ancestor in the English River District to which all can be traced was an outsider white or Metis man who arrived in the nineteenth century as a NWC or HBC servant, such as Antoine Morin, Jean Baptiste Bouvier, Pierriche Laliberte, François Maurice, John Catfish, Vincent Daigneault, and James Thomas Corrigal, to name only a few, who drew their families into their employment cycles, relying on male and

female relatives alike for assistance and companionship. The depth and complexity of this social web necessarily influenced and dominated the lives of those who resided in the District.

Women and children's labour for the HBC received only scant attention within the English River District post records themselves, and when they were mentioned, their interfamilial association is obscured without a genealogical reconstruction or a sense of either the matrilocal residency patterns or patrynomic connections. Women and young people were not formally contracted servants, but the Company depended heavily upon their labour to sustain its posts. As early as the 1820s, Company officials at Île à la Crosse made reference to the activities of women at the posts. Although women worked year round, the months between May and September were the busiest in the English River District. During those months, they were employed picking varieties of berries, mushrooms, and other edible wild plant life in the surrounding bush, planting and tending to gardens, cutting and stacking natural hay that grew in the island meadows, and hunting large and small game. More specifically, from late May to early June the potato gardens were planted, and by the end of June the women, girls, and boys were busy hoeing the gardens, a task that could take several weeks.[23] One of the more significant roles in which women worked was in the English River District fisheries—a year round job necessary to feed post employees and families as well as men on the Portage La Loche brigades. During the winter, or when the weather was bad, women were reassigned to work inside cleaning the post buildings.[24] Post journals reveal the contribution of female labour to the seasonal rounds of the northwest, from digging potatoes in the late summer and early fall to large game hunts in the winter, from cutting hay in the summer to tending to year-round fisheries.[25]

What is interesting is that, by and large, women of HBC families, along with their children, tended to engage in group work, much as they would in a more traditional

subarctic Aboriginal family setting that revolved around the seasonal activities associated with natural resources harvesting. In fact, male servants also at Île à la Crosse engaged in group-based employment.[26] The 1889 example of women weeding the potato field was not an isolated or singular event in the history of women, labour, and the HBC in the English River District. This pattern of group labour amongst women and children at HBC posts followed an older Cree cultural pattern, where Aboriginal women and their children worked together as a means of educating or training young people and preparing them for their role in the society. Furthermore, group labour fulfilled a cultural ideal of solidarity through social bonding activities, where women, typically relatives because they were all interrelated HBC families, and their children engaged daily and weekly in activities that strengthened their wahkootowin. Through occasional references that identified female labourers, we can see wahkootowin manifested.

One of the most important Company tasks in which women participated was the full time, year-round operation of the post's fisheries. Officially, it was a job reserved for men, yet female relatives clearly provided added support. Some Company servants were hired specifically as fishermen to supply Île à la Crosse with daily food supplies, plus surplus that was dried for winter storage. Over the years, there were numerous regularly contracted HBC servants employed as fishermen for the English River District, from Andréw Kirkness in the 1820s to Pierre Lafleur in the late nineteenth century (see **Appendix N**).[27] Wives of HBC men—especially wives of fishermen—also found their services required in the Company fisheries. Women were often assigned the task of checking nets scattered at different points along the Lake, at the mouths of rivers feeding into it, and at nearby lakes, as well as the regular production and maintenance of nets.[28] As was seen in the early nineteenth century with Andréw Kirkness, his wife, although unnamed, had participated by assisting her husband at his job and, when she left him and went over to the NWC post, the HBC feared that her absence would mean that it would have to abandon the Île à la Crosse post because they would be unable to withstand further aggression by the NWC or

trade effectively without a steady food supply. Several days later, when Kirkness likewise abandoned the HBC post in order to be with his wife, the Company hired Peter Fidler's wife, an unnamed swampy Cree woman, to operate the fisheries.[29]

Because the fisheries operated year-round and fish were a dietary staple at the English River posts, the tasks associated with their maintenance never ceased. After fish were caught, the secondary tasks of cleaning, freezing, and drying them needed to be completed, something largely delegated to women. In early April 1890, the Company noted that ten women—Véronique Bouvier, Meline Malbeuaf [*sic*], Widow Case [*sic*], Widow Mckay, Ann Jourdain, Corinne Roy, Mary Desjarlais, Angela Souris, and Mary Case [*sic*]—along with Old Souris were at work hanging fish, a task that took four days, and eventually required the assistance of four boys and a couple of male servants to complete.[30] All these women were married to, or were daughters of, Company servants, and several were related to one another either through their birth families or through intergenerational intermarriage of HBC families.

Courrone Roy (nee Maurice) married Lousion Roy, an HBC voyageur, in 1877. Courrone was the daughter of Angèle Souris (nee Laliberte) and her first husband François Maurice. The Widow Case (Caisse) was likely Philomène Caisse (nee Malboeuf), daughter of Pierre Malboeuf and Marguerite Ikkeizik. Philomène had been married to Joseph Caisse, son of Charles Caisse and Mary (Pilon) Sinclair, who had died two months earlier in February of 1890 and left her with four young children. Mary Case, another of the ten women working, was, therefore, Philomène's mother-in-law. Meline Malboeuf was Mélanie Tssehlyous, wife of Augustin Malboeuf, an HBC fisherman. Augustin Malboeuf was also the son of one of the first generation couples, Pierre Malboeuf (another fisherman) and Marguerite Ikkeizik, a Dene woman, and, therefore Philomène's brother, making Mélanie and Philomène sisters-in-law. The Widow McKay may have been Angèle Lariviere, the wife of Henry McKay, who died in March of 1890, a month before the women were at work hanging fish. Anne Jourdain was likely Anne Bekattla, the wife of Baptiste Jourdain,

Jr., an HBC fisherman whom she wed in 1879 at Green Lake. Based on the information currently available, this Marie Desjarlais is unidentifiable in the genealogical record. Finally, Angela Souris was Angèle Laliberte, whose first husband, François Maurice, had died in 1885. Angèle was the eldest daughter of Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin and married Raphaël Souris in the late 1880s. Therefore, she was the mother of Courrone Roy, and married to "old" Souris, the then thirty-nine year old local fisherman who was working with the women that day (see **Appendix N**).[31]

The familial linkages between the women and men working together were genealogically created, but their relationships were reinforced through socio-economic activities that brought them together and transformed family into community. While outsider males arrived in the English River District at different times, they followed an established pattern of marrying into existing HBC families, becoming part of a large wahkootowin that by the second and third generations was partially defined by their relationship to the Company. Through the HBC, families associated with the Company made strategic marital alliances with other Company families, thereby establishing through this economic conduit a complex web of interfamilial alliances from at least twenty-six specific families. Within this web of interfamily marriages, the demands of reciprocal familial commitments, in turn, supported the Company by establishing a chain of connection upon which it could call for additional labour, supplies, and general assistance. However, despite relying on the female relatives of their servants, throughout the late 1800s the Company's overall collective and institutional attitude towards them and their children was increasingly ambivalent. By the 1850s, the Company was consciously balancing the benefits of this "unpaid" labour force against the added costs associated with supporting large Metis families at their posts.

On one level, the HBC assumed responsibility for, and authority over, its servants and their wives and children. The Company has been described as being paternalistic in its economic policies towards First Nations and Metis communities, and so in many ways

it was, but by also evaluating the genealogical interaction of families and communities throughout the English River District, as well as how the Company responded to their demands locally, a more appropriate representation may be to describe it as an ambivalent benefactor.[32] As noted in his study of the northern Manitoba fur trade, Frank Tough stated that "The Company's 'kindness' and 'indebtedness' were basic to the relations between the Company and Native people."[33] While HBC officials in Winnipeg and Company elite in the District did what they could to minimize the costs associated with families at its posts, it nevertheless had to call upon those same families to support them through tangential occupations associated with food production. While women and children were uncontracted labour, the Company paid a price for the unpaid family labour because it became their benefactor. Company servants used the HBC to anchor the responsibility, rights, and obligations between their families, and so the HBC became the repository of wills, distributor of pensions, transportation system, advisor for retirements, supporter of alternative economic ventures, dispenser of rations (food and goods), and landlord determining who did and did not have a right to Company housing. In turn, the Company recognized a need for, as early as 1821, a benefactor in the English River District. Chief Factors and Traders recognized that familial harmony assured the Company's economic viability. According to Tough, the HBC assumed the "overhead or social cost of production" as essential to maintaining the labour force in the face of economic fluctuations and the uncertainty of hunting.[34] Even if they did not live within the structure and dictates of wahkootowin themselves, local Chief Factors and Chief Traders asserted a relationship that firmly encapsulated it within the reciprocal family model by assuming a position that cultivated the loyalty of its servants through support of their family life.

One of the clearest manifestations of the HBC's role as benefactor for the Metis of the English River District can be observed through the deaths of Company servants and the subsequent presence of widows at Company posts. There were occasional references in the post records to "old widows," or just widows, living at District posts because either they

continued to serve an economic role or had become a financial burden. Although unusual, there were widows, such as the Widow Morin, with enough stature to conduct themselves in the capacity of a freeman.[35] However, more often, as seen with the group of women working in the fisheries in April 1890, widowhood meant continuing on as before. Out of the ten women at that time, two were recently widowed within the previous few months and a third had been widowed several years earlier, although she had by then remarried. While the consequence of losing a servant within the social milieu of the English River District affected both the post's economic health and the regional wahkootowin, it had additional ramifications. From a Company perspective, the death of a servant meant that it was faced with the spectre of a widow and her dependent children requiring support and looking to the Company, as benefactor, for that aid. However, widows also remained vital contributors to the local trade economy. Regardless, Chief Factors and Traders feared scenarios where the Company was left with the responsibility of caring for widows and children with no alternative means of support. Their concern was entirely economically driven—they feared that the costs associated with their, and possibly their children's care. In his study, Tough noted that in the late nineteenth century, low fur prices caused the Company to reduce operating costs, change the post system, and alter the mode of transportation, thereby reducing in local trade regions the demands for local labour and resources. Tough concluded that, "over time, this functioned to tear apart what had been a closely linked economy."[36]

While there were, at various times, widows such as Philomène Caisse and Angèle Lariviere living in or near the posts, employed by the Company, and selling the produce of their hunting, fishing, and gathering, or more simply working in fields or fisheries, the Company regarded and described widows as draining what it felt were already strained post resources. On the one hand, widows possessed important skills for the post's daily operation, but, because they had no husband to support them, it often fell to the Company to cover their expenses. In the mid-1880s, Pierriche Laliberte had occasion to write that

an unidentified "Old Widow" at his post had provided a lot of furs for the Company in her younger days, but now required its assistance to live because, "Poor old wife, she was maken [*sic*] wooden traps [and then] got a blow on her Eyes"—she was now blind and had no relations to care for her. While Laliberte indicated that he planned to give the woman some of his own goods, he believed that the Company should support her in recognition of her long service, and so recommended that course of action.[37] In a sense, Laliberte was making a case that this elderly woman, who had worked hard for the Company during her able years, deserved the sort of pension afforded males who had held actual contracts. An elderly woman without family needed to locate wahkootowin or face serious hardship, and so Laliberte acted as required—he assumed responsibility for a woman who had worked hard for the Company by supplying her from his own personal supplies and advocating for her as a member of the regional family.

In addition to dealing with widows, there was also an issue of dispensing the deceased servant's estate and settling of debts that the Company felt that it was owed. One of the more troubling local incidents, from the Company's perspective, was the death of Benjamin Bruce. On the morning of 19 April 1823, "Old" Benjamin, a Company interpreter, left the Île à la Crosse post alone to hunt waterfowl. While out in the bush, a tree branch apparently fell, fracturing his skull and killing him. When Bruce did not return that evening, his son and Patrick Cunningham, his son-in-law, went out to search for him. Upon discovering him, the two brought Old Bruce's body back to the post. The rest of the family began preparations for the funeral rites and burial that were to take place the following day at Landsman Point. According to Company records, the elder Bruce's children were inconsolable at the sudden loss of their father. The men of the establishment took turns sitting with Bruce's remains all night as part of the pre-burial funeral ritual. At the funeral, the men in attendance were given two drams of rum to toast the deceased, one at the Company's expense and the other at Cunningham's.[38] The Company's act of supplying rum might have been an informal Company policy, but it might also have been

interpreted by the people of Île à la Crosse as the act of a good relation, a benefactor. Patrick Cunningham's motive was clearly to honour his wife's father, a man to whom he was economically allied as a fellow employee of the Company, and likely to demonstrate the family's generosity at this significant moment. There is no reason to believe that the Company's actions would have been viewed any differently—it was behaving as required within the wahkootowin of the English River District. Death set the stage for funerals, which like so many other rituals, whether secular or religious in nature, were central to assisting a collection of individuals to coalesce as a community, as a socially-cohesive group governed by similar values and sharing a common identity. In Île à la Crosse and throughout the English River District, such rituals were a tangible representation of wahkootowin.

"Old" Benjamin Bruce was listed in the 1821 HBC census of servants at Île à la Crosse and was, at that time, fifty-five years of age. Bruce was originally from Walls [*sic*] and served for thirty-two years as an interpreter. The son who went in search of him may have been Pierre Bruce, who was listed in the same census, but as an employee of the Canadien (or NWC) establishment, rather than the HBC. Pierre Bruce, like Benjamin, was an interpreter, and by 1821 had spent sixteen years in the service. That a father and son were both in the English River District but with different employers was perhaps not unusual given the intense competition between the two companies leading up to the 1821 merger. Situating family within different Companies could be interpreted as a way for a family to maximize their economic options, hedging their bets by association with companies attempting to maximize their own economic profitability. However, there were two Patrick Cunninghams listed in that 1821 census, one at the "European" or HBC establishment and one at the Canadien, which appears odd, but perhaps can be explained as a consequence of the purpose of the censuses. Shortly after the 1821 merger, the HBC took a census of employees at both their own establishments and at NWC or Canadien establishments. There are a number of names in the 1821 HBC census that were duplicated in the same manner as Patrick Cunningham, listed as both NWC and HBC employees.[39]

Upon his death, Benjamin Bruce left a will distributing his property to his heirs, but according to the Company—the administrator of both the will and assets that he had at the time of his death—Bruce had nothing to leave them. Île à la Crosse Chief Factor George Keith observed that Bruce had invested £300-400 ($1500-2000) with an Orkney speculator who went bankrupt, leaving the Bruce family destitute and the Company to determine their fate in the English River District.[40] The details of the Company's decision are not revealed in the records, but because there are no substantial records for a Bruce family in the English River District after this time, it might be surmised that the widow and her underage children relocated to Red River or some other District. There was, however, a reference to another "Old Bruce" in an 1850 letter from Chief Factor Roderick Mackenzie to Winnipeg. Perhaps this man was one of Benjamin Bruce's sons who remained inland for a time. In that letter, Mackenzie noted that this Old Bruce and his sons were expected at the Deer's Lake outpost to trade that winter, but so far there had been no word of their arrival.[41] There is also a recorded marriage of an Aloisa Bruce to Joseph Jourdain at the Roman Catholic mission on 8 November 1870.[42] Aloisa was apparently the daughter of Louison Bruce and Rosalie Delorme. Perhaps Louison Bruce was the Old Bruce of Mackenzie's 1850 letter and/or the son of Benjamin Bruce.[43] Otherwise, the only substantial record of the Bruce family in Île à la Crosse thus far is that of Old Benjamin's accidental death and his family's destitution because of a failed investment.

In a similar incident in 1893, an HBC servant named John Harper died and the Company received a request from his daughter for assistance in securing her and her family's future. Charlotte Harper, the daughter of John Harper, who five years earlier had starved to death near Île à la Crosse, personally wrote and requested Moberly's assistance in applying for scrip as her father's heir. Charlotte asked Moberly to write the commissioners in Ottawa with details about her father's life, as required for the application. Moberly described John Harper as having come from Kildonan, Manitoba before entering the HBC's service. Prior to being stationed at the English River District,

Harper was employed in Athabasca. Moberly stated that Harper was legally married in 1872 to Margaret Tastawitch [*sic*], a Chipewyan woman from the Fort Chipewyan area and whom he likely met in his earlier posting.[44] Apparently, John and Margaret had at least two daughters, Charlotte and Hélène.[45] According to Moberly, by 1893 Charlotte was married to an Indian man from the English River District and "living in very poor circumstances."[46]

Charlotte had remained in the English River District after her father's death and, in 1891, married Martial Ikkeilzik, with whom she had nine children between 1894 and 1912. Martial was the son of Michel Ikkeilzik and Catherine Roy, and, therefore, was probably the brother of Marguerite Ikkeilzik, wife of HBC servant Pierre Malboeuf.[47] Pierre Malboeuf was an outsider male who arrived in Île à la Crosse/English River District by 1851, either from Sorel or St. Hyacinthe, Quebec. In the Abstracts of Servants Accounts of 1851, Pierre was listed as being twenty-six years of age and with five years of service in the Company as a midman before working as a fisherman in the English River District.[48] In the case of Charlotte and her family, it was Moberly's opinion that scrip would greatly assist them because of their poor circumstances. Although not explicitly stated in the letter, Moberly may have also felt that if successful in the application, Charlotte and her husband would not request the HBC's help in the future because of her family's association with the institution (see **Appendix O**).

In the case of old widows specifically and families of deceased servants more generally, the HBC had an obligation towards them that went beyond the typical employee/ employer relationship. As was seen with the widows Caisse and McKay, despite the deaths of their husbands, these women continued to work in the fisheries even though they would have had no obligation to do so.[49] It could be argued that these women continued to work at Company jobs because the Metis of the English River District believed that the Company was in some measure a part of the reciprocal family model. Their male relatives all had contacts of some fashion with the Company, be they long-term or seasonal in nature, or

in the upper or lower strata of the HBC hierarchy. In the case of Angèle Souris, she was the daughter of Pierriche Laliberte, who had served as postmaster for Portage La Loche and Green Lake, and several of her younger brothers had likewise been well positioned as postmasters in those locations. Angèle's first husband had been in charge at Portage La Loche at the time of his death, after which her eldest son, Magloire, was employed by the HBC, and eventually another son, Charles, also became a Company servant. It would not be difficult to imagine that Angèle, although never personally holding her own Company contract, regarded herself as part of that institution's structure. Furthermore, regardless of their jobs, because they were her relatives, Angèle would have been fully within her rights to request that her male relatives protect and support herself and her children by providing them with opportunities to support themselves, such as working within the fisheries or potato fields.

Just as it faced having to deal with the costs of supporting widows, throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century the Company was confronted with the issue of rations for HBC families and how far to extend the right to receive them to the populace of the English River District. Rations, typically in the form of basic food staples, were advanced to Company servants with the proportion based on the number of dependents that a servant had, as well as his rank. Well into the mid-nineteenth century, apportioning food rations appears to have been a fairly standard and expected Company practice. Rations were a part of the HBC's obligation to the families of contracted servants. However, in 1872, William McMurray, the officer in charge of the English River District, received a memo stating that with regard to the families of HBC servants, they would receive their usual ration allowances for that season, but "no allowances will be made to the Families of any employees after this date."[50] Furthermore, anyone entering the service from 1872 onward, particularly in the English River District, was to be informed that their families were not entitled to maintenance from the Company.[51] McMurray was also informed that servant contracts were no longer to exceed three year terms except in the most exceptional

circumstances.[52] By the late nineteenth century, the HBC no longer wanted families feeling that they had a claim on the Company based simply on service. Clearly, by the close of the century, the HBC no longer believed that the old system, based on a blending of paternalism, benefactorship, stewardship, and debt peonage that made mercantilism in the fur trade function, was giving way to a new era divorced of familial and/or social obligation on the part of the Company. The social cost was by then too great for the Company to believe that it was responsible for carrying any longer.[53]

The Company's refusal to continue on with the long standing practice of apportioning rations flew in the face of Metis expectations of their employer and benefactor—especially those families with male relatives who were employees. Over the decades, as the Company, through its servants, became more and more involved in the lives of its families, the bonds of the reciprocity family model were seemingly being fulfilled and, as a result, familial loyalty grew. Despite the Company's attempts to scale back the use of rations, this 1872 Company edict was not implemented throughout the District. In 1885, James Nicol Sinclair of Green Lake wrote to Joseph Fortescue at Île à la Crosse expressing concern that, if required, Green Lake would not be able to provide surplus fish to the District that year because any surplus from that fishery would have to feed the Green Lake HBC families so as to prevent a repeat of the previous year. The previous year, Sinclair had had to provide families with bacon and flour rations after the Green Lake fisheries failed and left them without enough food. According to Sinclair, a great many of the Green Lake servants were married and had families to support.[54] Almost a decade later, in April 1892, Charles Lafleur was advised by Moberly in Île à la Crosse to give goods to a woman married to an individual named Martial in the amount of ten Made Beaver and some fish rations, so that she would be fed until her husband returned.[55] There was not enough information to determine who either Martial or his wife were, but, clearly, the Company continued to act upon an obligation to ensure that the families of its servants did not starve.

While Company officials in Winnipeg may have resented supporting the families of HBC servants that laboured for them, locally the Company demonstrated a degree

of responsibility and obligation to them because their support was not only required at particular times, it benefited the Company in the long run. The support of families was often unavoidable not only because of their expectations of the Company, but because of natural resource strain or failure in any given year, such as failures of the fisheries. Because fish was the main diet at Île à la Crosse, when the fisheries failed, everyone felt the strain. In 1873, the Île à la Crosse fisheries were doing well, and so William McMurray decided that the post would not require additional fish from the Bull's House fisheries to supplement their supplies. McMurray had intended to send a couple of men to assist Company fisherman Joseph Vadnoit at the Bull's House fishery, but had learned that François Maurice had already sent John Thomas Kippling from Portage La Loche to assist the operation, presumably because that post required additional fish supplies. It was McMurray's opinion that if Vadnoit worked hard and was productive, he and his small family at Bull's House would have enough fish to last them until spring and not be dependent upon Île à la Crosse.[56]

Over a decade later, in the 1888 District Report, the Chief Trader at Île à la Crosse, Joseph Fortescue, lamented that the post was in serious jeopardy because of an almost universal failure of the fisheries throughout the District that year. As a result, the District would have to purchase "food" from Prince Albert or Winnipeg in order to ensure that there were enough rations for the families and also to feed the dogs that winter.[57] According to the Report, there were no more than three unmarried adult males in the entire English River District, and these were the only men whom the Company could employ to provision the post because servants were supplied food rations. To employ married men was to add additional people to the rations list and raise the costs of feeding the District. However, the post report pointed to another problem—"the only men obtainable [for service] who know the country and Indians are all married."[58] It would have been foolish, in the Chief Trader's estimation, to either not hire married men or discharge them early to minimize expenses because men from outside the District would know "neither the trade, language, Indians nor country."[59]

In *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age,* Arthur J. Ray explored the Company's continued use of rations or relief well into the twentieth century despite efforts to cease the practice. To explain the continuation of this practice, Ray pointed to two factors. First, he noted a widening division within the HBC between the Company officials in the administrative centres such as Winnipeg and the officials and servants in the field dealing with the economic realities of its trading partners. This pattern of the administrative centres being out of touch with the realities of a region were clearly evident at the English River District. Second, and more important, he pointed to the HBC fulfilling the expectations of its trading partners and their recognition that "Indians who remained loyal believed that the Company still had an obligation to look after them even though the legal responsibility [for them] may have rested [with other agencies]."[60] While there is a difference between providing rations to trappers and rations to servants who also worked for a wage, the notion that loyalty to the Company could be garnered through extra efforts facilitated a similar response. The families of the English River District, by virtue of the fact that they were from the region, accepted outsider males into the regional wahkootowin in large measure because of the benefits that they could provide. As was the case when Pierriche Laliberte sought Company assistance in establishing his freeman operation in the 1890s, local officals clearly recognized the additional assets that married men brought with them to their position, and that unconnected men—men without wahkootowins—were seriously disadvantaged and potentially liabilities to trade.

Even for the most loyal and obedient of servants, though, the Company did not necessarily feel obliged to fulfill its role as benefactor under all circumstances. In a March 1884 letter to the Chief Factor of Île à la Crosse, Magloire Miras[t]y of Green Lake wrote that his growing debt with the Company was due to a prolonged, debilitating illness that prevented him from working that winter. Because he was unable to hunt for himself or work for the Company, Magloire proposed to pay off his debt by giving the Company his horse. In suggesting this exchange, Magloire reminded the Chief Factor that he had

never been in debt before and had always traded his furs to the Company, not its many competitors. Magloire's letter was as much an expression of loyalty as it was a request for assistance and a call for familial reciprocity. While Magloire was assuring the Company of his loyalty to them, he also chided them for their lack of loyalty to him. He stated that two other Company masters, McMurray and McDonald, "told me if you always do right they will be able to give you something for nothing." But this was not the case, and so Magloire was forced to offer his horse as payment. Because he was still sick in the spring of 1884 and unable to provide for himself, Magloire also asked that the Chief Factor direct James Nicol Sinclair give him fish every now and then until he was fully recovered and able to care for himself.[61] Sinclair had married his second wife Josephte Durocher Mirasty in the early 1880s. Josephte had first been married to Bazil Merasty and had taken treaty in the Green Lake adhesion to Treaty Six. At this time, there's no apparent genealogical connection between Magloire and Josephte's first husband, although they shared a patronymic connection. Magloire, as a result, may have been surreptitiously requesting the assistance from his relatives through formal channels.[62]

It would be implausible to argue that all people living and working in the English River District in the nineteenth century shared in the regional wahkootowin because not all fit the criteria used to identify the core forty-three families—they were not traceable intergenerationally, were not linked to other families in the region through marriage, adoption, or other means to establish family connections, were not members of the Catholic Church, and were not closely linked to Cree or Dene families in the region. The final criteria, working in the fur trade, may have been met however, the lack of participation in the regional wahkootowin relates directly to their position in the HBC hierarchy. According to ethnoarcheologists Hetty Jo Brumbach and Robert Jarvenpa, there was a spectrum of Metis Cree labour in the English River District, demonstrating the employment options available to individuals within the HBC hierarchy. At one end

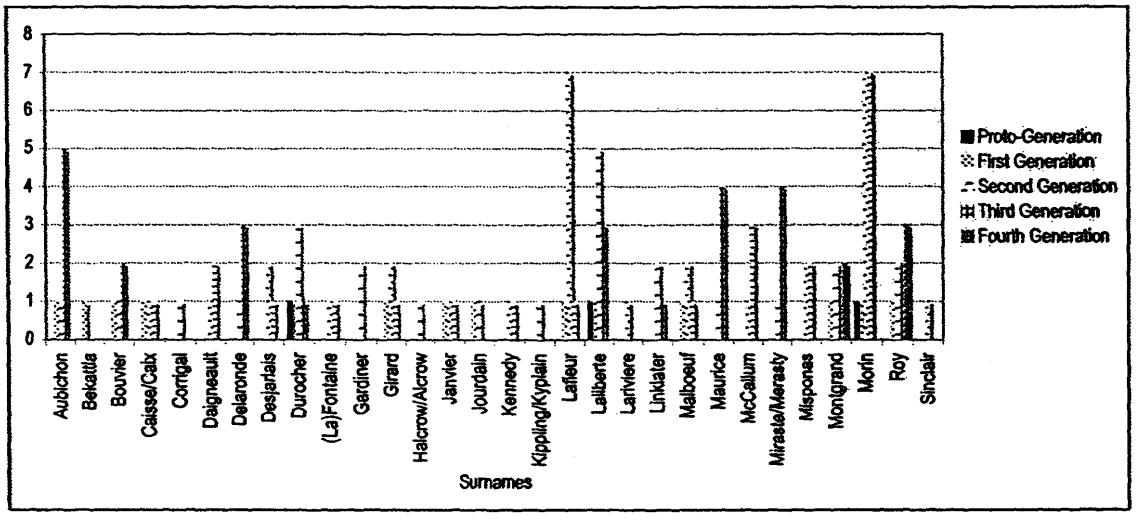
of the spectrum were the permanently contracted servants, such as chief factors, chief traders, clerks, postmasters, interpreters, boat builders, and blacksmiths, who received annual wages, food rations, and housing in return for their services as managers, camp traders, or outpost clerks, or fulfilled specialized, niche labour. At the other end of the spectrum were the hunters and fishermen, such as the Aubichon, Merasty, and Misponas men, who supplied the Company with their produce. In these instances, the oldest male ancestor in the family was typically a Company man, but he lived away from the posts, only coming in to a place like Île à la Crosse occasionally, yet still benefited from the benefactor/benefactee relationship. While a few local men or outsider males incorporated into wahkootowin did specialized jobs, none were Chief Factors and Traders with the exception of James Nicol Sinclair at Green Lake. By and large, Chief Factors and Traders were Anglo-Protestant and had little direct influence on the creation or maintenance of the English River District wahkootowin although they certainly impacted the economic operations of the families. In between, there were the freemen and free traders. Free traders, such as the Delarondes and Janviers, had no regular salary or contract with the Company, and therefore no regular access to Company produce, rations, housing, or other amenities. Conversely, while freemen, such as members of the Laliberte and Morin families, engaged in limited contracts, by guiding, freighting, interpreting, and transporting. Freemen and servants preferred to sign on occasionally and/or seasonally rather than maintain regular and permanent employment.[63]

The most obvious pattern of employment within the Company, as represented in the English River District, were adult males contracted in a variety of ways to work at jobs assigned by the Chief Factor, but there were other possibilities, such as female and younger male relatives being assigned tasks when the men were too busy or expensive to employ. In all these instances, the English River District's HBC servants, men and families moved fluidly through the employment spectrum during their lifetime, serving the Company in ways that suited their own personal circumstances. For instance, during

the latter half of the nineteenth century, Pierriche Laliberte went from being a postmaster at Portage La Loche to a freeman freighting in the Green Lake District. He was then rehired by the Company as postmaster of Green Lake prior to his final retirement in the 1890s. Conversely, Laliberte's brother-in-law Paul Delaronde, Sr. went from being a free trader to an HBC freeman in the Green Lake District during the same time period before opening a trading establishment under the Company's supervision near Muskeg Lake.

By and large, by the mid-nineteenth century the wahkootowin, as expressed in the social and cultural life of the English River District Metis, was shaped by a conscious process of intermarriage within the identified forty-three core families. More so, of the forty-three families, twenty-six came to be identified with the HBC directly and they specifically and deliberately intermarried with one another. This process of planned, strategic intermarriage was a cornerstone of social unity, but there were also other important features. Overall, because of the level and complex nature of the intermarriage, people were integrated as members of the District as they joined the familial structure and remained inland for the remainder of their lives. Indeed, one of the signifiers of a shift in perception, association, and identification came with the decision of outsider males to first intermarry and then remain in the District long after their contacts or Company association ended. Consequently, as family patriarchs retired, their sons and sons-in-law either took their place within the Company system or established for themselves an economic niche that drew upon a variety of occupational options. As a part of this process, the Company and its resources became a part of the systems of social unity. Patriarchs of the HBC families utilized their positions and the District resources available to them to support their families and communities. In turn, their female relatives worked informally at whatever jobs that were required. Combined, however, all these factors were not enough. The final signifier of a switch from the expectations of the society from which they came to wahkootowin was the conversion, if necessary, to Roman Catholicism, which was the dominant religion of the region and, more so than the Company as an institution, identified who did and did not belong to the community (see **Figure 11**).

Figure 11. Employment in the Trade by Generation



Source: LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Green Lake; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Portage La Loche.

For instance, in 1882, the same year that Sophie Daigneault and HBC servant John Thomas Corrigal were married, he converted from the Church of England to Roman Catholicism, presumably so that the couple could legitimately be married in the Church.[64] On 2 November 1884, the day before his marriage to Eliza Daigneault, Robert Gardiner, likewise a member of the Church of England, was baptized and confirmed in the Roman Catholic mission.[65] Not only did Company servants Corrigal and Gardiner join the community wahkootowin by marrying into it, they also changed their religion, signifying a commitment to the community. Religious conversion integrated these men into the regional wahkootowin and a long genealogical record with the mission. Attesting to their separation from the larger Metis community's cultural and social structure is a complete lack of Roman Catholic mission records for specific HBC men who, despite long years of service with the Company, remained outside the wahkootowin. For instance, there are no mission records regarding the Dreaver family at Green Lake or Île à la Crosse.

In October 1893, Green Lake postmaster George Dreaver wrote to his superior, Chief Factor Henry J. Moberly at Île à la Crosse, to express a deep loneliness and wish that "a poor lonely Begger [*sic*] like me may have the pleasure of seeing you soon." At

the time, Dreaver was without his wife Elizabeth and two daughters, and clearly found it an isolating experience. Although he had just recently received news that his wife and children were well, he proclaimed that "after a man has tasted of the Comforts of Married life this living alone comes pretty tough."[66] Dreaver, apparently, had been with his family a few months earlier. In February 1893, he had written to Île à la Crosse to ask if they could spare a bottle of "lung balsam" because his "Little Ones" were sick with colds.[67] However, by October his family was gone from the English River District, and Dreaver faced a long winter alone except for the other Company men living at the Green Lake post. Unlike the other families discussed thus far, the Dreavers were not genealogically representative of the District's Company families. That the Dreavers were Presbyterian, and did not convert to Catholicism, may have been less about holding a particular faith but more about rejecting a world of intermarriage in the English River District and, therefore, the reciprocity family model that would have established for any individual outsider male, an almost instant familial support network. It appears that this family was not a part of the regional Metis wahkootowin that shaped the values and norms of human behaviour in the English River District. Overall, none of the Dreaver men married local women, served as godparents for children of their fellow community members, or apparently remained in the District beyond the nineteenth century.

The Dreavers in Green Lake were not the only families unconnected to the Metis wahkootowin of the English River District. Surviving records contain surnames of largely Protestant, English, and/or Scottish Company servants who were not incorporated into the complex socio-cultural network. Names such as West, McPhail, Daniel, Spence, Powers, Budge, McIntyre, Francklyn, Moore, and Bethune were all present at HBC posts in the English River District in the early nineteenth century, yet have no resonance within those communities today and are not a part of the regional genealogical reconstruction.[68] Throughout its history, the post at Île à la Crosse was typically administered by English or Scottish, white, and Halfbreed men whose time in the District was limited to periods

of three to four years and who, while they had families, often aspired to see their sons and daughters maintain their family's position as an HBC elite and separate from the local community. And so, while men like Pierriche Laliberte sent their children to school at Red River, there was clearly an expectation that they would return to become a part of the family business with the Company. The expectation for the children of most Company officials was that they would rise socially through marriage or receive better postings than their parents, thus increasing the family's prestige outside the District.

Of course, there were exceptions such as Henry J. Moberly, Chief Factor at Île à la Crosse from 1892-1895, who had several children come to reside in the Bull's House area and integrated into the Metis Dene community, and James Nicol Sinclair, an English Halfbreed clerk at Green Lake from 1883-1885, who converted to Roman Catholicism and married Josephte Durocher of Jack Fish Lake. Sinclair's situation was a more typical scenario of most incoming outsider males. His integration into the English River District wahkootowin began when he was sent to Green Lake in 1874, where he served as a clerk from 1877 to 1878. From there, he was sent to Portage La Loche, remaining a clerk. Sinclair was at Portage La Loche until 1879, where he met and married Josephte Durocher. In 1883, Sinclair was transferred back to Green Lake, again as clerk from 1883 to 1885.[69] At the end of his HBC service, James Nicol Sinclair remained in the English River District with his family. Unlike George Dreaver, Sinclair clearly chose to become a part of the English River Metis wahkootowin, and adapted to community norms. But the experiences of these elite Company employees in the English River District wahkootowin was the exception rather than the rule.

More typical were situations like George Dreaver's. Decades earlier, Roderick Mackenzie, like Dreaver, had recorded his feelings of loneliness and desire to be reunited with his family—something not possible without the Company's support and approval. In 1844, Mackenzie had broken his leg and was bedridden at Île à la Crosse for the winter. His thoughts quickly turned to his family, who were not with him. He wrote to Governor

George Simpson in Winnipeg, requesting that his eleven year old son be removed from school at Red River and brought to assist his father with personal tasks. Furthermore, Mackenzie, looking to the future and fearing that his health would not improve, requested permission to settle at the Norway House post when he retired so that he could be closer to Red River and amongst his old friends.[70] Because he served at Île à la Crosse as Chief Factor for twenty years, Mackenzie was described in George Simpson's Character Book as an honest and well meaning servant, but also "irritable and short tempered to such a degree that it [was] unpleasant to do business with him."[71] More importantly, Mackenzie's problem, according to Simpson, was that,

> His Health and constitution [was] broken down and worn out so that his useful Days are over, and it is full time that he should retire from Service altho' he has not held his present situation exceeding two years; indeed he never was pocessed [*sic*] of abilities which could qualify him to fill such a situation with advantage, and he owed his late promotion entirely to the circumstances of his being senior of two Gentlemen who were in Nomination with him and being less objectionable in many points of view, the company having had the choice of three very indifferent and in some respects unfit men from among whom it was necessary to fill the vacancy to which he succeeded.[72]

The notion that Mackenzie never had the ability or qualifications to fill such a role is an important point to examine. Roderick was the cousin of Alexander Mackenzie, one of the first independent traders in the English River District after the arrival of the Frobisher brothers. The Mackenzie family had once been well placed in the NWC and had served as part of the transitional fur trader presence after the merger. But, by the 1840s, Simpson, a man notorious for downgrading his officers' abilities, was suggesting that Mackenzie's marriage to an Ojibwa woman from Ontario had reduced his overall effectiveness in a Metis Cree/Metis Dene territory. Within the English River District, Mackenzie was severely disadvantaged socially and culturally because he was outside the circle of wahkootowin. Furthermore, the Mackenzie family name no longer carried the weight it once had, and

that, coupled with the lack of connection to the English River District cultural identity made Mackenzie a liability. It was clearly not Mackenzie's intention to live out his final days at Île à la Crosse (or even in the District), and so his usefulness as an experienced Chief Factor was rapidly drawing to a close as his health deteriorated.

Mackenzie's health, however, improved, for in 1850 he wrote again to Simpson from Île à la Crosse about his family. He related that his youngest son, who had been attending school for the past ten years, was now ready to begin his apprenticeship with the Company. However, Mackenzie feared that if the Company did not hire the young man, the family would have to send him to California to earn a living, and if this were to happen the Mackenzie family would be adversely affected. Three years later, Mackenzie's son, Samuel, who may well have been the young man at the centre of so many letters to Simpson, was in the Company's service at Île à la Crosse, and Roderick had retired to Red River.[73] Mackenzie's letters over several decades in the nineteenth century were expressions of the importance of family and a father's wish to ensure that his sons were able to obtain employment with the Company nearby, so that, even for a short period of time, the family could be together.

Company men such as Mackenzie, who, like Dreaver, appeared to have no connection to the local Metis community's wahkootowin, often made requests on behalf of their sons to ensure that their immediate families remained connected and successfully employed, largely because those young men did not have the means to establish themselves more independently. At least for the Chief Factors and Traders, they too felt the Company's role was to assure their socio-cultural well-being. In an 1848 letter to George Simpson, Thomas Hodgson, Green Lake's postmaster from 1839-1853, and another Company man with no discernible familial connection to the English River District requested permission to have Hodgson's son hired at Île à la Crosse as a boatbuilder and rough carpenter for the upcoming winter. The young man had recently injured himself while working as a voyageur on the Company's boats and was now unfit for physically demanding employment.

However, the young man was married with a small child and faced destitution, so his father asked Roderick Mackenzie, his own District superior, to hire the son. However, Mackenzie's employment roster was full for the summer and he could not hire the young man without Simpson's permission. Less than a month later, Mackenzie also wrote to Simpson on the matter, stating that the young man had a wife and family, and that he should therefore not be permitted to remain at Île à la Crosse unless he was able to support himself. Mackenzie further noted that the younger Hodgson was already a "good man and a good rough carpenter," and that in a year or two he would be able to build boats for the District. Perhaps more importantly, Mackenzie surmised, Thomas Hodgson was getting old and his son should be groomed as his replacement. While Mackenzie did not directly ask permission to hire young Hodgson, he alluded to the long-run benefits to the Company by hiring Thomas' son in the short-term as a favour.[74] The notion of the Company, the institution, serving as an overall benefactor extended into all branches of the HBC employment spectrum, and at each level men asked their superiors for special consideration.

Servants of the Company who were members of the English River District wahkootowin, whether engaged at the upper strata as postmasters or chief traders or the lower stratum as occasional labourers, were expected to place the needs and interests of family members first. In this way, however unwillingly, the institution and its resources were often drawn into the reciprocal family model. By the late nineteenth century, HBC families came to look to the Company for basic support of familial issues, such as resolving problems associated with the scrip process, just as they required occasional rations when the District fisheries failed. The Company was expected to act as a benefactor when families required additional assistance and/or support. At the Convention of Forty held at Red River in 1870, Louis Riel called the HBC, "A Company of strangers living across the ocean," accusing it of selling the Metis just as it sold Rupertsland to the Canadian

state.[75] Furthermore, Riel's subsequent motion to have the members of the Convention nullify all of the arrangements and stipulations made by the HBC in the Rupertsland transfer and assert that any future arrangements by Canada be made only with the people of Red River was defeated in a vote of 22 to 17. In opposing Riel's motion, both the Convention Chairman, Judge John Black, and representative Charles Nolin stated that it was important for the Metis to remember the assistance and kindness of the Company to them on more than one occasion. Specifically, Nolin stated that while the Company could not be exculpated entirely, some acknowledgement of the contributions of the HBC to communities in times of need was required. However correct Riel may have been, within the regional communities such as the English River District, and indeed within Red River itself, the notion that the HBC was a Company of strangers with no relationship to the people did not ring true.[76] Locally, the HBC was made up of relatives. By the turn-of-the-century, while freemen were asserting themselves economically, scrip was introduced and treaties signed, signifying a greater Canadian political presence in the region, which brought with it new challenges. Metis cultural identity in the English River District was partially shaped through their association with the HBC throughout the nineteenth century. HBC families utilized their positions within the institution to funnel resources, employment, and general support for their families. Metis families used their relationship with the Company as a model for dealing with the Roman Catholic Church as they further shaped their own socio-cultural expression.

Endnotes

[1]In 1862 alone, over the course of one and a half weeks, 990 kegs of potatoes were harvested by the women and young people to feed a substantial residential population at Île à la Crosse. HBCA B.89/a/32, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1862, 22 September to 1 October 1862.

[2]HBCA B.89/a/32, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1862, 22 September 1862; HBCA B.89/a/14, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1831-1832, 29 June 1831; and HBCA, B.89/e/10b, Île à la Crosse Post Report, 9 May 1890.

[3]LAC, RG15, vol. 1337, 22 September 1906, Michel Bouvier; LAC, RG15, 1337, 22 September 1906, Julie Bouvier-Morin; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[4]There is no record of Augustine having a daughter named Eliza Desjarlais. LAC, RG15, vol. 1342, 22 September 1906, J.T. Corrigal; LAC, RG15, vol. 1342, 24 September 1906, Augustine Bouvier Corrigal;

and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[5]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[6]The name Misponas is a phonetic variation of L'Esperance. At some point, the French surname L'Esperance, which translates from French as "the hope" or "the promise," became in the English River District the surname Misponas, for which there appears to be no translation.

[7]LAC, RG15, vol. 1339, 20 September 1906, Louis Caisse; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[8]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan. LAC, RG15, vol. 1337, 24 September 1906, Caroline Lafleur; and LAC, RG15, vol. 1337, 18 June 1900, Marguerite Lafleur-Boyer.

[9]LAC, RG15, vol. 1348, 24 September 1906, William Gardiner; LAC, RG15, vol. 1348, 21 September 1906, Lucia Gardiner; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[10]The two studies that stand as seminal works regarding fur trade companies and families are, of course, Brown's *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980) and Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980). However, see also Brown's "Fur Trade as Centrifuge: Family Dispersal and Offspring Identity in Two Contemporary Contexts," in *North American Indian Anthropology*, eds. Raymond J. Demaille and Alfonso Ortiz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 197-219; "Partial Truths: A Closer Look at Fur Trade Marriage," in *From Rupertsland to Canada*, eds. Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens and R.C. Macleod (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2001), 59-80; Argyro Rula Logotheti, "Six Moose Factory Cree Life Histories: The Negotiation of Self and the Maintenance of Culture" (Master's Thesis, McMaster University, 1991); Jacqueline Peterson, "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680-1830" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1980); Edward J. McCullough and Michael Maccagno, *Lac La Biche and the Early Fur Traders* (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1991); Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Elizabeth Arthur, "Angélique and her Children: Papers and Records," *Thunder Bay Historical Society* 6 (1978): 30-34; Harriet Gorham, "Families of Mixed Descent in the Western Great Lakes Region," in *Native People, Native Lands*, ed. B.A. Cox, (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1987), 37-55; and Susan Sleeper-Smith, "Furs and Female Kin Networks: The World of Marie Madeline Réaume L'Archevêque Chevalier," in *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995*, eds. Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith and William Wicken (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1995), 23-53.

[11]It is beyond the scope of this study to fully examine quantitatively the economic impact and viability of family life at the many posts in the English River District. However, based on the qualitative evidence in post journals and correspondence books, it is clear that for the better part of the early nineteenth century the Company believed that a well-developed family life was beneficial to its interests. Towards the end of the century and into the twentieth century, this perception had changed substantially to the negative, whether because of racism, as advocated by Sylvia Van Kirk, or because of the costs to the company in support.

[12]It is important to distinguish integration and acculturation from assimilation, which absorbs a culture or mores of a population rather than permit, the modification or blending of cultural attributes to create something new.

[13]Spaulding, *The Metis of Ile a la Crosse*, 96-98.

[14]Similarly, there is no intention to disregard the role of family life in other parts of the world at this time. Worldwide, families are the first model of social organization. However, in Western European societies at this time, there was a growing ideological and social movement that prioritized individuality over family and community. Many religious scholars argue that this began with the Protestant Reformation, as a reaction to Catholicism. While individuals within these societies may have supported and protected their families and communities, they were not necessarily expected to sacrifice themselves to collective needs. See Natalie Zemon Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus* 106 (1977): 87-114, David Nicholls, "The Social History of the French Reformation: Ideology, Confession and Culture," *Social History* 9 (1984): 25-43; Philip Benedict, "The Catholic Response To Protestantism: Church Activity and Popular Piety in Rouen, 1560-1600," in *Religion and the People, 800-1700*, ed. James Obelevich (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 168-190; Janet Finch & Jennifer Mason, *Passing On: Kinship and Inheritance in England* (London: Routledge Press, 2000); Alan Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Pierre Maranda, *French Kinship: Structure and History* (Paris: Mouton, 1974); and Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977).

[15]Beatrice Medicine, "American Indian Family," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 18.4 (1981): 17-19.

[16]The form and structure of Aboriginal family life has been examined most thoroughly by anthropologists. For a fuller discussion of each groups style of family see: Henry Stephen Sharp, "The Kinship System of the Black Lake Chipewyan" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1973); Henry S. Sharp, *Chipewyan Marriage* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, no. 58, 1979); Bernard Bernier, *The Social Organization of the Waswanipi Cree Indians* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1968); M. Inez Hilger, *Chippewa Families: A Social Study of White Earth Indian Reservation, 1938* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society, 1998); David G. Mandebaum, *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical, and Comparative Study* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1979); David Meyer, *The Red Earth Crees, 1860-1960* (Canadian Ethnology Service, no. 100, 1985); Scott Rushforth, *Bear Lake Althabascan Kinship and Task Group Formation* (Canadian Ethnology Service. no. 96, 1984); Patricia Albers, "Sioux Kinship in a Colonial Setting," *Dialectical Anthropology* 6 (1982): 253-269; Raymond J. DeMallie, "Kinship and Biology in Sioux Culture," in *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture*, eds. Raymond J. Demaille and Alfonso Ortiz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 125-146; Regina Flannery, "Cross-Cousin Marriage Among the Cree and Montagnais of James Bay," *Primitive Man* 2 (1938): 29-33; A. Irving Hallowell, "Kinship Terms and Cross-Cousin Marriage of the Montagnais–Naskapi and the Cree," *American Anthropologist* 34.2 (1932): 171-199; Alfred Louis Kroeber, "Athabascan Kin Term Systems," *American Anthropologist* 39 (1937): 602-608; Toby Morantz, *An Ethnographic Study of Eastern James Bay Cree Social Organization, 1700-1850* (Canadian Ethnology Service, no.88, 1983); and James G.E. Smith, "Historical Changes in the Chipewyan Kinship System," in *North American Indian Anthropology: Essays on Society and Culture*, eds. Raymond J. Demaille and Alfonso Ortiz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 49-81.

[17]Tom Johnson, "Without the Family We Are Nothing," in *Native Heritage: Personal Accounts by American Indians, 1790 to Present*, ed. Arlene Hirschfelder (New York: MacMillan, 1995), 7. The importance placed on familial connections is echoed by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal scholars, but perhaps the best expression of this sentiment was Ella Cara Deloria in her 1945 book, *Speaking of Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998 reprint).

[18]HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 10 February 1892.

[19]HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 15 February 1892. The given name Marcial is more typically spelled Martial.

[20]LAC, RG15, vol. 1343, 20 September 1906, François Xavier Daigneault; LAC, RG15, vol. 1357, 19 September 1906, Charles Maurice; LAC, RG15, vol. 1367, 21 September 1906, Raphaël Souris; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; and Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan.

[21]After this initial division, there came to be a more distinct cultural division based upon religion or nationality between outsider males. There were, of course, exceptions to these divisions that can be found in the course of the region's history.

[22]White women were banned from HBC posts until about 1820s because the Company felt that men would be too distracted from their work if the former lived inland. While a few, such as Marie-Anne Gaboury, Louis Riel's maternal grandmother, entered those Districts by 1803, white wives were not in vogue until 1830, after Governor George Simpson married his English cousin, Frances, and brought her to Red River. While there were white women in Rupertsland after 1870, there is no evidence that they were in the English River District during the nineteenth century.

[23]HBCA B.89/a/14, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1831-1832, 29 June 1831; HBCA B.89/a/22, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1842-1843, 9 October 1843; and HBCA B.89/a/23, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1843-1845, 22 July 1844.

[24]HBCA B.89/a/16, Île à la Crosse Post Journal 1834-1835, 5 February 1834; and HBCA, B.89/a/5, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1822-1823, 3 & 6 February 1823.

[25]HBCA, B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1824-25, 28 November 1824; HBCA, B.89/a/22, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1842-43, 10 October 1843; HBCA, B.89/a/23, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1843-45, 13 December 1844 &18 June 1845; and HBCA, B.89/a/31, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1861, 5, 6 & 9 July 1861 & 4–6 August 1861.

[26]For more about the First Nations kin-based task economy in the subarctic, see Bernard Bernier, *The Social Organization of the Waswanipi Cree Indians* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1968) and Scott Rushforth, *Bear Lake Althabascan Kinship and Task Group Formation* (Canadian Ethnology Service, 1984).

[27]Jean Baptiste Bouvier was likely the father of Michel Bouvier, Sr. Jean Baptiste was listed as being 41 years old, with nineteen years as a Canadien employee, from L'Ours or Maska, and employed as a middleman in the 1821-22 Company census at the Canadien Establishment. In 1826, Jean Baptiste was a fisherman at the HBC post. Michel Bouvier, Sr. was not born until 1811 or 1812 in the Norhwest Territories, so, conceivably, Jean Baptiste was his father. HBCA, B.89/g/1, file 1, 1833-1864, Abstracts of Servant's Accounts; HBCA, B.89/a/5, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1822-1823, 3 & 6 February 1823; and HBCA, B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 1824-1825, 2 October 1824.

[28]On 18 September 1865, the women of the fort were recorded as being busy knitting nets for the fisheries. HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 1864-1865, 18 September 1865.

[29]HBCA, B.89/a/2, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1910-1811, 6 July-6 August 1810; and HBCA, B.89/c/1, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, "Correspondence at Île à la Crosse Lake between Mr. Fidler & Canadians, 1810-11," 24 May 1811.

[30]HBCA B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 11-15 April 1890. The contemporary spelling for the surname Case is Caisse and Malbeuaf is actually Malbouef.

[31]LAC, RG15, vol. 1365, 21 September 1906, Carmine Maurice; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1367, 21 September 1906, Raphaël Souris; LAC RG15, vol. 991, File 1247280, 27 June 1907, Angèle Souris; LAC, RG15, vol.

1358, 24 September 1906, Ambroise McKay; LAC, RG15, vol. 1352, 24 September 1906, Anna Jourdain; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[32]Arthur J. Ray's work has presented the most indepth research dealing with the relationship between the HBC and its Native, primarily Indian, personnel. See Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). Furthermore, Brown's *Strangers In Blood* provides a succinct examination of the Company's stratification, which was based largely on the model of the English household with a patriarch, his wife, and children, and a number of unmarried young female servants and male apprentices.

[33]Frank Tough, *"As Their Natural Resources Fail": Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996), 7.

[34]Tough, *"As Their Natural Resources Fail"*, 269.

[35]HBCA, B.89/g/1, file 1, 1833-1864, Abstracts of Servants Accounts.

[36]Tough, *"As Their Natural Resources Fail"*, 58.

[37]HBCA, B.89/c/3, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1886-1889, n.d. from Mr. Laliberte.

[38]HBCA, B.89/a/5, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1822-23, 19-20 April 1823.

[39]HBCA, B.89/g/1, file 1, 1833-1864, Abstracts of Servants Accounts. This census may not have been an actual accounting of the men at the establishments on the day that the census was taken, but rather reflected the places where each man was employed. Some switched employers regularly. As of the 1821 merger, it was plausible that an individual had, in fact, worked for both companies in that calendar year. It is difficult to regard the duplication of the name Patrick Cunningham as an error because there were a number of other names so duplicated within the Abstracts of Servants Accounts for 1821.

[40]HBCA, B.89/a/5, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1822-23, 19-20 April 1823.

[41]HBCA, D.5/27, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 8 January 1850 to Gov. George Simpson from Roderick Mackenzie, Île à la Crosse.

[42]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[43]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[44]The name Tastawitch was likely Testawitch. There was a Michel Testawitch in the English River District who was married to Sophie Lachance. This couple had a daughter, Marie Philomène Testawitch, who married Jean Baptiste Laliberte. It is probable that Margaret Testawitch was the sister of Marie Philomène. Additionally, the surname may, in fact, be Iroquois, not Dene according to descendants of that family. The actual etymology of the name is unknown. HBCA, B.89/b/19, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1892-1894, 25 November 1893 to R. Pamlet, Assistant Commissioner from Henry Moberly.

[45]In the Île à la Crosse mission records, there is a record of a Hélène Harper giving birth to a daughter, Celina-Marie, whose father was a Willie Biggs to whom Hélène was not married. Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[46]HBCA, B.89/b/19, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1892-1894, 25 November 1893 to R. Pamlet, Assistant Commissioner from Henry Moberly.

[47]Alternate spellings for Ikkeilzik are Elkeze, Elkelzek, and Elkezi.

[48]LAC, RG15, vol. 1357, Handwritten Application for Pierre Malboeuf; LAC, RG15, vol. 1357, 12 July 1900, Pierre Malboeuf; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[49]Ray detailed this economic model based on semi-social assumption of responsibility, first in *Indians in the Fur Trade*, and then in *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 67-68, 137-139. The HBC offered economic assistance, particularly to Indian traders, in traditional or ceremonial forms, such as proffering debts, "gifting," and issuing relief to the sick and destitute.

[50]HBCA, B.89/c/2, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1871-1885, Memo from Christie, Inspecting Chief Factor to Wm. McMurray, n/d, 1872.

[51]HBCA, B.89/c/2, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1871-1885, Memo from Christie, Inspecting Chief Factor to Wm. McMurray, n/d, 1872.

[52]HBCA, B.89/c/2, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1871-1885, Memo from Christie, Inspecting Chief Factor to Wm. McMurray, n/d, 1872.

[53]Tough addressed these issues in northern Manitoba, concluding that while Native trappers suffered or were exploited under the HBC's paternalistic system based on debt peonage, as a result, they expected long term obligations from the Company. However, when this old fur trade system gave way to a more modern market economy, the new regime defied the order of social obligations of the older fur trade society. See Tough, *"As Their Natural Resources Fail"*.

[54]HBCA, B.89/c/2, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1871-1885, 25 September 1885 to Joseph Fortescue from James Nicol Sinclair.

[55]HBCA, B.89/b/18, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, 2 April 1892 to Charles Lafleur from Henry J. Moberly.

[56]HBCA, B.89/b/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1872-1891, 12 December 1873 from William McMurray to François Maurice. Joseph Vadoit had thirty-eight years in the service and was employed at Portage La Loche.

[57]The type of food to be obtained from Prince Albert was not specifically identified.

[58]HBCA, B.89/e/6, Île à la Crosse Post Reports, 1888.

[59]HBCA, B.89/e/6, Île à la Crosse Post Reports, 1888.

[60]Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age*, 210-211.

[61]HBCA, B.89/c/2, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1871-1885, 16 March 1884 from Magloire Mirasy, Green Lake.

[62]Apparently this trade of livestock for services, in payment of debt, and in lieu of receiving salaries was not an uncommon practice in the English River District. In a similar instance in 1888, Pierre Laliberte of Portage La Loche informed Fortescue at Île à la Crosse that Joseph Janvier wanted to sell his horse, which he assured was of good quality, to pay off his debts. HBCA, B.89/c/3, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1871-1885, 24 July 1888 to Joseph Fortescue from Pierre Laliberte, Portage La Loche.

[63]Hetty Jo Brumbach & Robert Jarvenpa, *EthnoArcheological and Cultural Frontiers: Athabascan, Algonquian, and European Adaptation in the Central Subarctic* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 227-229.

[64]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[65]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[66]HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, 21 October 1893 to Henry J. Moberly from George Dreaver.

[67]HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book Inward, 1893-1902, 15 February 1893, from George Dreaver, Green Lake to Henry J. Moberly, Île à la Crosse.

[68]LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Ile a la Crosse; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Green Lake; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Portage La Loche.

[69]James Nicol's father, William Sinclair, was an HBC Chief Factor originally from Scotland, and his mother, Mary McKay, was a Metis woman from Ontario. The marriage of James Nicol and Josephte was the second marriage for both, and together they had six children, all of whom attended the mission school at Île à la Crosse. Josephte and her first husband, Bazil Mirasty, were in Treaty Six, but, after Bazil's death, she and their eight children were discharged from treaty. LAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167724, 22 October 1887, James Nicol Sinclair; LAC, RG 15, vol. 556, file 167691, 21 October 1887, Josephte Sinclair; LAC, RG 15, 11 July 1900, Josephte Durocher Meraste Sinclair/heir of Françoise Meraste. Two other notable exceptions of HBC elite being in the District longer than three to five years or being Anglo-Protestants were Roderick Mackenzie, who served at Île à la Crosse from 1830 to 1850, and George Deschambeault, the only French Canadian man to reach the status of Chief Factor in the entire northern Department at Île à la Crosse, from 1852 to 1864.

[70]HBCA, D.5/10, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 4 January 1844 to Gov. George Simpson from R. Mackenzie, Île à la Crosse. In the summer of 1843, Mackenzie's family was with him at Île à la Crosse. He and his wife Angélique (an Ojibwa from Lake Nipagon, Ontario) had five daughters and seven sons. In the mid-nineteenth century, the sons were scattered throughout the world: Ferdinand was in Edinburgh, Scotland; Samuel was at a post at Rapid River; and Patrick was in the Edmonton area, serving under Chief Factor John Rowand. Of their seven sons, all were eventually employed by the HBC, and four of the daughters went on to marry Company men (the fifth died prior to reaching an age appropriate for marriage). HBCA, D.5/6, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 2 March 1841 to Gov. George Simpson from Roderick Mackenzie & HBCA, D.5/6, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 22 February 1843 to Gov. George Simpson from Roderick Mackenzie. Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany,* vol. 30 (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975); HBCA, Search File, Roderick Mackenzie, (senior C.F.), #2.

[71]Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany,* 186.

[72]Williams, ed., *Hudson's Bay Miscellany,* 186.

[73]HBCA, D.5/27, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 8 January 1850 to Gov. George Simpson from R. Mackenzie, Île à la Crosse. HBCA, D.5/36, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 15 January 1853 to Gov. George Simpson from Samuel Mackenzie, Île à la Crosse. By 1873, Samuel, who had served as a chief trader at Île à la Crosse from1864-1871, was retired from the service and living with his four children at Prince Albert. Samuel's wife, Anne, had died by the early 1870s.

[74]HBCA, D.5/22, Governor George Simpson's Correspondence Inward, 31 May 1848 to Gov. George Simpson from Thomas Hodgson, Île à la Crosse & 14 June 1848 to Gov. George Simpson from Roderick Mackenzie, Île à la Crosse.

[75]W.L. Morton, "The Proceedings in the Convention, 3-5 February 1870," in *Manitoba: The Birth of a Province,* ed. W.L. Morton (Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Records Society, 1984), 20.

[76]Morton, "The Proceedings in the Convention," in *Manitoba*, 22-24.

Chapter Six:

"The HalfBreeds of this Place Always Did and Always Will Dance": The Socio-Religious Expression of a Cultural Identity

At five o'clock on the evening of 23 February 1890, Michel Bouvier, Sr. died at 82 years of age. In preparation for the funeral rites, his sons-in-law, Vincent Daigneault and Thomy (Thomas) Lariviere, made his coffin while HBC servant Joseph Roy dug the grave at the mission cemetery. For two days, people from throughout the District traveled to Île à la Crosse for the funeral, to be held at the mission on 25 February 1890. Bouvier was born in the northwest some time between 1801 and 1811 and worked as a steersman, guide, carpenter, interpreter, freeman, and general labourer over the course of sixty-six years in the HBC's employ at Île à la Crosse.[1] Michel Sr. and his wife, Julie Desjarlais, were one of Île à la Crosse's first generation couples, having married and established their small family in the early 1830s. According to Company, Church, scrip, and census records, Michel and Julie Bouvier had only three children—Michel Jr. (b. 1838, Île à la Crosse), Marguerite (b. 1842, Île à la Crosse), and Véronique (b. 1857, Île à la Crosse).[2]

Like the death of Old Benjamin Bruce, the death of Michel Bouvier, Sr. was marked by a series of rituals intended to rebuild family life by bringing people together in preparation for the funeral rites. These rituals were an effort to restore familial and, by extension, social cohesion. The story of the Bouvier family certainly did not end with the death of Michel Sr.—in many ways, the story had only just begun. Symbolically, death represents an end, a fracturing of family. However, via funeral rituals, families were brought together through displays that demonstrated commitments to the dead, the ancestors and, therefore, the family left behind. Death, like life, was a part of wahkootowin, and so the story of death in the Bouvier extended family system is the most appropriate place

to begin a chapter about socio-religious expression as a manifestation of Metis cultural identity and family life.

Death may seem, at first glance, a dour way to begin a discussion about Metis socio-religious experiences in Île à la Crosse. Birth, adoption, and marriage obviously mark the expansion of a family through the incorporation of new members. However, while death ended an individual's physical being, it was a gateway for those left behind to forge new relationships, reinforce old ones, and establish links to both an ancestral legacy and the spirit world. Moreover, death was a part of an important set of rituals in the Catholic faith that marked the stages of a person's life. The Roman Catholic Church in the English River District established a cycle of religious rituals for congregants that marked the stages of life, and likewise had several annual religious observances that marked its public ceremonial cycle such as Easter and Christmas. Catholic rituals were an important outlet for expressing wahkootowin through a spiritual calendar of weekly, monthly, and yearly activities. The personal and public ceremonies of Roman Catholic ritual and ceremony established a means of supporting and nourishing social cohesion in the English River District, which, in turn, became a large part of the Metis cultural identity. Wahkootowin was not undermined by the presence of the Roman Catholic mission's theology or the construction of either the orphanage or school. Rather, these institutions became a part of the family structures and a larger nexus of resources upon which people drew in order to continue caring for their relatives as best they could.

Michel Sr. may have been the son of the Jean Baptiste Bouvier who was listed as an employee at the Canadian establishment in the HBC's District census of 1821. Jean Baptiste Bouvier worked for the HBC as late as 1833, surviving the layoffs associated with 1821 merger of the NWC and HBC. There were two Jean Baptistes and a Michel Bouvier listed in the 1833 English River Abstracts of Servants Accounts, a Jr. and a Sr., presumably Michel Sr.'s father and brother. By the 1841 outfit, both Jean Baptistes disappear from

the English River account books, but Michel remained.[3] Michel Bouvier, Sr. and Julie Desjarlais' children matured and married into other large HBC families with strong social ties to other families—Indian and Metis—throughout the District and a devotion to the Church. The three Bouvier children and their spouses contributed to the establishment of second and third generation families in Île à la Crosse families by linking, first, themselves and then their own children to local families, such as the Morins and Larivieres, and establishing alliances with incoming, outsider males arriving throughout the nineteenth century.

By 1863, Michel Jr. was listed in the Abstracts of Servants Accounts as a Company employee, serving on its boats and as a general labourer. However, unlike his father, Michel Jr. was a temporary servant who also occasionally engaged in a variety of activities, being paid in food rations or in credit and goods by the day or month depending on the form of service. According to post accounts, Michel Jr. rarely sold furs to the HBC, indicating that he and his family likely lived close to the post and mission rather than in more remote parts of the District and closer to fur bearing populations.[4] Additional evidence that Michel Jr. remained close to the post and mission includes his role as a fisherman and carpenter for those two institutions, jobs requiring a more consistent presence in the village rather than out on the land tripping and freighting. In 1868 at Île à la Crosse, Michel Jr. married Julie Marie Morin, the daughter of Raphaël Morin and Elizabeth (Betsy) Cook, and together they had fourteen children.[5]

Around 1866, daughter Marguerite married Vincent Daigneault, an occasional HBC servant and freeman originally from Montreal, with whom she had ten children. Like his brother-in-law, Vincent was first listed in the Abstracts of Servants Accounts in the 1863 outfit for English River, and worked as a midman and general labourer for two years before becoming a freeman. Remaining inland after his contract expired, Daigneault occasionally worked for the Company as a cow-herder and carpenter well into the 1880s.[6] The last of Michel Sr. and Julie's children, Véronique, married Thomas (Thomy) Lariviere

of Souris River, the adopted son of Abraham Lariviere and Mary Petawchamwistewin (also known as Ee-Ya-Nis), in 1875 at Île à la Crosse. Véronique and Thomy had twelve children. Thomy's adoptive father, Abraham Lariviere, also first appeared in the 1863 Abstracts of Servants Accounts as a fisherman and general labourer for the HBC at Souris River. Thomy, meanwhile, first appeared in the Abstracts a year later as a midman rising to the rank of guide a decade later.[7]

After raising his three children and serving over six decades in the HBC's service, Michel Sr. retired from the fur trade in the late 1880s and began collecting a Company pension of £40 per year. His pension was guaranteed by the Company in a written agreement for the rest of his life and as long as he lived in the District. The pension became the subject of a great deal of discussion after Bouvier, Sr.'s death, framing a story of familial expectations when their interests conflicted with those of the HBC and Roman Catholic mission. Bouvier's pension was a special case for the HBC because, unlike others, it was apparently an expense borne by the District, not central administration. Consequently, the pension was credited to Bouvier, Sr. in Made Beaver against Île à la Crosse's annual accounts.[8] According to post records, in the days leading up to his death, Michel Sr. sent for Isaac Cowie, Junior Chief Trader at Île à la Crosse, and a Mr. Archie to serve as witnesses to his last will and testament. As they assembled, Bouvier declared before his family and the two witnesses that each of his three children would receive $100, with the remainder of the estate going to his "old wife," Julie Desjarlais. Cowie wrote that Julie Desjarlais Bouvier would probably give a certain portion of the sum intended for her to the mission because of her piety and sense of responsibility to the Church.[9]

In August 1890, six months after the senior Bouvier's death, George C. Sanderson, the Île à la Crosse carpenter, contacted W. Beacher, the Company's Winnipeg accountant, asking that the status of Bouvier's bequest to his family be reviewed. At this stage, some confusion arose over the issue of Bouvier's pension versus his accumulated savings. The family believed that the Company managed their patriarch's savings, but the official

response from Winnipeg did not address the savings, dealing instead with the pension. The Company was under the mistaken impression that the family wanted the pension to continue and be distributed to them in perpetuity. Beacher informed Sanderson that when Bouvier died, the pension was stopped because, without the Commissioner's written approval, there was no authority to continue dispensing it to the Bouvier family. Furthermore, according to Beacher, if Davidson sought additional information regarding any monies belonging to Bouvier, he needed to contact the Commissioner directly.[10] Clearly, with the exception of the pension, Beacher had had no knowledge of any savings held by the Company to be distributed to Michel Bouvier, Sr.'s heirs.

By November 1890, the estate was still not settled, and the Bouviers were asserting their intentions to retrieve monies rightfully belonging to them. Julie Desjarlais Bouvier and two of her children, Michel Jr. and Marguerite, were by this time borrowing from the Île à la Crosse mission, an institution to which they had contributed with their labour and faith, as they awaited the distribution of the estate. In a letter to Chief Trader Henry J. Moberly in November 1890, the mission requested that the Company reimburse them for the Bouvier family's debts at the mission, stating that Julie Desjarlais owed $13.15, Michel Jr. $5.00, and Marguerite $4.00. There is no indication as to why the mission believed the Company to be responsible for repayment except that the Bouviers had an outstanding claim with the Company. By this time, Julie Desjarlais was living with her daughter Marguerite and son-in-law Vincent Daigneault. Nineteen months after the elder Bouvier's death, Moberly was still trying to arrange settlement of the estate from Winnipeg for the benefit of the heirs while the family continued to rely on the mission for financial support. In turn, local officers-in-charge paid the Church out of the District's accounts and then charged it against the Bouvier family's inheritance, of which their officials claimed to have no knowledge.[11]

Over two years after his death, Michel Bouvier's estate was still not settled. This time, the Bouvier children formally wrote to Moberly on their mother's behalf requesting

information about the inheritance. They further asked that the Company take the necessary steps to check on their accounts, inform them what debts needed to be paid, and indicate how much money remained in the estate. On 12 November 1892—two weeks following Julie Desjarlais Bouvier's death—the inheritance was finally released by Donald A. Smith in Winnipeg and credited to that year's English River District outfit. The total balance in Bouvier's estate was £112.60 ($563.00).[12] Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke of Prince Albert notified Moberly that he was to divide the money equally between the children after all debts to the HBC were paid. By this time, according to the Company accounts, the Bouvier family owed the mission $506.95 (£101.39) and the HBC another $148.10 (£29.62), for a total owing of $655.05 (£131.01).[13] Clarke further indicated that the HBC would be paid immediately before the funds were released to the family, and that Moberly was not to pay the mission until given instructions to do so. In the end, after the HBC was paid, the Bouviers were left with $414.90 but owed the mission $506.95, which, if paid, would have left the family still owing $92.05. It is unclear whether the HBC released the remaining funds to the mission, but it is evident that the two year delay before the final dispersal of the estate led to frustration for the Bouviers. Furthermore, based on the Company's inaction and two year delay, it is reasonable to assume the family developed a significant degree of bitterness towards the Company and perhaps even the mission. The Company with no obvious regard for the family's circumstances contributed to an increasing financial hardship when it had the ability to place in their hands a significant amount of money that would have established a more solid financial future for the Bouvier family. The mission's dealings with the Company regarding their money likewise appear to have transpired without input from the Bouviers, surely leaving the family with some level of resentment towards it as well.

The story of the Bouvier family's dealings with the central religious and economic institutions in the English River District underscores the interaction between Western and Aboriginal cultural values in the nineteenth century. The Bouvier family and their

extended families had a history of working for the HBC, but also of supporting the Church with their piety according to Isaac Cowie. As has already been demonstrated, there was an often contested relationship between the value that the Metis placed on their conceptions of relatedness and how the Company operated as an economic institution, and it would appear that a similar relationship existed with the Church. Within the social life and religious expression of Île à la Crosse, several more layers of contested space were negotiated and arranged in a manner that satisfied the Metis the value placed on being a good relative as expressed through community life. This, in turn, facilitated the creation of another distinct cultural space alongside two powerful socio-economic institutions that they worked to integrate into community norms and expectations as much as possible.

Like the fur trade, the people of the English River District fit the Roman Catholic Church within the prevailing notions of wahkootowin and, therefore, familial alliances and notions of responsibility. In his study, Spaulding noted that that the Roman Catholic clergy had been unsuccessful in its attempts to change behaviours or basic cultural values of the Metis of Île à la Crosse. This was particularly true in terms of marriage. Spaulding concluded that "their actual influence in changing ... ingrained cultural practices was limited."[14] Spaulding's findings were borne out through the ethnographic writings of Father Marius Rossignol, an Oblate priest stationed Île à la Crosse in 1911, who wrote a series of academic articles in the late 1930s, one of which was on his experience with the marital practices of his Metis congregants in the English River District.[15] According to Rossignol, when young people did not accept the counsel of their parents on marital partners, he was sometimes asked to intercede and speak with the children. On one such occasion, Rossignol accepted the task of talking to a young woman about accepting the husband selected for her. However, he proved himself unaware of Metis cultural sensibilities and was subsequently chastized for his insensitivity to their moral values. The father of the young man explained to Rossignol that he wanted his son to marry the daughter of his sister, but that the young woman was resistant. Although Rossignol agreed to speak to her,

he also put forward an alternate idea, suggesting that the young man marry the daughter of his father's brother instead, because she was available. Despite ministering to this community and sharing with them the intimate aspects of his faith, Rossignol failed to understand that his solution was an incestuous marriage. The horrified father informed the priest that the suggested potential couple were brother and sister, and that such a union would destroy the family. However, the marriage of the young man to the daughter of the father's sister was not incestuous because those two people were not considered to be biological relatives according to Metis Cree concepts of family.[16] Their notions of relatedness—who was and who was not related—did not mimic a Westernized conception of biologically determined family relationships, and, if uninformed, the clergy could offend cultural sensibilities. Despite their presence in the region since the mid-nineteenth century, the clergy had not impacted or altered the community's perception of who was and who was not a member of a family, or how wahkootowin governed all relationships within the community.

However, the clergy was undeniably successful in imparting Catholic theology and faith amongst the Metis.[17] The history of the Metis and their interaction with the Roman Catholic mission in Île à la Crosse was as complex as their relationship with the HBC. The Île à la Crosse mission doubtlessly had considerable influence on the spiritual life and socio-cultural identity of the Metis. This is not, however, a study devoted to the Church or its history per se, just as previous chapters were not specifically about the HBC or the economics of trade. The significance of the Roman Catholic Church in Île à la Crosse in this instance is less about its institutional power, but rather its role in framing the cultural symbol of Metis society, the family, through the administration of four of the seven sacraments, and how the people defined themselves in relation to the mission and their religion.

Catholic rituals were a mechanism facilitating demonstrations of socio-religious unity and cultural identity formation at posts such as Île à la Crosse. In Île à la Crosse,

there were individual and communal—public or private—expressions of socio-religious activities reinforcing wahkootowin by contextualizing family within a religious environment of the District. Significant events in Metis family life in the English River District were marked by socio-religious expression, personal adherence to, and acceptance of, the Roman Catholic Church's ritual calendar, as well as secular public celebrations. Just as significantly, they were also expressed through Metis resistance to excessive assertions of control over their activities by the Church and the HBC. Wahkootowin was demonstrated through daily socio-religious interaction and was evident in how people treated one another and responded to outsiders in their territory, as well as to both the HBC and mission. This chapter, then, is an exploration of the public and private, individual and communal displays of community cohesion and expressions of cultural identity in the English River District through the rituals of Catholicism and secular social activities that strengthened the people's understanding of themselves.

The Roman Catholic Church, as a part of Metis tradition, provided an outlet for personal religious expression through its spiritual calendar of annual holy days, weekly Sunday services, and observation of two major Catholic feasts and services celebrating Easter (March-April) and Christmas (25 December).[18] The regularized performance of religious rituals that celebrated and marked the stages of life were also woven into the cultural traditions of the Île à la Crosse Metis community. The cyclical repetition of these traditions within the Catholic religious calendar reinforced what was important within the faith to the Metis congregation at Île à la Crosse. The significance of these celebrations was located in the commemorations of the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the son of God, and the honouring of Catholics who martyred themselves for the faith. Similarly, the sacraments experienced by people in Île à la Crosse mimicked the birth and death of Christ and, equally important, his resurrection, which denoted an opportunity for His family of faithful to regroup and gain strength by sharing their faith with the universal

Catholic congregation. The personalized religious reinforcement of wahkootowin mimicking the lifecycle of Christ was accomplished through performance of rituals for four of the seven sacraments—baptism, confirmation (after abjuration) of adult converts into the faith, marriage, and extreme unction—rituals experienced by Christ and the rest of the Holy Family. The sacraments performed in the Roman Catholic Church formed the basis for ritually maintaining wahkootowin in Île à la Crosse.[19] Religious observances—the seven sacraments, Catholic fêtes, and feast days—were vital to establishing social unity and, therefore, reinforcing wahkootowin because they were events that drew family and community together in a congregation of the faithful.

The presence of Catholic rituals existed in the English River District prior to the establishment of the mission in 1846, and is attributable to the efforts of Catholic francophones in the employ of, first, the NWC and then the HBC who adhered to these rituals in an effort to maintain but also recreate familiar socio-cultural values within the foreign space of the English River District. According to historian Carolyn Produchny, novice Canadien fur traders from the St. Lawrence area were ritually baptized by their voyageur brethren at three sites to mark their entrance into the west and, symbolically their new lives. The third and final site of the ritual baptisms was at Portage La Loche in the English River District, where the men crossed the watershed, marking the continental divide between the Athabasca and Mackenzie Districts and the English River District, by following the thirteen mile portage trail that covered a succession of eight hills and then followed the edge of a steep precipice to the plain below.[20] Produchny concluded that this final baptismal site—which came to be one of the main communities in the English River District network—was especially significant because for many Canadiens it marked a point of no return. A combination of hardship and potential loss of life, and a knowledge that they would remain in the subarctic trade, meant that this final baptismal site indeed marked their passage into a new life. Furthermore, while the adoption of baptism was a symbol of rebirth in the English River District for newcomers, it was also a means of establishing amongst men a brotherhood, a family.

Beginning as early as 1820, the Metis of Île à la Crosse commemorated All Saints Day on 1 November, which was a holy day for remembering all martyrs of the faith.[21] While not a mandatory religious obligation, All Saints Day was faithfully observed by Metis people in the English River District. There were, however, other holy days designated for saints and, more generally, feasts throughout the annual religious calendar that congregation members were responsible for observing, as witnessed by the spring of 1888 when Catholic servants refused to embark on the Company's boats because of a holy day.[22] For their part, the Metis followed a pattern of religious celebration offered by the Île à la Crosse missionaries that drew together all Catholics in the region to create a unified congregation in which they—the Fathers, Brothers, and Sisters—were not only an integral part, but which they headed. Equally important is the historical representation of the clergy as the living symbols of the idealized "holy family"—Jesus, Mary, and Joseph—through the practice of referring to them according to common relational terms: father for priests, sister for nuns, mother for the head of female religious orders, and brother for unordained male clergy.[23] Furthermore, as symbols of the holy family, missionaries were integrated into wahkootowin through religious ceremonies such as feast days, Easter and Christmas celebrations, and the ritual of baptism, when they were selected as godparents for local children. The importance of Catholic rituals for Metis families was more than a physical act—it enabled people to join together as a spiritual family. A significant mission of the universal or Catholic faith since its earliest days was to unify diverse cultural groups and communities of people by establishing for them a common family system that linked all individuals, through membership in the faith, to one another as fictive relatives.[24]

This linking of spiritual and living family —biological and fictive—was not a unique theological or socio-cultural concept. Indeed, it was a concept that would have resonated with local Aboriginal peoples in the English River District as it does with many other Aboriginal societies. Just as the Cree-defined wahkootowin made spiritualized, ancestral linkages to Wisakechak, Catholics were trained to regard their deities as family

members. Cree and Dene traditions, imparted to the Metis Cree and Metis Dene by their female relatives who established the matrilocal residency pattern, was also based on a belief that spiritual entities were members of the human family and visa versa. The most obvious example of this cultural belief is in the Cree cultural figure Wisakejak, whose actions imparted laws regarding moral and ethical behaviour.[25] Wisakejak was only referred to by name during the winter months, the season for telling stories; for the rest of the year, he was called "elder brother." As indicated by invocation of the relational term elder brother, Wisakejak was regarded as an actual, once-living relative of the Cree. Likewise, both Cree and Dene spiritual practice invoked personified and relational terms for elements in nature, including mother for the landscape, grandmother for the eldest of the female spirit, and grandfather for the eldest male spirit within religious ceremonies.[26] Anthropologist Raymond J. DeMallie's exploration of the Sioux concept of family as both a genealogical and social phenomenon focused on the Sioux belief that everyone had a direct familial relationship with the spirit world. The invocation of an ancestral relationship with their deities established a theology that determined that all Sioux, regardless of tribe or community affiliation, were members of one large culturally sanctioned family or tiyospaye.[27] The purpose of an individual's life in this system was to ensure the continuity of the family, clan, village, or state, not maximize personal well-being.[28] Perhaps the idealized family within the universal church was not incompatible with the principles of wahkootowin, making the acceptance of these two otherwise seemingly alien systems fairly straightforward and, indeed, syncretic.

Whether the Metis of the English River District accepted or followed the religious traditions of their Cree and Dene relatives or were more Catholic in outlook is not at issue, for both elements were clearly in operation. At least superficially, there was a certain basic compatibility between many of the Indian and Catholic religious traditions. In their idealized representations, both fostered and nurtured the values encapsulated by the Metis family system, acknowledging its power in their decisions whether social, political, or

economic. The difficulty with Cree and Dene spiritual traditions and an evaluation of their impact on Metis society is that they are much more personalized, and therefore often hidden from (or beyond the notice of) those outsiders leaving written records.[29] There is, however, evidence of wahkootowin in operation when one looks closely at how the Metis behaved towards one another, both publicly or privately, and the two western institutions—the Church and the Company—within their community.

First arriving in the English River District in 1846, the Roman Catholic Church had firmly established its missions in Île à la Crosse, Portage La Loche, and Green Lake by the 1890s, by which time it was beginning to become a source of friction between the HBC and its employees as some families became more closely allied with the mission than with the HBC (see **Appendix P**). While they had a long association with the Company, the Bouvier family clearly had a close relationship with the Roman Catholic Church in Île à la Crosse, living near the mission grounds, supplying the missionaries with fish, working in their gardens, and supporting the Church with their devotion and financial contributions. The legacy of the Bouvier family's closeness to the Church was evident in the village's spatial configuration. Historically, the mission was located at the end of the peninsula on Lac Île à la Crosse's shoreline, in an area called Bouvierville because, by all accounts, the family had always lived near the mission, not out on the land or nearer to the post.[30] The Bouviers were not the only English River District family with a close religious and economic affiliation with the mission. In addition to providing a socio-religious outlet for wahkootowin, over the years the Church became an economically viable trading house. As a result, the mission provided another economic outlet by employing local men and women. The activities of Company servants like Michel Bouvier, Sr. and his son and sons-in-law, who laboured for the benefit of the mission—which necessarily took away from the HBC's labour pool—were duly recorded in the post's records as the Church assumed the position of an economic competitor.

Indeed, some families moved back and forth between the economic and religious institutions just as they had decades earlier with the NWC, indicating a range of economic options. In the 1890s, shortly following Michel Sr.'s death, Sister Hearn of the Sisters of Charity (commonly known as Grey Nuns) wrote to Chief Factor Henry J. Moberly at the Île à la Crosse post to inform him that Father LeGoff had just employed Vincent [Daigneault], [John Tomas] Corrigall [*sic*], and Robbie Gardiner at the mission. According to Sister Hearn these three men now considered themselves as belonging to the mission, so much so that they had applied to the priest for provisions just as they would have of the Company.[31] Vincent Daigneault, Michel Bouvier, Sr.'s son-in-law, had married Marguerite Bouvier almost three decades earlier. The other two men joining Daigneault in his move to the employment of the mission likewise entered the English River District as HBC employees and were his sons-in-law. Both the move of the three men to follow an ancestor, Michel Bouvier Sr., into the employ of the mission and that ancestor's death raise a number of issues related to how families in Île à la Crosse interacted with, and responded to, the Roman Catholic Church.

As important as leaving the Company for the missions' employ, Metis Catholic servants of the HBC did not engage in any labour or associated Company activities on either the Sabbath or annual Feast Days. In 1888, a fairly serious conflict arose between Chief Factor Joseph Fortescue and Father Rapet regarding the right of Catholic servants to participate in a holy day at the Company's expense. According to Company records, on 9 May 1888 the Beaver River route to Green Lake had finally thawed and was open for travel. Fortescue planned for the first boats to be sent out of the District on the morning of 10 May. This first trip south from Île à la Crosse had, in a sense, been prearranged by Fortescue, but while the precise date of departure was ambiguous and dependent on natural phenomena, it was expected to occur in early to mid-May. While making plans, Fortescue was unaware and, more importantly, uninformed, that an obligatory Catholic feast day fell in early May until the early morning hours of 10 May, just as the boats were to depart.[32]

The priests, Fortescue was told, felt badly, but stated that although they understood that Company boats were to depart from Île à la Crosse as soon as the waters were clear to Green Lake in May, plans were a complete surprise to them. Fortescue, however, found this explanation most perplexing because he stated that he had offered Father Teston passage to Green Lake on those boats days earlier and was given no indication then of any potential problem. Rather, Fortescue noted Teston's reason for declining the offer was that he feared too many people were already traveling and that there would be insufficient room for him in either of the two boats. At no time between the 9th, when the boats were being loaded, until the 10th, just prior to departure, did anyone—Catholic servants or priests—inform Fortescue of the conflict between the Company's schedule and the Catholic religious calendar. So, to his surprise, on the morning of the 10th, Fortescue was informed by some Company freemen who were to man the boats that Father Rapet had warned everyone that they were not to work because it was a holy day. Although the first boat had already departed prior to the unexpected announcement, the other Company men gathered on the shore and, upon hearing the news, immediately quit and went to the church for the service, thus stranding the second boat.

Having been present on that day, HBC officer William Cornwallis King described the conflict as a problem of two stubborn personalities—Fortescue and Father Rapet—not one of policy. According to King:

> The boatmen explained their position in regard to their command to go to church. Fortescue insisted that the trip must be made, and rightly. He spoke to Père Rapport [*sic*], accusing him of upsetting the business of the Company. Père Rapport declared he was not interfering with the men, saying he merely told them that this day was an important church holy day, though it was only compulsory for them to give up work. Fortescue insisted on the brigade leaving for Green Lake on scheduled time. The men refused to go until the next day.[33]

According to King's account, he had suggested that Fortescue postpone the trip, arguing that forcing the Metis to work on a holy day would only cause them to become "sulky and

resentful," which would only further hinder timely delivery of the cargo. King surmised that if permitted to attend church the men would then do their best to make up the lost time because, he believed, "These men had pride in their skill as boatmen and in keeping their record."[34] Fortescue, however, refused to relent, demanding that the men depart that morning. Predictably, not one man appeared for duty. King stated that he went to the Metis to tell them that at midnight, when the holy day ended, he expected them to report for service and that the boats would then depart. This is precisely what happened. King was of the opinion that Fortescue, while a great officer, was a poor trader because he did not understand how his employees thought or felt about themselves, and too often let such problems get the best of him.[35]

In providing his own explanation to Joseph Wrigley, Winnipeg HBC commissioner, Fortescue lamented that no one had had the courtesy to inform him sooner of the day's religious significance. Moreover, from Fortescue's point of view, Thomas Desjarlais, one of the Catholic servants employed that morning, had not stated any objection to traveling on 10 May until quite late the day before. Upon hearing of the problem, Fortescue claimed that he immediately wrote Father Teston seeking a resolution, but said that he received no reply until six o'clock the next morning when, for the first time, he was informed that the servants would not work.[36] From the HBC's perspective, Father Rapet's behaviour towards the Company was intolerable because Fortescue had not been informed of a scheduling conflict. In his letter to Wrigley, Fortescue asked that the HBC request the Bishop of St. Boniface to provide an outline of exactly how many days the Catholic servants were to be freed from service to attend church festivals and services so that he could more effectively plan his economic year. Furthermore, Fortescue wrote (rather unconvincingly) that if the matter was not resolved, the Company should dismiss all Roman Catholic servants and employ only Protestants in the future because, as it stood, the Company, and by extension Fortescue himself, had no authority to command their own men.[37] Clearly this last statement was more a demonstration of frustration and false bravado than a sensible

suggestion given that Île à la Crosse's labour pool was almost entirely Catholic and Metis and the region was inaccessible to outside workers without great effort and expense.[38]

On 29 May 1888, Father Rapet wrote an official apology to Fortescue, expressing his hope that the mission and Company could remain on friendly terms despite the recent conflict. Rather ungraciously, Fortescue replied that relations had been friendly prior to the incident of 10 May. It took another month for good will between the institutions to be restored, when Father Rapet finally conceded that Fortescue had not been adequately informed of a potential problem regarding a May departure date and that something should have been done sooner to prevent the Company from being inconvenienced. Fortescue accepted this concession and regarded the matter resolved.[39]

Time off for religious observances was demanded by the clergy and normally granted by the HBC, but when conflicts arose such as the incident in 1888, Metis servants simply asserted it as a right. Based on the records, it is difficult to determine upon whose initiation the men were released from service, but it is clear that the Company negotiated an uneasy acceptance that there were specific times of the year when men would not work.[40] From the emotional and intellectual distance of Winnipeg, HBC officials reminded the officer-in-charge at Ile à la Crosse that they had a responsibility to maintain good relationships with the clergy for the sake of the trade. For instance, in 1886, Wrigley wrote to Fortescue reminding him that it was his duty to facilitate the attendance of those in the Company's employ, as well as the Indians in the District, at church services. Apparently Fortescue had had a series of conflicts with Father Rapet prior to 1888, and Wrigley, while sympathetic, wanted the matter with the mission satisfactorily resolved and a harmonious relationship restored.[41]

These types of tensions between Metis interaction with the Church or the HBC were observable in the attitude of local HBC officers-in-charge towards Metis displays of faith. In July 1855, less than a decade after the mission was founded, the Île à la Crosse post clerk under Chief Trader George Deschambeault reported that two Company servants

had planned to pay ten shillings each to the Priest to have him perform a mass praying to God to rid the District of potato worms that threatened that year's potato crop. Fearing a winter without enough food, the people of Île à la Crosse were willing to take extra religious measures to protect themselves by asking for God's intercession on their behalf. Later that day, the Île à la Crosse clerk added that he was happy to see people sacrifice their money, especially if the gesture worked. However, he was more skeptical about the religiosity of the cure, worrying that people would believe an actual miracle had occurred. Although Chief Trader Deschambeault was Catholic, his clerk was not and ruminated about Catholic superstitions, pausing to wonder, did the men wasting their money not remember what "our Reformers suffered for opposing Popery? the loss of estates, lives, liberties?"[42] Almost fifty years later, another Chief Factor, A.A. McDonald, lamented that the spirit of superstition was alive and well in Île à la Crosse, adding that he believed that people went to the Church as much to gossip as for religion.[43] Despite McDonald's cynicism, the actions of the Metis to ask for spiritual intercession by God or other important Catholic (or Cree and Dene) deities in the personal circumstances of the community is not insignificant—it became a form of cultural expression that gave individuals hope for better circumstances.

The two celebrations held at Île à la Crosse that bridged secular and religious observances and, in turn, highlighted the tensions between Metis values and those of the Company and/or Church, were the annual Christmas and New Year's celebrations. While Christmas was perhaps the most important of religious dates on Île à la Crosse's Catholic calendar, it also marked the beginning of annual secular celebrations held throughout the winter months. Christmas was the first of the winter celebrations that drew people from across the District to Île à la Crosse to reconnect with family and friends after months of separation. Every year, as early as 22 December, people from throughout the English River District arrived for the holiday season, sometimes staying until several days into

the new year.[44] After 1846, one of the draws to Île à la Crosse was the opportunity to hear and participate in Christmas Mass at midnight on 24 December. HBC records make clear that while the Metis servants were expected to work on Christmas Eve, they were annually afforded time off on Christmas Day. However, even before the establishment of the mission, the Metis of the English River District observed Christmas by traveling to Île à la Crosse from places like Portage La Loche, Green Lake, Cold Lake, Souris River, Buffalo Narrows, and Canoe Lake to spend the holidays with their families. In addition to the arrival of the Metis, it was not unusual to have bands of Cree and Dene visit Île à la Crosse for Christmas Mass at the mission at a time when they also conducted business at the post. These visitors typically left Île à la Crosse between Christmas and New Year's Day and returned to their wintering grounds. However, the Metis from other parts of the District often remained behind to partake in the New Year celebrations.[45]

The Île à la Crosse post journals recorded that on 22 December 1889 the men and women of the District, including Mr. McAuley from Green Lake, Mrs. Sinclair and Pierriche Laliberte from Portage La Loche, Magloire Maurice from Souris River, Alexandre Laliberte from Canoe Lake, and Charles Lafleur from Buffalo Narrows, began arriving for Christmas celebrations. A year later, many of these same people arrived again, but by 29 December of that year George Dreaver of Green Lake, Pierriche Laliberte, Raphaël Grandin, Baptiste Laliberte, Magloire Maurice, and Charles Lafleur had returned to their own regions within the District.[46] In addition to time off from their work, "the people of the Establishment" were annually given rations of dried meat and barley by the Company.[47] Over the years, the Oblate priests unsuccessfully attempted to ban secular celebrations such as New Year's Eve dances that involved alcohol and fiddle music, claiming such activities led to immorality.

The largest annual secular celebration for Île à la Crosse's Metis community was New Year's Eve, a time marked by several days of festive feasting, drinking, and dancing. While not sanctioned by the Church, New Year's celebrations were important

public displays of camaraderie between families and groups of servants who often worked together. Invitations to the New Year celebrations were extended to relatives throughout the English River District to join the festivities at the post and affirm the connections between Île à la Crosse and its outposts.[48] In 1826, Chief Factor George Keith gave a detailed description of typical New Year celebrations that began early on the morning of 1 January. According to Keith's account of the day, the Île à la Crosse New Year's traditional ritual began at dawn when all the males from the post arrived outside the Factor's home to salute him with two rounds from their "Indian guns." After the salute, the men were invited in, where Keith fed and gave them liquor to toast and drink to the day and the new year. On 1 January, the Factor provided the men and their sons with tobacco, rum and other spirits, and flour cakes and pemmican. As they left, Keith recorded that they again discharged their weapons in a farewell salute, thanked him for his generosity, and then left to embark on a day-long round of visiting other family and friends in the community. Following after their male relatives, the ladies, dressed in their best clothes, were greeted by Keith at his house with a kiss on each cheek before introducing them to "their own sex of the Masters house," who served them food and liquor.[49] Like their male relatives, the ladies were also served spirits (although diluted with water), port wine, flour cakes, and pemmican. The women usually visited with the wife of the Chief Factor of the post for a couple of hours before departing to visit their own relatives and friends. The day following the New Year celebrations was often spent resting up from the previous day's activities and preparing for another dance held on the evening of the 2nd, and sometimes another on the 3rd. It is not clear whether these other dances were, like the New Year's Balls, held annually, although it appears that there had been some longevity to the celebrations, gaining mention in post journals in 1823, 1825, 1832, 1837, and 1865.[50]

While dances were offensive to the clergy, the Île à la Crosse post openly hosted, supported, and participated in them, bringing it, the Metis, and the Church into conflict. Community dances, Company balls, and general feasts were common social events

hosted in Île à la Crosse on New Year's Eve, at weddings, or randomly throughout the year for friends, visitors, and families as occasions to get together, affirm relationships, and express social cohesion. The HBC likewise provided opportunities to celebrate successful completion of trading and transporting missions by toasting the well-being of those involved. Dances were held seemingly at any time and for any occasion, sometimes disrupting the daily schedule of activities. The arrival of a visitor in the community was another cause for extending hospitality and demonstrating generosity, no matter the length of the visit. One of the most important visitors to Île à la Crosse was Governor George Simpson, who stopped over while on an inspection tour of the Company's trade districts immediately after the 1821 merger. Simpson arrived at Île à la Crosse in the late fall of 1822 and spent several weeks at the post before leaving for the Athabasca District. The occasion of Simpson's visit was marked by social activities such as pheasant hunting and several dances held in the Governor's honour to which the families were invited. On 16 November, Keith wrote that, prior to Simpson's departure, a Ball was held "for the people in consideration of the Governor's departure."[51]

Secular social activities, such as dances and music, were a significant part of Metis and fur trade tradition, providing an important outlet for social expression outside of the Church. The instrument of choice for Metis people was the fiddle, which was easily transported in the boats as men traveled in performance of their duties for the HBC and, if damaged, required only a good carpenter to repair or rebuild them. For communities without fiddlers, dances required hosts to seek out musicians able to perform. In 1892, Baptiste Laliberte, then postmaster at Portage La Loche, wrote to Henry Moberly to request that he bring a fiddler along with him the next time he visited the post so that they could hold a dance.[52] Also in 1892, the postmaster at Green Lake, James Nicol Sinclair, invited Moberly, his wife and son, along with George Dreaver to "come and favour us with [their] company at 4 o'clock PM" for a feast and dance at the Green Lake post. Sinclair further wrote that if his guests were unable to arrive for the feast, he hoped that they would make

it by six or seven o'clock that evening to participate in the dancing.[53] Sinclair apparently played the fiddle and had no need to request a musician. A year later, Moberly offered to purchase Sinclair's fiddle for $500—a considerable sum of money. However, Sinclair refused the offer because the fiddle was over one hundred years old and that "he'd be want to find another in the country like it." Moberly was finally able to purchase a fiddle from a William Gailbraith at Prince Albert, although not one as old or fine as Sinclair's. Gailbraith wrote that he hoped that Moberly would find the instrument satisfactory despite its not being of the quality that Moberly sought.[54]

While dancing and other secular social celebrations developed into Metis cultural tradition, these activities, because they did not have the support of the Roman Catholic clergy, became a source of conflict between the Metis congregation, their spiritual guides, and sometimes the HBC. Nothing, not even church services the next morning, could cancel a much anticipated dance. On Sunday 11 October 1890, the Île à la Crosse clerk noted that church services were not well attended that day because everyone was resting after the previous night's dance.[55] The issue of socio-cultural celebrations became such a contested issue between the Metis and the Church by the late nineteenth century that the Company became the Church's scapegoat, as priests accused officers of promoting immoral behavior. One such incident arose in 1892, when Reverend Father Rapet accused Henry J. Moberly of placing Metis social traditions ahead of the Church's attempt to ban social dancing. The priest charged that the HBC was, if not actually promoting immoral behavior, permitting it to occur without sanction. In a letter to J. Macdougal, the inspecting officer of the HBC, Moberly answered charges brought against him by Rapet on a number of issues relating to his personal conduct. According to Rapet, Moberly interfered with the Church's missionization of the Cree in the Canoe Lake area and encouraged the Halfbreeds of the District in acts of excessive drinking and merriment by hosting local dances at the post.[56] On the latter charge, Moberly regarded the accusation of the local priest to be absurd, commenting that, regardless of who was in charge of the Ile à la Crosse post, "The

HalfBreeds of this place always did and always will dance in spite of the Priests orders."[57] He further noted that it was the HBC's custom to host a few dances for the people of the territory throughout the year, but that he had actually reduced the number of people invited to those dances in support of the sensibilities of local missionaries.

However, despite the priests' disapproval, Moberly asserted that he firmly believed that dances and toasting with liquor were important customary cultural traditions for the Metis community at Ile à la Crosse and, on those grounds, defended his support of such activities. Moberly explained that he was in the "habit of giving some of the servants and sometimes the HalfBreeds" a drink after a trip or a good day's work was completed.[58] Furthermore, on three occasions Moberly had also offered glasses of whiskey to the lay brothers and priests, each of which was accepted. Father Rapet's most damning charge against Moberly, though, was that a "wild dance," in which the men of the District became drunk and rowdy, was hosted at the post during the Christmas season. Moberly addressed those specific charges by stating that the 1892 New Year's Eve Grand Ball was held at a Mr. McDermott's house because Moberly's young son had taken ill that day. As a result, Moberly and his family neither hosted nor attended the dance. However, Moberly argued that had all been well at his house he would have indeed hosted the ball because of its importance to the community as a central cultural event, and it was the HBC's "custom to give a few dances to the people of and about the north."[59]

Moberly detailed a number of other cultural traditions that he promoted, some to honour his own cultural sensibilities and others to support the Metis. Moberly kept the "Old English" custom decorating a Christmas tree for his children after sending to Prince Albert for ornaments. Apparently Christmas trees were rather unusual cultural expressions in places like Île à la Crosse and generated a great deal of interest. Moberly granted permission to approximately eighteen adults to visit his home to view the tree, sharing a bottle of Port wine with them to toast the season at the same time. At nine o'clock on the evening of that visit, Moberly's wife requested that one of the visiting servants play his

fiddle so that their two young daughters could dance. It was Moberly's opinion that, in making these charges against him, the priest had melded these two events together—the New Year's dance at McDermott's house and the small social gathering at his own—into one extremely distorted description of the events of that holiday season.[60] Moberly closed the matter by stating that he hoped that in the future he and Rapet would be able to solve their problems together before having to involve either of their superiors.[61]

Despite often serious tensions and/or outright conflict with the Mission as channeled through the HBC, the Metis of Île à la Crosse—and indeed the entire English River District—were Catholic congregants and participated actively in Church rituals that celebrated family. The Roman Catholic Church became integral to Metis cultural identity as they incorporated Catholic ritual and ceremonialism into their traditions. Historian Eric Hobsbawm made a useful distinction between custom and tradition, defining the former as what people do and the latter as the paraphernalia and ritual used to demonstrate the action. Hobsbawm was more concerned, however, with how traditions were invented as a means to provide structure to people's relationships. While concluding that all traditions were invented, Hobsbawm more importantly argued for their relevancy when they unified people by fostering social cohesion and legitimizing the status of institutions of authority while also socializing people through common sets of beliefs, values, and conventions.[62]

In some circumstances, the act of bestowing the rituals associated with the sacraments was not the only way that missionaries participated in wahkootowin. While the clergy aided the establishment of wahkootowin—whether intentionally or not—they also joined the community, accepting a role that fostered social cohesion and Metis identity formation through public and private religious rituals that drew individuals into the community. For instance, on the day that the Grey Nuns arrived at Île à la Crosse in the fall of 1860, the Roman Catholic mission held celebrations marking their arrival open to all members of the community. As the Sisters traveled from the southern edge of Lac

Île à la Crosse towards the mission at the edge of the peninsula, they saw the church of St. Jean Baptiste, with its high steeple and cross on the shoreline. Gathered on the shoreline, awaiting their arrival, were all the Metis and Cree people of the area, along with Fathers Valentin Végreville and Julien Moulin and Brother Louis Dubé. Upon disembarking, Bishop Vital Grandin, the Sisters' escort to Île à la Crosse, blessed the people gathered to welcome the nuns and offered thanks for their safe arrival. Everyone moved to the chapel where Bishop Grandin performed a mass that officially began the day of religious celebrations uniting everyone spiritually and socially on this occasion. After the service, lunch was hosted at the priests' house, and then the Sisters were shown their new home, which was complete with a classroom, small rectory, and a community room intended for people to gather and visit with the nuns.[63] Grandin had first come to Île à la Crosse in 1854 as a priest before being ordained as a Bishop in 1859, and so his return to the community in 1860 as a newly ordained Bishop was further cause for celebration as the people acknowledged the honour bestowed on their priest. It was during Grandin's return trip that the people of the post gathered to celebrate the occasion of his appointment as Bishop with a special breakfast at the mission on 30 November 1860.[64]

These types of public and communal celebrations were, in addition to the more regularized spiritual calendar of the community, marked more frequently by weekly Sabbath services. Just as important, the mission socialized young people into the faith through weekly sermons. The Sabbath was the vehicle by which this cycle of religious festivals was revealed and planned. Chief Factor George Keith recorded that Sunday services held at the Chief Factor's house in Île à la Crosse were typically well attended even before the arrival of the Catholic missionaries.[65] Just as they hosted services themselves, according to mission records lay people baptized and performed burial rites pre-and post-1846 if priests or other clergy were unavailable.[66] Dutiful attendance at church services on Sundays continued to be observed after the missionaries' arrival. References in Île à la Crosse post records to attendance at religious services echoed the manner in which the Company referred to

women working at post jobs. There are vague references to "all the people" attending church or "people of the establishment attend[ing] mass."[67] Presumably, these were the families specifically associated with the post because there were other references, such as the "people and Indians," when more than the local community was involved.[68] Sunday services were conducted in French, rather than English, for the first time on 31 October 1824, twenty-two years prior to the arrival of the Oblates in northwestern Saskatchewan. According to Keith, the people of the English River District were pleased to attend and hear the services in French as read to them by a Mr. Douglas, who was apparently fluent in French. At the conclusion of the Sunday service, Company families were often given rations of fish and potatoes in keeping with established Company practice.[69]

One of the more subtle means for the clergy to demonstrate their attempt to integrate into the wahkootowin in some fashion was their delivery of Sunday services in French or Cree, the two most common languages of the region. It became commonplace for services to be held in French, but there were occasions when Sunday mass at the mission was spoken in Cree and/or Dene. On 17 September 1865, the people of the post attended a mass delivered in Cree. The purpose of such a service, according to Chief Trader Samuel McKenzie, was to remind local Halfbreed and Indian people of the mission's purpose of spreading the gospel and word of God, a message seemingly best heard in the District's dominant language. The mission was apparently responding to a sudden community-based rumour that the missionaries were possibly responsible for a number of deaths, particularly amongst the Indian communities.[70] At that mass, according to McKenzie, the priest, likely Father Grandin, detailed how the mission was first established in Île à la Crosse to save people and preach both repentance and forgiveness of peoples' sins, not to cause deaths amongst Indians. Furthermore, the priest declared that their purpose was a divine mission, received directly from the "Apostles in all their power and glory."[71] A week later, following the Cree service, Bishop Grandin repeated the same sermon again, once in the morning in both French and Dene and then in the evening in Cree.[72]

Perhaps the rumour that the priests were responsible for deaths in the region meant that they had to work harder to gain the confidence of the people, and so they preached in the local and dominant languages rather than Latin or French. However, this incident also reflects a greater symbolism through the act of performing rituals in Aboriginal languages. This act made the sermons more accessible to a greater number of people. It also demonstrated a certain willingness to demonstrate a form of fraternity with the Metis of Île à la Crosse by sharing the faith with them in their language, even as the Church interfered with the community cultural traditions such as dancing. Using separate languages—whether Latin or French—in Church could only have reinforced social separation because it was not the community's language. The subtext of conducting a sermon in Cree can be regarded as an acknowledgement of a shared sensibility with the community being ministered to, a shared religious identity.

The very existence of the missions is attributable to Metis people who not only provided themselves as congregants, but assisted in the construction and support by labouring for it as the Bouviers, Corrigals, Daigneaults, and Gardiners had, and in some circumstances provided it with physical space to exist. In the early 1870s, for instance, Cyprien Morin, the son of Antoine Morin and Pélagie Boucher, moved to the Meadow Lake region where he established himself as a rancher/farmer. More notably, Cyprien built the first Roman Catholic mission at Meadow Lake, contributing his land, labour, and finances to its construction. Adjacent to that mission was the cemetery—called St. Cyprien Cemetery.[73] While the cemetery is seemingly named after Cyprien Morin and it may have been because of his contributions to the establishment of the Catholic Church in northwestern Saskatchewan, it should be noted that Cyprien Morin himself was named for Saint Cyprien, the Bishop of Carthage who contributed much of his personal fortune to the poor in the third century.[74] Likewise, Cyprien Morin, came to be known amongst the Metis as a benefactor to the Roman Catholic Church.

Along with conducting regular services, parish registries for Île à la Crosse, Green Lake, and Portage La Loche contain a series of descriptions of additional ceremonies

significant to the well-being of the mission and its congregants. Priests drew their congregations together to bless the erection of the new crosses for the missions, consecrate new cemeteries, bless new buildings for the community, including the HBC post, and perform other ceremonies, such as when the stations of the cross were installed throughout the District. More unusually, there were ceremonies marking the exhumation and reburial of bodies in mission cemeteries. In June 1890, the priest of Île à la Crosse had the people of Canoe Lake exhume and transfer the bodies of about thirty deceased "Catholics" from the Canoe Lake mission to the new cemetery at the mission station built there. The same thing was done in May 1897 at Green Lake, where eight bodies were exhumed from a burial place near the chapel and re-interred at the community's cemetery on the edge of Green Lake itself. In this instance, there was a record of the bodies being transferred: the deceased woman of Bazil Durocher and his son; an infant of Louis Morin; an infant of Paul Grezaud; an infant of François Lariviere; an infant of James McCallum; an infant of Petit Roy Laliberte; and an infant of Pierre Durocher. According to the parish register, two years earlier, the bodies of Jean Baptiste Aubichon and Pierriche Laliberte were likewise moved under the guidance of Jean Baptiste Payette and Pierre Laliberte, Jr.[75]

Bishop Grandin's personal journal of his 1875 tour of the District is one of the few records available left by the clergy that focused on their activities and dealings with the people rather than their divine mission. Grandin kept a record of religious events over which he presided at Green Lake and Île à la Crosse, which had an important effect of drawing people together to participate in the ceremonies that summer. Beginning on 31 May, he conducted High Mass and performed several baptisms at Green Lake prior to departing for a scheduled visit to the Cree at Waterhen Lake to the south and west. Then, on 2 June, he arrived at Île à la Crosse and, after performing mass at the mission, visited with the people of the fort and had supper with the Company's officer. Several days later, Grandin conducted High Mass and was prompted to praise the Metis for how well they raised their children, stating that he was impressed with how respectful they were

to the Sisters and old people in the community. Two days later, on 8 June, Grandin heard the catechism of the village's children. Near the end of June, the Metis from throughout the English River District gathered at the mission for mass before new members to the congregation were confirmed into the faith, a ceremony followed by the procession, erection, and blessing of the mission's new cross. The following day, on 21 June, Grandin performed the sacraments of baptism and marriage for a few adults and young couples, respectively. That same day, Grandin and the congregation sang services for the dead at the Île à la Crosse cemetery and then confirmed new members into the congregation. Throughout his visit to the District, Grandin engaged in a series of religious ceremonies intended to strengthen and reify the faith in the congregation while also drawing the community together at a time when the annual subsistence and commercial economic activities meant that people were more dispersed than usual as they moved throughout the District in search of game and furs.[76]

While Catholic missionaries oversaw the sacraments and therefore assisted Metis families as they established connections with one another, their vows of celibacy precluded their participation. However, the Oblates and Grey Nuns, like outsider Protestant males, were often acculturated into the space carved out by family life and expectations in the English River District despite the barrier established by celibacy vows. Perhaps the most significant sign that missionaries were, in fact, accepted into wahkootowin was the frequency that they were asked to serve as godparents. The concept of godparents is certainly part of the Catholic symbolism that establishes a spiritual family responsible for ensuring that a child or adult receives proper religious training, but it is less than typical for the actual clergy to serve in this capacity. In these instances, missionaries were drawn into and connected with the regional wahkootowin in the most tangible ways. Of Véronique Bouvier and Thomas Lariviere's twelve children, for instance, two had Catholic clergy as godparent. Their son Louis Joseph's godmother was Sister Sara Riel (Marguerite Marie) and his brother Joseph's godfather was Father Rapet. Out of all the

other priests who served in Ile à la Crosse, Father Rapet served as godfather for more Metis children than any other male clergy—seventeen in all between 1867 and 1911 in Île à la Crosse. Conversely, the Sisters appear to have been selected to stand as godmother far more evenly, averaging about two per nun throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

The one other special case of a clergy member serving as a godparent was that of Sister Sara Riel, a descendant of the proto-generation of Île à la Crosse whose father was born at Île à la Crosse to a fur trader father and Dene mother. When Sara Riel arrived in Île à la Crosse in 1871, she became integral to the local wahkootowin and served as godmother four times between 1876 and 1880 to local Metis and/or HBC families. In at least one instance she served as godmother to a distant relative. On 8 June 1876, she became godmother to her namesake, Marguerite Marie, daughter of Charles Lafleur and Josette Lagimodiere.[77]

Perhaps the most personalized religious observances for the Île à la Crosse Metis were the blessing and receiving of sacraments, which, while personal, were often a part of public celebrations of family in which the entire community could participate. There were instances where priests and nuns stood in as godparents for Metis families. Between 1846 and 1912, there were just over 1,800 baptisms performed at the Île à la Crosse mission. Although not all baptisms were performed for the Metis community—many were for local Dene and Cree families—an examination of the records and focus on the selection of godparents reveals some patterns regarding the ritual. There are, for instance, particular people or family names that appear as godparents more frequently than others. Between 1867 and 1912, Bouvier women stood as godmothers seventy-seven times for members of both their own families and others, Metis and Indian alike. Similarly, Morin women served sixty-nine times between 1868 and 1912, while Morin men served as godfathers sixty-two times between 1867 and 1912, and Daigneault men fifty-one times between

1881 and 1912. The frequency of these family names appearing in the godparent category was higher than for any other family surnames or genders.

Baptism celebrated a new life or incorporated an outsider adult brought into the wahkootowin and signaled a renewal of the immediate family, drawing them together with both the extended family and the spiritual family as identified through godparents. However, while godparents had a clearly determined role within the Catholic Church as spiritual guardians, they also fulfilled a niche within traditional family structures of wahkootown. In the Roman Catholic faith, godparents acted as spiritual parents who ensured that children were both brought into and nurtured in the faith. Within wahktootowin, they also served to reinforce traditional Metis Cree values by providing children with multiple parents upon whom they could rely and adult converts with spiritual sponsors as well as an additional relational connection beyond their wife and, eventually, children. Rather, the godparents of adult outsider male converts in effect served as a new family that reinforced systems of support and established bonds of reciprocal obligation.

It was fairly typical for close family relatives to serve as godparents for grandchildren, nieces, or nephews. Michel Bouvier, Jr. and his wife Julie Marie Morin selected from a variety of close relatives, such as maternal and paternal grandparents, uncles, and aunts, to serve as godparents for their children, and permitted one daughter to be adopted by Michel's parents, Michel Bouvier, Sr. and Julie Desjarlais. Apart from close relatives, people made their selections of godparents from families to which they were socially or economically close, or whom they wanted to integrate into wahkootowin. For instance, Michel Jr. and Julie Marie served as godparents to children from other HBC families, such as Marie Christine Mallette (daughter of Arene Mallette and Madeleine) and Marie Angel Maurice (daughter of François Maurice and Angèle Laliberte). Furthermore, they stood in as godparents for adult outsider male converts associated with the HBC, such as James McCallum, John Catfish, and James Thomas Corrigal when they

converted to Catholicism to marry local women Marie Lariviere, Marie Betkkaye, and Augustine Bouvier, respectively. By serving as godparents to these children and adults—all associated in some way with the HBC—the Bouviers extended their wahkootowin into the local economy through a religious venue. Godparents within the social milieu of the English River District were more than spiritual guardians—they became secondary parents invoking familial relationships between people to whom they had no biological connection. Within the English River District, this ritualized means of establishing familial relationships served to establish intracommunity social cohesion for peoples who might otherwise have no reason to support one another. A similar pattern of intrafamily support for other HBC families was repeated in other English River District families. For instance, Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin were godparents to at least four grandchildren and two great grandchildren, as well as for several nieces and nephews within the Morin branch of their family. Just as they carefully selected marital partners from one another's families intergenerationally the same pattern of intrafamily, intergenerational alliance building occurred through the Roman Catholic mechanism of godparent selection.

Choices for children's names likewise enmeshed families with one another as well as the faith. Children were often named after older people or ancestors within their families, as well as for Saints such as Joseph, Mary, Cyprien, and John Baptiste (Jean Baptiste). According to Catholic tradition, children baptized in the Church received names of Saints or other biblical figures in addition to secondary names. For female children, common spiritual names were Marie and Marguerite, and for boys, Jean Baptiste and François. For the older generation, having a younger namesake ensured personal longevity. Long after their deaths, the invocation of the names of ancestors resurrected memories and symbolically connected the living with their ancestral family. Just as the adoption of spiritual names served to connect people to the ancestors of the faith, so, too, the repetition of names within families connected the present with the past. Names such as Sarazine, Philomène, Marguerite, Pierre, Antoine, and Magloire are seen in virtually

every generation up to 1912 within different branches of families, all of which preserved an intimate connection with the past.

The abjuration and the sacrament of confirmation for adults in particular established a social mechanism for outsiders, typically males, to join the local wahkootowin spiritually and establish their ability to marry into the community.[78] There are several instances in the history of Île à la Crosse where Protestant HBC servants converted to Catholicism in preparation to marry local women as a second step towards becoming a part of the larger socio-religious community and local wahkootowin. The Church at that time did not sanction or acknowledge inter-faith marriages, and so there was a definite impetus to encourage abjuration and confirmation of outsider males if they hoped to remain in the District and have a meaningful place within the Metis community. For instance, Vincent Daigneault, himself an outsider male but a Catholic from Montreal who joined the Bouvier wahkootowin by marrying Marguerite, had two sons-in-law, HBC employees Robert Gardiner, a Halfbreed from Red River, and John Thomas Corrigal of Winnipeg. These two men abjured and were confirmed as part of the ritual of conversion to Catholicism from Protestantism shortly after their arrival in Île à la Crosse and in order to marry the Daigneault sisters, Eliza and Sophie. Vincent Daigneault and Marguerite Bouvier's eldest daughter, Eliza/Lucia Daigneault, married Robert (Robbie) Gardiner in 1884 at the Île à la Crosse mission shortly after his religious conversion. Gardiner came to Île à la Crosse to work as the Company's cattleman like his father-in-law. Gardiner's conversion followed an example set two years earlier, when Corrigal converted to Catholicism to marry his first wife, the youngest daughter, Sophie. After Sophie's death, John Thomas Corrigal married Augustine Bouvier, daughter of Michel Bouvier, Jr. and Julie Marie Morin of Île à la Crosse and Green Lake

The conversion to Catholicism at the very least indicates a willingness to join (to belong) to the community as defined by the cultural institution of wahkootowin. As indicated in earlier chapters, joining the community involved an active choice to establish

relationships, to become a part of a community, and it was a choice not taken by all outsider males who entered the English River District. In the nineteenth century, the renunciation of the religion into which one was born was not an insignificant act—it symbolized a break with one's past, family, and history in favour of an alternative cultural identity. The core forty-three Metis families in Île à la Crosse consistently declared themselves Catholic on the Canadian census of 1881 and 1891, signifying that outsider males not only lived in the region, but had joined and been accepted by the larger socio-religious environment of their wahkootowin.

In addition to Robert Gardiner and John Thomas Corrigal, the Catholic mission records contain the recorded conversions and baptisms of seven HBC men who all married local women: John Catfish, a Saulteaux French Metis from Red River who has already been discussed, married Marie Betkkaye of Île à la Crosse; Frederick Kennedy, a Halfbreed from St. Peter's parish at Red River, married Joséphine Jourdain of Green Lake; Archibald Linklater, an English Halfbreed, married Eleanore Maurice, daughter of François Maurice and Angèle Laliberte of Portage La Loche; James Nicol Sinclair of Fort Frances (Ontario) married Josephte Durocher of Jackfish Lake; and John Thomas Kippling of Red River married Angèle Lariviere, daughter of Abraham Lariviere and Mary or Marie Petawcahmwistewin of Île à la Crosse (see **Table 5**). In each instance, on the days leading up to the solemnization of their marriage by the Catholic Church, these men were baptized and confirmed in the Catholic faith after renouncing their former religious affiliations. Additionally, there was one woman, Nancy Kippling/Kyplain, who, like her brother John Thomas, traveled from Red River as an adult, converted to Catholicism, and like these outsider males married into the local wahkootowin. George Bekattla, a local hunter and trapper, had apparently traveled to Red River with an HBC brigade where he met and married Nancy Kippling.[79] Beyond the symbolic family of male traders, described by Produchny as linking them in a brotherhood established through their own form of modified baptism, outsider males had one other physical ritual that gave them access to family—their

conversion and marriage (or simply their marriage) into the wahkootowin of northwestern Saskatchewan. While nine conversions to Catholicism between 1869 and 1901 is not a large number overall, it nevertheless signifies a level of acculturation and accommodation by British Protestants to the dominant socio-religious structure characterizing the region. In return, these nine people became a part of the regional wahkootowin establishing an enduring patronymic connection associated with those surnames.

Table 5. Converts in Île à la Crosse

Convert	Converted	Godfather	Godmother	Spouse
Catfish, John	7 Feb 1869	illegible	illegible	Marie Betkkaye
Corrigal, John Thomas	15 Jan 1882	Michel Bouvier		Sophie Daigneault(1)
Corrigal, John Thomas	15 Jan 1882	Michel Bouvier		Augustine Bouvier (2)
Gardiner, Robert	2 Nov1884	Father L. Dauphin	Sophie St. Nandow	Eliza Lucia Daigneault
Kennedy, Frederick	24 Sept1877	Louis Jourdain	Therese Grand Couteau	Joséphine Jourdain
Kippling, John Thomas	17 May 1878	Vincent Daigneault	Julie Bouvier	Angèle Lariviere
Kippling, Nancy	27 June 1881		Françoise Abiluakuhin	George Bekattla
Linklater, Archibald	6 June 1880	Father André Landry	Marie Lariviere	Eleanore Maurice
Sinclair, James Nicol	by 1901			Josephtte Durocher

Sources: Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

Next to the rituals associated with baptism and funerals as a mechanism for integrating new life into wahkootowin and reifying family after a loss, the sacrament of matrimony was perhaps the second most important means for acculturating newcomers to the region's cultural system and uniting families.[80] Of the Catholic ceremonies highlighted here, marriage also provided a ritualized context for the renewal and continuation of family life, uniting not only two individuals but their entire families into new alliances, or a reinforcement of old ones. While marriage was a largely personal act established between two individuals and two families, Catholic marriages in Île à la Crosse and the English River District were marked by large public displays of social cohesion with several days of feasting and dancing in honour of the occasion.[81] The celebrations associated with weddings were neither encouraged nor sanctioned by the Church, but rather met the community's expectations regarding how marriages were best acknowledged.

On 21 August 1855, Pierre Morin and "Miss. Roi" were married at the mission by Bishop Alexandre Taché, one of the community's first priests. Chief Trader George Deschambeault recorded in the Île à la Crosse post journal that he wished the couple all the happiness that "the world could afford," and "long life and prosperity."[82] A Pierre Morin was married to Géneviève Roy, and according to scrip and mission records they had two known daughters, Adélaide and Marie. However, what little information is known about the couple is derived solely from their daughters' scrip applications. Because the mission records between 1846 to 1867 no longer exist, there is no documentation of the marriage indicating the couple's parentage. At this time, then, neither Pierre Morin nor Géneviève Roy are genealogically connected to the larger family pattern. Nevertheless, it is clear from the HBC and genealogical records that the Laliberte and Roy families both had substantial histories with the HBC and in the English River District. In particular, the Roys have a history with the Company that dates back to 1821, when Louison and Joseph Roy, then aged thirty-two and twenty-five years, respectively, of Lanorai were enumerated as servants at the Canadien establishment. By the late 1850s, a "Native" named François Roy was employed by the HBC in the English River District, first as a guide and eventually as an occasional steersman (and also a freeman). The joining of fur trading families, as has been demonstrated in earlier chapters, had the potential to strengthen the Company's trade in the region.

The two other marriages listed in the post journals occurred over fifty years later. According to the post's records, on 15 January 1901, the people of Île à la Crosse had a feast at Sandy Point, across the lake from the post, for Louison Roy and Couronne Maurice's daughter, Angèle, who had been married the day before. According to the Île à la Crosse mission records, on 14 January Angèle Roy married Jean Baptiste Pietassiw (Durocher), the son of André Pietassiw and Pauline.[83] A year later, on 9 August 1902, according to the official in charge, little work was done at the post because all the "Indians" were at the mission for a wedding.[84] In the Île à la Crosse church registry, there was no notation for

a wedding on 9 August, but there was one for 19 August 1902 (the only recorded August marriage of that year) between James Montgrand, son of William and Louise Montgrand, and Sophie Tchinekkizk, daughter of Barthelémy Tchinekkizk and Catherine Denebaze.[85]

Although no clear reason was given why these marriages, out of the hundreds performed at Île à la Crosse between 1846 and 1912, were noted in the Île à la Crosse post journal, it highlights a number of interesting issues. The marriage of Angèle Roy, descendant of two prominent HBC families with long, recorded histories in the region, married an individual with a family genealogy far less clear. Angèle Roy's sister Marie Rose Roy married Célestin Kippling, son of John Thomas Kippling and Angèle Lariviere at Île à la Crosse in 1904. John Thomas Kippling, who arrived in Île à la Crosse, converted to Catholicism and married his first wife, Angèle Lariviere, in 1878 (see **Appendix Q**). Angèle was born in Île à la Crosse in the early 1860s to Abraham Lariviere and Mary Marie Petawchamiwistewin, both of whom were Natives of the District according to the 1901 census. Angèle's oldest brother, Thomas (Thomy) Lariviere, was an HBC fisherman stationed at the Souris River outpost in 1864 and married Véronique Bouvier, one of Michel Bouvier, Sr. and Julie Desjarlais' daughters. Through his wife, Thomas' family was connected to both the Bouvier and Corrigal families because Véronique was the aunt of John Thomas Corrigal's two wives, Sophia and Augustine.[86] While there were a number of Durocher families in the English River District, at this time there is insufficient documentation to establish the breadth of their history in the region.

Sandy Point, the site of the wedding of Angèle Roy and Jean Baptiste Pietassiw (Durocher), was located across the lake from the village proper, nearer to the old NWC post. While the marriage took place at the mission located in the village proper, the secular celebration of their union took place on the land across the lake, within a cultural space defined by Metis families rather than the HBC post or Roman Catholic mission. Sandy Point, the location of a family reunion held in the summer of 1999 and the subject of the

memory of family life discussed in this work's introduction, was one of Île à la Crosse's smaller family settlement regions. This place was also the site of William Linklater's 1799 HBC post and came to be home to the family settlements of the Morin, Lariviere, and Gardiner families. Courrone Maurice, mother of the bride, was the daughter of Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin. Angèle's sister, Mary Rose married Célestin Kippling, whose mother was Angèle Lariviere. Angèle and Jean Baptiste married in a space known to her female relatives although there is no indication that she lived at Sandy Point herself. The role of ritual and ceremony—whether secular or religious in nature—were important to the facilitation and creation of a Metis cultural identity in Ile à la Crosse. While traditions may indeed be invented, as noted by Hobsbawm, they established a symbolic matrix in which people interacted with each other and with institutions such as the Roman Catholic mission or Hudson's Bay Company. Whether truly syncretic or not, the Metis cultural identity in Ile à la Crosse found an outlet of expression in the Roman Catholic Church's use of sacraments and rituals generally, religious tensions with the HBC, and a host of additional secular ceremonial observances that provided a means by which family could be ritually and symbolically celebrated and acknowledged in the lands of their grandmothers.

Endnotes

[1]HBCA, B.89/g/1, file 1, 1833-1864, Abstracts of Servants Accounts; and HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 23 & 24 February 1890.

[2]LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1901, Ile a la Crosse; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1337, 22 September 1906, Michel Bouvier; LAC, RG15, vol.1343, 20 September 1906, Marguerite Bouvier Daigneault; LAC, RG15, vol. 1026, File 1599097, 28 June 1907, Véronique Bouvier Lariviere; and R. Jarvenpa and H.J. Brumback. "Occupational Status, Ethnicity and Ecology: Metis Adaptations in a Canadian Trading Frontier," *Human Ecology* 13.3 (1985): 309-329.

[3]HBCA, B.89/g/1, file 1, 1833-1864, Abstracts of Servants Accounts.

[4]HBCA, B.89/g/1, file 1, 1833-1864, Abstracts of Servant's Accounts; LAC, RG 15, Vol. 1337, Michel Bouvier, 22 September 1906; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Île à la Crosse. Michel Bouvier, Jr. was also one of four men whose lives and histories were thoroughly researched by Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumbach. See Jarvenpa and Brumback. "Occupational Status, Ethnicity and Ecology."

[5]LAC, RG 15, Vol. 1337, Michel Bouvier, 22 September 1906.

[6]HBCA, B.89/g/1, file 1, 1833-1864, Abstracts of Servant's Accounts; LAC, RG 15, Vol. 1343, Vincent Daigneault, Jr., 20 September 1906; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Île à la Crosse.

[7]HBCA, B.89/g/1, file 1, 1833-1864, Abstracts of Servant's Accounts; LAC, RG 15, Vol. 1023, File 1598985, Thomas Lariviere, 28 June 1907; and LAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881, 1891, 1901, Portage La Loche.

[8]Made Beaver was the HBC's currency or method for determining the trading value of furs and goods based on the approximated value of a fully dressed, prime beaver pelt. In this instance, Bouvier Sr.'s pension was assigned a Made Beaver value that was then subtracted as a cost against the District's overall balance.

[9]HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Ile à la Crosse Post Journal, 22 February 1890. Although there was no clear indication of who Mr. Archie was, it may have been either William Archie, who, although not an employee of the Company, was a man who knew quite a bit about medicinal plants, or Archibald Linklater, the Company accountant, who went to live in the Prince Albert settlement between the 1880s and 1891. In all likelihood, Mr. Archie was the latter individual.

[10]HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 23 & 24 February 1890; and HBCA, B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1890-92, 7 August 1890 from George C. Sanderson, Île à la Crosse to W. Beacher, Winnipeg.

[11]HBCA B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1890-92, 4 November 1890 to Henry J. Moberly from I. Rapet, OMI, Île à la Crosse.

[12]The Company records irregularly refer to money in either dollars or pounds sterling, making it difficult to know how they were determining actual amounts. The conversion of £ sterling to Canadian dollars is based on an approximation of £1 equaling $5.

[13]HBCA, B.89/b/18, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, 5 September 1891 to Lawrence Clarke, Prince Albert from Henry J. Moberly, 28 December 1892 to Lawrence Clarke from Moberly & 29 December 1892 to Mr. Beecher from Moberly; HBCA, B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1890-92, 2 November 1892 to Moberly from Father Rapet, OMI & 12 November 1892 to Moberly from HBC accountant, Winnipeg; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan, 30 October 1892.

[14]Spaulding, *The Metis of Île à la Crosse,* 56.

[15]Rev. M. Rossignol, "Cross-Cousin Marriage Among the Saskatchewan Cree," *Primitive Man* 2 (1938): 26-28; Rev. M. Rossignol, "Property Concepts Among the Cree of the Rocks," *Primitive Man* 12 (1939): 61-70; and Rev. M. Rossignol, "The Religion of the Saskatchewan and Western Manitoba Cree," *Primitive Man* 11 (1939): 67-71.

[16]Reverend M. Rossignol's article in this case meant to offer an anthropological assessment of marriage patterns amongst the Cree and Metis Cree of Île à la Crosse. The academic terminology describing the marriage options presented in this case are known as cross-cousin versus parallel cousin marriages. The terminology refers to the relationships of the parents of individuals deemed eligible to marry. So, in the instance of cross-cousins, the parents are of different genders—brothers and sisters. Conversely, parallel cousins were sons and daughters of parents of the same gender whether two brothers or two sisters. In the case of the people of the English River District, in anthropological terms, cross-cousin marriages were acceptable while parallel cousin marriages were deemed incestuous. I have not engaged in a discussion of these marital patterns for a couple of reasons. First, this is not an anthropological exploration of Aboriginal

marital systems and, second, there was no cultural knowledge in Cree or Metis Cree societies of the concept of cousins, and so to apply these labels is to imply a relationship that never existed. Rev. M. Rossignol, "Cross-Cousin Marriage Among the Saskatchewan Cree," 26-28.

[17]Spaulding, *The Metis of Île à la Crosse,* 56 .

[18]Lent, the season of prayer and penance before Easter, and Advent, the season before Christmas, are probably the only other ceremonial times in the Catholic calendar with as much significance as Easter and Christmas. However, there is no mention of Lent or Advent in any of HBC or parish records available for the English River District.

[19]The other three sacraments were Holy Eucharist, penance, and ordination.

[20]Carolyn Produchny, "Baptising Novices: Ritual Moments Among French Canadian Voyageurs in the Montreal Fur Trade, 1780-1821," *Canadian Historical Review* 83.2 (2002): 173-174.

[21]HBCA, B.89/a/4, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 1819-1820, 1 November 1820; Greg Dues, *Catholic Customs and Traditions: A Popular Guide* (Mystic, CT: Bayard, 2003),17-18.

[22]HBCA, B.89/b/15, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Outward, 1888-1891, 30 May 1888 to Father Rapet from Joseph Fortescue; William Cornwallis King, *Trader King as Told to Mary Weekes* (Regina: School Aids and Textbook Publishing Co., Ltd., 1949), 170.

[23]Brother is a generic name that originally referred to all members of a religious community, but is now generally used to identify those religious men who do not, or will not, receive holy orders. There were brothers and lay brothers (those with no plan to take holy orders) in Île à la Crosse. The notion of the clergy modeling family life was central to the activities of missionaries in North American Aboriginal communities. For a more complete discussion of this aspect of missionary behaviour, see Terrence L. Craig, *The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography* (New York: Brill, 1997), *passim.*

[24]Generally, fictive relatives are non-biological relatives. The relationship of fur traders to one another as described by Produchny, or the catagorization of all elderly adults as grandparents, establish fictive or non-biologically recognized familial relationships.

[25]Wisakejak, although alternately named, is a common figure in Aboriginal societies. In other cultures he has been known as Wolverine, Raven, Glooscap, and Coyote. See Basil Johnson, *Ojibway Heritage* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981) and Reverend Edward Ahenakew, "Cree Trickster Tales," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 42.166 (1929): 309-313.

[26]There has been a great deal of research on Cree and Dene spiritual traditions. See Michael Asch, *Kinship and the Drum Dance in a Northern Dene Community* (Edmonton: The Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, 1989), passim; Robert A. Brightman, *Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), passim; Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), passim; Raymond J. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), passim; and David G. Mandebaum, *The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical, and Comparative Study* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1979), *passim.*

[27]Raymond J. DeMallie, "Kinship and Biology in Sioux Culture," in *North American Indian Anthropology,* eds. Raymond J. Demaille and Alfonso Ortiz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 125-146.
[28]Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), 257 - 258.

[29]The Roman Catholic missionaries in Île à la Crosse, like Company officials, kept detailed records of their activities in the form of journals and letters. However, these are currently inaccessible and cannot be reflected in the content of this chapter. The difficulty here is that the majority of recorded examples regarding the mission's interactions with local Metis people have been located exclusively in Company records. Because of conflicts between the economic mission of the post and the Church's religious mission, we have only the Company's skewed and personalized account of activities largely incidental to their own enterprise. The Company's record of its relationship with the mission focused primarily on intra-agency conflict over competing expectations, rarely addressing how the people themselves felt towards the priests and nuns generally, or the Catholic religion specifically. Overall, as towards the Metis themselves, the Company's attitude towards the Church is best described as ambivalent. During times of conflict with the mission, the Company typically described the Metis as being controlled or manipulated by the clergy to the Company's detriment, or, at other times, not controlled enough, again to the Company's detriment. It is worthy of note that the Company's perception of the mission is similar to how it once described the NWC, its economic competitor, as a manipulative bully that incited the Metis to disregard the authority of HBC servants and establishments. Consequently, as with those earlier descriptions, the HBC often portrayed their Catholic Metis servants as passive, easily controlled, and obviously manipulated by a conniving clergy.

[30]This living arrangement of the Bouviers is a part of the contemporary community's collective memory. As far back as current residents can remember, the Bouviers lived near the mission, and so the area came to be called Bouvierville.

[31]On 10 May 1865 Samuel Mackenzie, Chief Trader of Île à la Crosse, recorded that François Roy, likely the father of the man who made Bouvier, Sr.'s coffin, finally left the mission where he had been employed to come over to the Company and enter the service as a steersman. HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-1865, 10 May 1865; and HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, n.d., to Henry J. Moberly from Sister Hearn.

[32]HBCA, B.89/b/15, Île à Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1888-1891, 10 May 1888 to Joseph Wrigley, HBC Commissioner.

[33]William Cornwallis King, *Trader King as Told to Mary Weekes* (Regina: School Aids and Textbook Publishing Co., Ltd., 1949), 170.

[34]King, *Trader King as Told to Mary Weekes*, 170.

[35]King, *Trader King as Told to Mary Weekes*, 170.

[36]HBCA, B.89/b/15, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Outward, 1888-1891, 30 May 1888 to Father Rapet from Joseph Fortescue.

[37]HBCA, B.89/b/15, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Outward, 1888-1891, 10 May 1888 to Joseph Wrigley. Thomas Desjarlais was an HBC labourer and bowsman married to Marie Lafleur, daughter of Charles Lafleur and Louise Vadney. Her brother, Charles Pierre, was the postmaster for Buffalo Narrows.

[38]HBCA, B.89/b/15, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Outward, 1888-1891, 30 May 1888 to Father Rapet from Joseph Fortescue; and HBCA, B.89/b/15, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Outward, 1888-1891, 10 May 1888 to Joseph Wrigley.

[39]HBCA, B.89/b/15, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Outward, 1888-1891, 18 June 1888 to Joseph Wrigley from J. Fortescue.

[40]HBCA, B.89/a/4, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1891-1820, 31 October 1819; and HBCA B.89/a/5, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1822-1823, 1 November 1822; HBCA, B.89/a/29, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1855-1856, 7 June 1855.

[41]HBCA, B.89/c/3, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1871-1885, 2 August 1886 & 13 November 1886 to Joseph Fortescue from J. Wrigley.

[42]HBCA, B.89/a/29, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1855-1856, 8 July 1855. There were three priests in Île à la Crosse at that time and so the priest in question was either Father Prosper Legeard, Julien Moulin, or Valentin Vegreville.

[43]HBCA, B.89/a/38, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1896-1904, 1 November 1903.

[44]HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 23 December 1889; HBCA, B.89/a/38, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1896-1904, 23 December 1903.

[45]HBCA B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1824-1825, 25 December 1824; HBCA B.89/a/13, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1831-1832, 24 December 1831; HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-1865, 25 December 1864; and HBCA B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 22-23 December 1889.

[46]HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 22 December 1889; and HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 22 & 29 December 1890.

[47]HBCA B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1824-25, 25 December 1824.

[48]Barbara Benoit, "Mission at Ile a la Crosse," *Beaver* Winter (1990): 40-50.

[49]HBCA, B.89/a/9, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1825-1826, 1 January 1826. See also HBCA B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1824-1825, 1 January 1825; HBCA B.89/a/9, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1825-1826, 1 January 1826; HBCA, B.89/a/13, 1831-1832, 1 January 1832; HBCA B.89/a/19, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1 January 1840; HBCA B.89/a/22, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1 January 1843; and HBCA B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 1 January 1890; HBCA B.89/a/38, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1896-1904, 1 January 1904.

[50]HBCA B.89/a/5, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1822-1823, 3 January 1823; HBCA, B.89/a/9, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 2 January 1825; HBCA, B.89/a/13, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1831-32, 2 January 1832; HBCA B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-1865, 2 & 3 January 1865; and HBCA, B.89/a/17b, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 13 January 1837.

[51]HBCA, B.89/a/5, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1822-1823, 16 November 1822. According to the post journals, there were several "Iroquois" in the English River District, likely Iroquois traders who signed on with the HBC and were traveling to western Canada (specifically Alberta) where they worked, married, and remained, and where their descendants still live. The names in English River associated with the Iroquois were Tarlongtargalu, Tayanayarata, Testawitch, and possibly Cunningham. See HBCA, B.89/a/5, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1822-1823, 21& 25 November 1822. For additional information on the role of the Iroqouis in the western fur trade, see Jan Grabowski and Nicole St-Onge, "Montreal Iroquois Engagés in the Western Fur Trade, 1800-1821," eds. Binnema, Ens, and Macleod, *From Rupert's Land to Canada*, 23-58.

[52]HBCA B.89/c/4, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1890-1892, 17 February 1892 from Baptiste Laliberte to Henry Moberly.

[53]HBCA B.89/c/4 Île à la Crosse, Correspondence Inward, 1890-92, 13 September 1892 from James Nicol Sinclair to Henry Moberly.

[54]HBCA B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse, Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, Circulars from the Department Office, 12 March 1893, from James Nicol Sinclair to Henry Moberly and 5 October 1893 from William Gailbraith to Henry Moberly.

[55]HBCA , B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 11 October 1890.

[56]HBCA, B.89/b/18, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, ca. 1892, to J. Macdougal from Henry J. Moberly. Of the former charge, apparently made by the Canoe Lake Cree, Robert Jarvenpa has provided an excellent political economic interpretation of the event by looking at the Roman Catholic mission's involvement in trading in the English River District. This HBC/Church trade war, as Jarvenpa described, mimicked, in many ways, the NWC/HBC, and later the Revillon Freres/HBC, competition. See Robert Jarvenpa, "The Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Chipewyan in the Late Fur Trade Period," in *Le Castor Fait Tout: Selected Papers of the 54th American Fur Trade Conference, 1985*, eds. Bruce Trigger, Toby Morantz, and Louise Dechêne (Montreal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, 1987), 485-517.

[57]HBCA, B.89/b/18, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, ca. 1892, to J. Macdougal from Henry J. Moberly.

[58]HBCA, B.89/b/18, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, ca. 1892, to J. Macdougal from Henry J. Moberly.

[59]HBCA, B.89/b/18, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, ca. 1892, to J. Macdougal from Henry J. Moberly. Mr. McDermott was likely Andréw Miles McDermott, an accountant stationed for a brief period in the English River District.

[60]Moberly rejected the notion that he encouraged debauchery amongst the English River District Metis. Moreover, he reiterated to Macdougal that neither he nor any of his employees had ever insulted the Church or interfered with their religious obligations. It was Moberly's opinion that any action against the Roman Catholic Church in the English River District was bad politically because all the Company servants were Catholic. It was also Moberly's feeling that Rapet's accusations were motivated by revenge because Moberly opposed the Priest's efforts to become a free trader, not because of HBC interference with the mission's activities. Perhaps as a result of Moberly's letter, on 13 June 1892 he received a response from Father Rapet. Moberly recorded that there was now an end to "all the unpleasant feelings between them." Moberly planned to meet with the mission and make arrangements to settle the matter by obtaining all their accumulated furs. Furthermore, the missionaries would no longer be involved in the fur trade and, when possible and without causing conflict with their Christian ideals, promised to use their influence to support the HBC. HBCA, B.89/b/18, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, ca. 1892, to Henry J. Moberly from J. Macdougal.

[61]HBCA, B.89/b/18, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, n.d. 1892 to C.C. Chipman from Henry J. Moberly; HBCA, B.89/b/18, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, ca. 1892, to J. Macdougal from Henry J. Moberly; HBCA, B.89/b/18, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, 13 June 1892, to Rev. Pere Rapet from Henry J. Moberly; and HBCA, B.89/b/18, Ile à la Crosse Correspondence Book, 1891-1893, 18 June 1892, to C.C. Chipman from Herny J. Moberly.

[62]Eric Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition,* eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14.

[63]Castonguay, *A Leap in Faith*, 22.

[64]Because the mission at Île à la Crosse was the first in western Canada outside of Red River, many of the priests who began their mission work in the community went on to become Bishops. Fathers Tache and Grandin both went on to be ordained as Bishops in the Canadian Catholic ministry. Consequently, the relationship between Île à la Crosse and the Bishops remained close, especially because they visited fairly frequently in much the same manner that HBC inspectors visited the northern posts. HBCA, B.89/a/31, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1860-1861, 19 October 1860, 24 November 1860, & 30 November 1860; HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-1865, 18 February 1865; Grandin visited again in 1889, HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 21 August 1889.

[65]HBCA, B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1824-1825, 21 November 1824.

[66]See Carolyn Produchny, "'Dieu, Diable, and the Trickster:' Voyageur Religious Syncretism in the pays d'en haut, 1770-1821," *Etude Oblates de l'Ouest* 5 (2000): 75-92; Produchny, "Baptism of Novices"; Jarvenpa, "The Hudson's Bay Company, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Chipewyan in the Late Fur trade Period." In particular, Jarvenpa argued that the HBC's often negative description of both the Church and its congregation in the English River District was attributable to economic competitiveness. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, as the Company battled free-trading Metis in its Districts, it came to believe that the Roman Catholic Church at Île à la Crosse was also engaged in an illicit trade against the HBC monopoly.

[67]HBCA, B.89/a/27, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1849-1852, 10 June 1849; HBCA, B.89/a/29, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1855-1856, 29 May 1855; HBCA, B.89/a/31, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1861, 5 August 1861; HBCA, B.89/a/33, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 3 April 1863; HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journals, 1864-1865, 4 December 1864; HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 29 December 1889; and HBCA, B.89/a/36 & 37, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1889-1896, 13 September 1890.

[68]HBCA, B.89/a/29, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1855-1856, 29 May 1855.

[69]The Mr. Douglas was 19 year old James Douglas from Lanark. Douglas had been listed as a clerk at the Canadien establishment in the 1821-22 HBC census. HBCA, B.89/a/8, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1824-1825, 31 October 1824.

[70]HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-1865, 17 September 1865.

[71]HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1864-1865, 17 September 1865.

[72]HBCA, B.89/a/35, Île à la Crosse post Journal, 1864-1865, 24 September 1865.

[73]Meadow Lake, *Heritage Memories,* 179.

[74]St. Cyprien (or Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus) was born in the third century to a wealthy North African family, converted to Catholicism, and was eventually made Bishop of the early Catholic Church prior to his eventual martyrdom as a result of his faith.

[75]Registres paroissiaux, 1875-1912, Eglise catholique, Saint-Julien Green Lake, Saskatchewan; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[76]Brian Owens and Claude M. Roberto, *The Diaries of Bishop Vital Grandin, 1875-77,* vol. 1, trans. Alan D. Ridge (Edmonton: The Historical Society of Alberta, 1989).

[77]Sara Riel's mother was Julie Lagimodiere. The life of Sara Riel in Île à la Crosse was not lengthy, but there is a sense that her impact was meaningful. Of the sisters sent to Île à la Crosse, Sara was one of only two or three who may have been Metis women from the Manitoba region. The great majority of Grey Nuns were sent to the English River District from Quebec. However, there were a couple of Sisters sent from Manitoba, including Sara Riel, and from France after 1905. By the time of Sara's death of tuberculosis in December 1883, she had changed her name to Sister Marguerite Marie, believing that she had been saved from a fatal case of pneumonia by the Blessed Marguerite Marie, the apostle of the Sacred Heart. The influence of the Blessed Marguerite Marie over Sara Riel's life was the second case of her intervention in Île à la Crosse, having first cured Father Prosper Legeard of an illness in 1871, the year prior to her assistance with the Sister. Castonguay, *A Leap in Faith*, 28.

[78]Abjuration is the formal renunciation of apostasy, heresy, or schism. In particular, during the nineteenth century converts were required to abjure former doctrinal errors and positively profess the Catholic faith.

[79]In Red River, the Catholic Church competed for congregants with other Christian denominations, such as Anglicanism, and then later Methodism and Presbyterianism, and so its ability to control the marital patterns and faiths of a couple marrying was less than in a community such as Île à la Crosse where the Church was the institutionalized religion. There is no indication which church Nancy Kippling and George Bekattla were married, or if they were married in a church at all. What is clear is that Nancy converted to Catholicism upon entering the English River District.

[80]Historians have critiqued the role of Christian churches, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, in determining family systems throughout the Western world by sanctioning what constituted legitimate marriages and, therefore, children. While these studies provide a valuable critique of those institutions, their applicability in this instance is less relevant. See, for instance, Jack Goody, *Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Robert Wheaton, "Introduction: Recent Trends in the Historical Study of the French Family," in *Family and Sexuality in French History*, eds. Robert Wheaton and Tamara K. Hareven (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 3-26; Alex Shoumatoff, *The Mountain of Names: A History of the Human Family* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985); Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977); and Janet Finch & Jennifer Mason, *Passing On: Kinship and Inheritance in England* (London: Routledge Press, 2000). Similarly, within Aboriginal societies the marriage of children was an opportunity for parents and, indeed, entire bands to bind together in close socio-economic relationships that extended intergenerationally, and so, historically, they were arranged by parents and grandparents. See, for instance, Henry Stephen Sharp, *Chipewyan Marriage* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, no. 58, 1979), 45-67 & 169; James G.E. Smith, "Historical Changes in the Chipewyan Kinship System," in *North American Indian Anthropology*, eds. Raymond J. Demaille and Alfonso Ortiz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 53-58 & 74; Richard Slobodin, *Metis of the MacKenzie District* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1966); Diane Payment, *"The Free People—Otipemisiwak": Batoche, Saskatchewan, 1870-1930* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks Service, 1990); Marcel Giraud, *The Metis in the Canadian West*, 2 vols, trans. George Woodcock (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986); and Philip T. Spaulding, "The Metis of Ile-a-la-Crosse" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1970).

[81]This form of marriage celebration is typical of Metis communities. See Diane Payment, *"The Free People—Otipemisiwak,"* 42 & 53.

[82]HBCA, B.89/a/29, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1855-1856, 21 August 1855.

[83]HBCA, B.89/a/38, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1896-1904, 15 January 1901; and Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan.

[84]HBCA, B.89/a/38, Île à la Crosse Post Journal, 1896-1904, 9 August 1902.

[85]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan, 19 August 1902.

[86]LAC, RG15, vol. 1352, 25 September 1906, Angèle Kippling; LAC, RG15, vol. 1352, 21 September 1906, Célestin Kippling; LAC, RG15, vol. 1352, 25 September 1906, John Kippling; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan. LAC, RG15, vol. 1354, 25 September 1906, Mary Lariviere; and LAC, RG15, vol. 1354, 25 September 1906, Abraham Lariviere.

Conclusion

"Hope for the Future That a Way of Being Would Not Be Lost"

Nimoshom is standing
cap in hand
waving good-bye
a yellow bus
with me in it
leaving Sakitawak
lake on Missinipi
the big water
Kistapinanik
My destination

reassurance
is a story
he was there
a long time ago
working for Revillon Frére
after the family broke ties
with the Hudson's Bay Company

and then he expressed
hope for the future
that a way of being would not be lost
that place
would not be forgotten
that a language
would not be lost
Nitanis, ahpotikwimina
kamistahitimisoyon

such sadness
in his voice
I never forgot[1]

(Rita Bouvier, *Blueberry Clouds*, Saskatoon: Thistledown Press, 1999)

The above poem by a descendant of the nineteenth century Bouvier wahkootowin of Île à la Crosse is about leaving home, but nevertheless reflects a hopeful outlook for the future. Nimoshom, her grandfather, expresses hope that, although people will leave Sakitawak, their way of life, the place, the language, and sense of belonging will not be lost, and that those who leave will not come to think themselves better than either where they came from or their families. The very act of writing about this moment is an invocation to home, to family, to language, to place—to all those things that are wahkootowin—because the memories are alive. The act of writing gives readers a sensation of that place. Nimoshom (my grandfather), Sakitawak (Île à la Crosse), and Missinipi (English/Churchill River)—each of these words reference home, locating readers in a time and place not their own, just as mention of the Hudson's Bay Company and Revillon Fréres links them to Île à la Crosse's history. Quite specifically, she invokes the Bouvier family's history: "he was there a long time ago working for Revillon Fréres after the *family* broke ties with the Hudson's Bay Company" [emphasis added]. The relationship with the Company was not solely that of an individual with his employer, but rather involved the entire family. She also makes more subtle observations of family and community life through utilization of the Cree language to express an enduring chain of connection to home.

As the English River District's proto-generation formed and took shape in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they raised their children, the Metis of northwestern Saskatchewan, according to nehiyaw tahp sinowin because Metis familial relationships were the foundation of cultural socialization. Subsequent generations of Metis in northwestern Saskatchewan lived, laboured, and established for themselves a society that privileged familial relationships, in turn using them as the basis for determining appropriate behaviour and interaction with all outsiders, whether male fur traders, fur trade companies, or the Roman Catholic Church. Beginning with the arrival of fur traders in the late eighteenth century, and then the Roman Catholic missionaries in the mid-nineteenth

century, the family structures and cultural values embodied in wahkootowin adopted and incorporated new members. As people and ideas were incorporated into wahkootowin, they, along with Metis society itself, were transformed through acculturation processes. The term acculturation should not, as so often happens, be confused with assimilation. Acculturation processes do not overwhelm and consume other peoples or cultures, but rather permit the possibility of cultural fusion, sharing, and synchronicity.

In the first instance, the acculturation of individuals and ideas into wahkoowin connected people with family structures through intermarriage, religious conversion, acceptance of a godparent's role, and engagement in the socio-cultural life of the community. However, while wahkootowin was the dominant cultural system of the region, it was neither hegemonic nor coercive. Rather, its power lay in its appeal to human sociability, to be a part of family, to be connected to something greater than oneself. Because wahkootowin was a cultural system that not only permitted but encouraged the incorporation of new peoples and ideas when compatible, it was necessarily adaptable and capable of transformation—that is, capable of synchronicity. This is not, however, to argue that adaptation was always welcomed, embraced, or controlled by the Metis, but that wahkootowin afforded a means for the culture, families, and people to respond to new possibilities, positive or negative.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century with the emergence of the proto-generation families in northwestern Saskatchewan, several socio-cultural patterns emerged that defined living arrangements, familial identification, religiosity, and socio-economic expectation. Wahkootowin serves as an interpretive lens to evaluate these patterns because it is culturally grounded not only in Cree terminology but also in nehiyaw tahp sinowin, which itself encompasses the dual, although not mutually exclusive, aspects of behaviour and worldview. While the proto-generation quite literally gave birth to Metis society by framing a society in northwestern Saskatchewan characterized by mixed ancestry children, the three subsequent generations who remained in the lands of their mothers and

grandmothers truly forged their society. Through an intergenerational evaluation of Metis genealogies from northwestern Saskatchewan, regional, matrilocal residency patterns were discerned, while patronymic connections were established to define family residency at the community level. Quite simply, outsider male fur traders who sought to marry and remain in the region as fathers, husbands, and sons-in-law had to ally themselves with the District's women who were born in the region. While we cannot know exactly how these men felt or the reasons why they joined this new society, we do know that they participated by marrying, living, and dying in their adopted communities and homeland. Similarly, within each generation, alliances with First Nations communities were reaffirmed as women and men married Metis people. The ties between these communities were regularly strengthened through such marriage patterns during the nineteenth century.

Just as importantly, outsider males seeking entrance into the family structure abjured their old faith when necessary and converted to Catholicism. Like the HBC, the Catholic Church in northwestern Saskatchewan served as an important institution and system that acknowledged and benefited from the establishment of interfamilial alliances, and celebrated those connections through a range of ritualized behaviours, all of which contributed to a strong and unique Metis cultural identity. To become a part of the family structure in the English River District that largely defined itself as Catholic (according to the three Canadian censuses conducted in the region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), outsider males (and, at least in one instance, a woman) took an important step to join an institution that marked the community's religious identity. Acceptance of Catholicism, in turn, marked a point of syncronicity with the worldview of wahkootowin. There was, of course, another option. Outsider males did not have to marry, they did not have to convert to Catholicism, and they certainly did not have to remain in the English River District. Fur trade employees could have resigned their positions and returned home or reengaged in other capacities and been effectively transferred to other posts. But many did not do so, and instead established relationships with women and their families in the

District, contributing to the establishment of Metisness in northwestern Saskatchewan. Again, there were, of course, degrees of acculturation and acceptance of wahkootowin by individuals, especially when involved in direct dealings with institutional structures belonging to the Roman Catholic mission, but the act of conversion marked an important shift from one world into another.

Within this study of family life and structure in northwestern Saskatchewan, the term matrilocal was necessarily expanded to reflect a regional reality where women remained in the English River District to anchor their own families to the land and socialize children in the worldview that they (the mothers) inherited. While women served as a social anchor regionally, evaluation of particular communities within the District revealed that the patronymic connections derived from surnames marked specific locations within the territory that identified and distinguished families. More specifically, within each generation, families with connections to the trade economy intermarried with one another, further establishing working relationships that supported the alliances of families. By the 1830s and 1840s, as the first generation reached adulthood, they raised their own children in the social atmosphere of the fur trade, the economic activity that had brought their own fathers into the region. In time, the Metis family structure was reproduced intergenerationally within the milieu of trade as sons and daughters in trade families married one another. By the 1880s/1890s in particular, the HBC became wary of these families, the potential threat from free traders overrunning the English River District beginning to dominate the journals and correspondence of Chief Factors, Chief Traders, and postmasters stationed across the trade territory.

At issue in the second instance are the perceptions and responses of institutions such as the HBC and Roman Catholic mission. Wahkootowin was utilized as an interpretive lens to evaluate the intangible style of life exhibited by the Metis of northwestern Saskatchewan as they negotiated their way through the economic and political demands of these two institutions. It was at the intersection of community values (as expressed in family

relationships and obligations) and institutional expectations that a dialogue occurred that more often than not resulted in a form of syncretism. This, however, could only occur if both sides negotiated a mutual adaptation that, while not always equal in outcome, was based on an acceptable level of concession. Processes of acculturation can only occur if all parties are agreeable to the possibility of developing the relationship. The anxiety expressed by the HBC over the possibility of local men becoming free traders was genuine, even if the likelihood of free trading overtaking the Company was not. This anxiety, however, prompted the Company to adopt a more measured strategy, as in the example of Pierriche Laliberte, who was mollified by seeing his sons gainfully employed at stations appropriate to their familial stature. Furthermore, for the Roman Catholic Church, it may have been enough in the nineteenth century to witness the acceptance of the theology and ideology of its institution through naming practices, widespread acceptance of holidays, Sunday service attendance, and feast days. There was clear tension over other issues, such as the Metis refusal to stop dancing or accept a transformation of their marital practices, and yet, it was not enough to sever the relationship between the clergy and their congregation. The relationship between the Metis and these institutions was paradoxical because, for at least of a period of their history of interaction, their historical paths were inseparable.

The birth and maturing of the fourth generation potentially marked a new era in the history of northwestern Saskatchewan Metis, occurring at a time when paths and interests of the people and the institutions began to diverge and old patterns were increasingly found wanting by all parties. Born between the 1890s and 1910s, the fourth generation, like the proto-generation, is difficult to assess because they too are poorly represented in the record groups. During the scrip era, the fourth generation were the children of the established families, and so some appeared in baptismal records and fewer still in the marriage records beginning in the early 1900s. The record of the fourth generation is therefore incomplete, but it nevertheless begins to reveal new avenues for exploring Metis

history through the interpretive lens of wahkootowin. In the fourth generation, many of the older patterns reappeared, such as the acculturation of outsider males into the regional family structure as defined by women, as well as the persistence of the socio-economic relationships being developed and maintained by trading families. However, significant new events introduced new challenges to wahkootowin and the ability of families to respond, such as the extension of Treaty Six into the English River District when Green Lake became a part of the 1889 adhesion, the issuance of scrip in that part of the territory, and the subsequent negotiation of Treaty Ten and issuance of scrip in the remainder of the District in 1906 and 1907.

Old family patterns dealing with marital partners, living arrangements, and employment possibilities and opportunities continued to be reinforced in the fourth generation. These patterns can be seen in an HBC internal discussion about a recently arrived Company employee, Charles Eugêne Belanger, and his decision to marry a local woman, Béatrix Maurice in 1907. What emerges from this internally generated chain of correspondence about one employee's decision to marry an English River District woman is an anxiety about the nature of northern Metis society, the possibility of alternative economic opportunities being asserted by families in the region, and more general issues of loyalty. In 1907, HBC officer R.H. Hall of Prince Albert wrote to Angus McKay at Île à la Crosse regarding the intention of Charles Eugêne Belanger to wed Béatrix Maurice, the daughter of Magloire Maurice and Philomène Lariviere, and granddaughter of Sarazine Morin and Pierriche Laliberte. The young couple had met at Île à la Crosse, where Béatrix was employed as the personal maid of Chief Factor A.A. McDonald's wife and Charles Eugêne was employed as a Company servant. Charles Eugêne, like Béatrix, came from a family of HBC men, and, according to Hall, possessed many of the same abilities as his brother, Horace, who was regarded as a shrewd and capable trader with "considerable tact dealing with Cree Indians and Halfbreeds."[2] Because of the ability and reputation of his family, Belanger was regarded as having great potential as an employee and was

being groomed by the HBC at Île à la Crosse for a career with the Company, but his impending marriage threatened all that. Hall believed that marriage to Béatrix Maurice would pull Belanger "down to the level of his wife's relations," and sought to encourage him to choose an alternate path.[3] Citing the memory of Belanger's father, Hall declared his intention to help Charles Eugêne choose a better path, but feared that it was too late to lament that young men like him believed that they knew better than their elders.[4]

The issue of marriage can be seen here to reflect marital patterns established a century earlier when outsider males formed economic alliances and personal connections to the region's cultural system through liaisons with local women. From the perspective of English River District families, Béatrix was from a well-placed trading family with long ties to the HBC and a proven record of success as traders, freemen, and free traders. Béatrix's father, Magloire Maurice, was the son of HBC employee François Maurice, postmaster at Portage La Loche, and Angèle Laliberte, the daughter of Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin. Magloire had lived his life in the English River District, working for the HBC after entering its service in 1879. Through her maternal grandfather, Pierriche Laliberte, and maternal great grandfather, Antoine Morin, Béatrix's family history with the Company and the region dated to the late eighteenth century. Through both her maternal and paternal relatives, therefore, Béatrix was connected to men—her father, grandfathers, and uncles—employed by the HBC, and became an employee herself when she was hired as a domestic servant for Mrs. McDonald at the Île à la Crosse post. The marriage of Béatrix and Charles Eugêne replicated a tradition of not only incorporating new outsider males into the region, but of joining trading families. Furthermore, like her female relatives—specifically her mother Angèle, grandmother Sarazine Morin Laliberte, and great grandmother Pélagie Boucher Morin—Béatrix incorporated an outsider male trader into her family's structure and the regional Metis community. Just as her mother and grandmothers had done before her, Béatrix created for her husband a space within the cultural system of wahkootowin, and provided him with relations on whom he would be able to rely as a trader in her family's homeland.

The issue of the place from which Béatrix came, the land of her mother and grandmothers, was a central part of this emerging tale. The same day that Hall wrote to McKay, he also wrote to Belanger to remind him that his brother, Horace Belanger, had come to regard his own marriage to a Native woman as a mistake with which he was now stuck for the rest of his life. Hall further argued that while many men who married into northern Native families were useful HBC servants, they were socially handicapped in the Company hierarchy because the "native Indians and Halfbreeds of the north" were "raised in low moral surroundings and in homes where the wages and habits of civilization [were] not practiced."[5] Clearly, it was Hall's belief that Belanger was marrying below his station, although he further reasoned that Béatrix might rise above her family background by working for Mrs. McDonald to become a fit wife, although such a transformation, Hall felt, was unlikely. Hall concluded his letter with the following assessment of the northern Metis:

> I have always believed that the Halfbreeds would make as good men or women as other people if properly brought up and we know that there are no better or purer women than some of the Halfbreeds who grew up in proper surroundings in Manitoba.[6]

Hall further cautioned that young men should never marry because of lust, but rather only for love, implying perhaps that Belanger's motives for choosing to marry were less than honourable and having more to do with sexual attraction than commitment to marriage. Despite Hall's strong words and fatherly advice, on 1 April 1907 Charles Eugêne Belanger and the then seventeen year old Béatrix Maurice were married at the Île à la Crosse mission. Sixteen days later, Belanger resigned from the Company.

The story of Béatrix and Charles Eugêne was also connected to an older, familiar story of HBC anxiety over rival traders. The late nineteenth century Company concern over the role of free traders in the English River District resurfaced in the early twentieth century with the arrival of the Revillon Frerés, the French fur company that had recently established itself in the English River District as a rival trading house. By the turn-of-

the-century, many of Béatrix's male relations in the Maurice and Laliberte families had actively opposed the Company by becoming (or threatening to become) free traders.[7] Four months after the Belanger / Maurice wedding, the saga resumed in the HBC correspondence records when Hall wrote to Angus McKay at Île à la Crosse to remind him of Charles Eugêne's mistake in marrying Béatrix, and to assess what he believed were the young man's weaknesses as a Company employee. Within days of resigning his position with the Company, Charles Eugêne reengaged, and then resigned once again in September 1907 to enter the service of Revillon Fréres. However, Belanger quickly broke that contract and returned, yet again, to the HBC. Furthermore, as an outpost manager, Belanger had proven, in Hall's views, that he was incapable of earning a profit for his employer. Because of his waffling between these two competitors, Hall concluded that Belanger lacked the "ballast" and personal qualities required to be a successful HBC employee. Curiously, despite resigning twice within a matter of four months, the Company continued to rehire him. Nevertheless, Belanger was no longer to be regarded as an employee of great potential, and his downfall, Hall concluded, was directly linked to his choice of wife. Hall lamented that he had not done more to secure Belanger's future, and that, for his own family's sake, Belanger should have been sent to another District earlier "in order to prevent his marrying one of the half-civilized Natives."[8] Belanger, a once promising employee with many of the same qualities as his brother Horace, was no longer trustworthy, so Hall therefore advised that he be placed on the temporary employee list.[9] The disregard that Hall had for both Béatrix and her relations may well have been a result of this growing autonomy that the family was asserting over the English River District, both through the free trading movement and as employees of Revillon Fréres.

It is possible that the criticisms of Belanger were a reflection of his determination to work for the HBC's competitors, but the tactic taken to deter him was to criticize his wife, her family background, her homeland, and her community and its values. As it had in the 1880s/1890s, the HBC faced new economic competition in the early twentieth century,

and the anxiety of local HBC officials was manifested in a fear that employees and their families would contribute to their own decline, if even for only a short period. Families proved to be a paradox with which the Company had to put up, and so the attitudes towards them as expressed by Company officials in the District reflected a definite ambivalence. On the one hand, wives and children of employees positively contributed to the Company by providing additional labour through fishing, tending gardens, and caring for livestock. Yet, families could be unpredictable and sometimes placed their interests above those of the Company's. What the HBC had seemingly failed to realize were, that by the turn-of-the century the family structure of the Metis in northwestern Saskatchewan had acculturated the economy of trade into their reciprocal family model of inter-community exchange.

Arguably one of the most significant events that had the potential to disrupt local family structures of the Metis of northwestern Saskatchewan was the entrance to the region by the Canadian state in the form of treaty and scrip commissions. These commissions were first sent to Green Lake in 1889, and then again to Île à la Crosse and Portage La Loche in 1906/07. The issuance of scrip and signing of the Treaty Six adhesion at Green Lake established for the first time a line that intersected the English River District territorially, but also metaphorically and legally for the families themselves. While the English River District continued to exist as an administrative region for the HBC, the Treaty Six adhesion boundary established a new administrative region defined by the Canadian government and segmented people into treaty and non-treaty zones of responsibility and rights. Where culture had once bound communities and family as a social unifier, Canadian law now intersected and had the potential to disrupt old alliances, alter expectations, and create categories of haves and have-nots. Historically, there had certainly been differences between being Cree or Dene and being Metis, but those divisions were often muted because of a shared language, lineage, and, in some instances, the economic mode of life. Beginning in 1889, the relationships between families and

communities across northwestern Saskatchewan were divided, and for the next seventeen years the fortunes of the Green Lake people and those of their relatives at Île à la Crosse and Portage La Loche diverged.

One of the first hints that divisions were beginning to emerge between families in the English River District came just a decade after scrip was issued at Green Lake, when rumours surfaced that the process would be introduced to the remainder of the English River District. In June 1899, J. McDougall at Prince Albert informed John G.M. Christie of Île à la Crosse that there was information that the "Half-Breeds born between the first and second Rebellions" would be offered scrip shortly.[10] A year later, McDougall again wrote to Christie to inform him that a second round of scrip would be issued shortly at Green Lake, but clearly stated that no one outside the Treaty Six adhesion region would be eligible. According to McDougall, the northern treaty boundary ran "due east and west cutting through the middle of Lac Du [sic] Plonge," and anyone born north of that boundary would not be given an opportunity to take scrip. There was, however, one exception to this ruling. According to McDougall, any children of the Île à la Crosse freemen born between July 1870 and 1885 at Green Lake or anywhere else south of the boundary line would be entitled to receive scrip if they appeared before the commissioners at Green Lake. Any claims not heard at that time would have to wait until the northern region of the District was admitted to Treaty and a new scrip process organized.[11] So, there were now some people, albeit children, from Île à la Crosse who were entitled to scrip, although it seemed that none of their relatives would be able to benefit.

McDougall provided this rather detailed information regarding the eligibility of the children of freemen to receive scrip so that Christie would be able to respond to inquiries being made by the Île à la Crosse freemen. Apparently the freemen working at Green Lake during the scrip distribution process were wondering why they were being overlooked and wanted to access the opportunity to apply for it themselves. Consequently, some freemen had asked the Company to make inquiries regarding their eligibility to receive scrip in

Green Lake, even though they were from other regions.[12] It is unclear whether they had not been informed of their eligibility prior to the taking of scrip claims at Green Lake that year or had not understood that only their children were eligible. What is clear, however, is that the arbitrariness of who was and who was not eligible during scrip commissions held in a region that the Metis considered to be a unified whole was contributing to a sense of injustice amongst the ineligible.

Finally, in 1906, J.A.J. McKenna was appointed "Commissioner to treat with the Indians and Halfbreeds" in the northern portion of the English River District. In late summer of that year, he began treaty negotiations and taking scrip applications, a process not completed until 1907. Scrip altered the relationship between northwestern Saskatchewan families by establishing new territorial and legal divisions over older socio-cultural boundaries that recognized difference, but did not necessarily demarcate divisiveness. Because of shared maternal relatives, language, and, in some instances, religion, families in northwestern Saskatchewan, whether Cree, Dene, or Metis, had maintained a closeness, but the introduction of Canadian legal divisions that established categories of treaty and non-treaty Indians cut right through family. As this study terminates with the emergence of the fourth generation of families in northwestern Saskatchewan—the generation that are listed as children in the scrip applications from the Treaty Ten region—the full impact on what scrip and treaty meant to families and their structure has not been explored.

Taken as a whole, the issuing of scrip and the signing of treaty (beginning in 1889 and replicated in 1906/07) created two additional fissures in English River Metis society. It divided the District into two Metis spaces marked by those who obtained scrip and those who had not, and it further divided the community into two legal classes of people—those with treaty and those with scrip. The role of the Canadian legal system of categorizations during this timeframe is not insignificant because of its long-term implications for how people began to identify themselves, each other, and then to re-negotiate those relationships. There is a tendency to believe that only "Indians" took treaty and only "Half-breeds"

took scrip, but in a cultural space like northwestern Saskatchewan, where family, not blood quantum, determined affiliation, the identification of these discretely bounded racial categories is imperfect. Examples of how scrip and treaty cut across family can be seen in the history of several Aboriginal families, where some members of particular families legally became treaty Indians and others became or remained Metis.

A particularly complicated case was that of the Caisse/Malboeuf families. In 1882, Joseph Caisse, son of HBC employee Charles Caisse, a French Canadian from Montreal, and Mary (Pilon) Sinclair, who was identified as a French Halfbreed in the 1901 census, married Philomène Malboeuf, the daughter of HBC trader Pierre Malboeuf and Marguerite Ikkeizik. With Joseph Caisse, Philomène gave birth to five children. Four years after Joseph's death in 1890 at Dore Lake, Philomène married Joseph Bear of Flying Dust Indian reserve, with whom she had at least two more children by the end of the nineteenth century. By 1895, a year after her second marriage, Philomène, the daughter of a French Canadian fur trader from St. Hyacinthe, Quebec, and Metis woman born in Île à la Crosse, had become a treaty Indian and a member of the Flying Dust Indian band. Of Philomène's first five children from her first marriage, Charles Jr., Pierre, and Joseph Onesine were left behind with the Caisse family or at the school in Île à la Crosse; none of the children were taken into treaty with their mother. At this time, the fate of daughter Marguerite is uncertain and one son had died prior to his mother's remarriage. Charles Jr. remained at the mission school and eventually married in 1903, while Pierre and Joseph Onesine were raised by their paternal grandparents, Charles and Mary.[13] Without an evaluation of the band list for Flying Dust, it is difficult to know how events transpired or the long-term implications for the Caisse children after their mother's remarriage, nor can we know the nature of their relationship with either their mother or half-siblings who were born of the Bear/Malboeuf marriage. What is at least clear from a cursory look at the family genealogy, though, is that a fairly significant division within families developed, based on status as an emergent legal category for Aboriginal people in northwestern Saskatchewan,

which cut and possibly irrevocably damaged family ties in a manner not seen when the HBC and Roman Catholic mission were the dominant Western institutions in the region. In this case, it is known that Philomène did not raise her sons, likely because she could not impart status to them—a restriction of the Indian Act—which meant that the boys were ineligible to live on reserve because they were not band members.[14]

Even without such obvious fissures, families were regularly divided into treaty and non-treaty categories during the scrip and treaty era in northwestern Saskatchewan. What such divisions meant to the meaning of wahkootowin, however, is not known. For instance, in the case of the Iron/Laliberte families, the categories of treaty and non-treaty were meaningful and, as with the Malboeuf/Bear families, also divided family members. Mary Isabelle Iron, wife of Alexandre Laliberte, was the daughter of Chief Raphaël Iron of the Canoe Lake Cree. Mary Isabelle and three of her siblings married into Metis families between 1879 and 1901.[15] Today, there are Irons who are treaty Indians, and whose family genealogies have taken a divergent path from the Lalibertes of Green Lake and Île à la Crosse despite their common ancestry and homeland. A fuller rendering of the northwestern Saskatchewan family structure is only possible if band lists are also utilized in the construction of family genealogies, beginning in the fourth generation when these new categories took on significance.

However, such gaps in the genealogies present opportunities and demands for additional research. The impact on the nature and influence of wahkootowin itself is unknown, but likewise warrants attention. What is clear, however, in both the words spoken at a family reunion in 1999 at Sandy Point at the beginning of this study and the poem by Rita Bouvier that begins this chapter, the sense of connectedness to the region, to the lake, to family has not been lost, even if the actual connections themselves have been transformed.

Endnotes

[1]Rita Bouvier is the granddaughter of Joseph Bouvier and Flora Gardiner, a marriage that established another generational link between the Bouvier, Gardiner, and Daigneault families. Joseph Bouvier was the son of Joseph Alexandre Michel (Michelis) Bouvier and Caroline Lafleur. Michelis was the son of Michel Bouvier, Jr. and Julie Marie Morin. Flora Gardiner was the daughter of Robert (Roby Gardiner) and Eliza/Lucia Daigneault, who was the daughter of Vincent Daigneault and Marguerite Bouvier. Michel Jr. and Marguerite were brother and sister.

[2]Presumably, Charles Eugêne's brother Horace was the H. Belanger who was a factor at Norway House in the 1880s and 1890s. HBCA, B.89/c/8, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1903-1910, 26 January 1907 to Angus McKay from R.H. Hall. See also Frank Tough, *"As Their Natural Resources Fail": Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northern Manitoba, 1870-1930* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1996), 273.

[3]HBCA, B.89/c/8, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1903-1910, 26 January 1907 to Angus McKay from R.H. Hall.

[4]HBCA, B.89/c/8, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1903-1910, 26 January 1907 to Angus McKay from R.H. Hall.

[5]HBCA, B.89/c/8, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1903-1910, 26 January 1907 to C.E. Belanger from R.H. Hall.

[6]HBCA, B.89/c/8, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1903-1910, 26 January 1907 to C.E. Belanger from R.H. Hall.

[7]François Maurice had died in 1884 while serving as postmaster at Portage La Loche. Angèle Laliberte was the eldest daughter of Pierriche Laliberte and Sarazine Morin. Magloire Maurice is one of the region's better known historical residents because of his role as interpreter in the Treaty Ten negotiations. For other sources addressing the role of Maurice, see Anthony G. Gulig, "Yesterday's Promises: The Negotiation of Treaty Ten," *Saskatchewan History* Spring (1998): 25-39; Kenneth Coates & William Morrison. *Treaty Research Report: Treaty Ten, 1906.* (Canada: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1986); and Robert Jarvenpa and Hetty Jo Brumback, "Occupational Status, Ethnicity and Ecology: Metis Adaptations in a Canadian Trading Frontier," *Human Ecology* 13.3 (1985): 309-329. LAC, RG15, 20 September 1906, Magloire Maurice; LAC, RG15, vol. 1357, 20 Septmber 1906, Philomène Maurice—Lariviere; Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; Registres paroissiaux, 1890-1912, Eglise catholique. Mission de la Visitation Portage La Loche, Saskatchewan.

[8]HBCA, B.89/c/8, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1903-1910, 26 September 1907 to Angus McKay from R.H. Hall. Interestingly, Belanger resigning and reengaging several times actually mimics the career of his grandfather-in-law, Pierriche Laliberte, who did likewise in the late nineteenth century.

[9]HBCA, B.89/c/8, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1903-1910, 26 September 1907 to Angus McKay from R.H. Hall.

[10]HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 23 June 1899 from J. McDougall to John G.M. Christie.

[11]HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 7 August 1900, J. McDougall to John G.M. Christie.

[12]Because of the correspondence received from the Church on behalf of the Dene in 1883/84, the Canadian government requested statistical data on them from the HBC. According to Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke, the Dene population was approximately 850 people spread across four bands of the same tribe living in

Methy Portage, Deep River, Pine River, Souris River and Beaver River. HBCA, RG 10, vol. 3573, file 269, "Île à la Crosse District, Making Treaty with Montagnais Indians (Indian Commissioner for Manitoba & NWT), 1883-1884 and HBCA, B.89/c/7, Île à la Crosse Correspondence Inward, 1893-1902, 7 August 1900 to John G.M. Christie from J. McDougall.

[13]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse, Saskatchewan; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1339, 24 September 1906, Charles Caisse, Ile à la Crosse; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1339, 24 September 1906, Pierre Caisse, Ile à la Crosse; LAC, Canadian Census Returns, Ile à la Crosse, 1891.

[14]The Indian Agent could have permitted the children to live on reserve, but that appears unlikely given the information supplied in the scrip records for the boys. LAC, RG 15, vol. 1339, 24 September 1906, Charles Caisse, Ile à la Crosse; LAC, RG 15, vol. 1339, 24 September 1906, Pierre Caisse, Ile à la Crosse.

[15]Registres paroissiaux, 1867-1912. Eglise catholique, Mission de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Ile à la Crosse; NAC, RG 15, vol. 557, file 167736, 22 Oct 1887, Alexandre Laliberte; Canadian Census Returns, 1901 Ile a la Crosse; NAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1891 Green Lake; NAC, Canadian Census Returns, 1881 Green Lake.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Chronology of Posts and Company Rivalries at Île à la Crosse, 1774-1821.[1]

1774 Joseph Frobisher, with Louis Primeau, establishes a trading post at Nemew Lake, near Cumberland House.

1775 Thomas and Joseph Frobisher send their operative, Louis Primeau, further into northern Saskatchewan to look for a good provisioning site. Primeau does not go far enough inland, leading Thomas Frobisher to go all the way to Île à la Crosse. He feels that it is an ideal post location due to its richness in whitefish.

1776 A post is established at Île à la Crosse by the Frobisher brothers and under the operation of Louis Primeau.

1777-1778 The Frobishers temporarily abandon the Île à la Crosse post.

1778 The Frobishers and Alexander Henry, Sr. ("the Elder") join forces as a "community of interests" to conduct business on a cooperative basis. They hire Peter Pond as their agent.

Pond is the first to cross Methy Portage and reach the mouth of Athabasca River. He goes inland with five canoes and returns a few years later with only three, but also with 140 packs of furs for his employers—half of what he actually obtained. As a result, the numbers of traders in northwestern Saskatchewan increases.

1781 A "Canadien" house is built at Green Lake.

1782 The Churchill and Athabasca trade regions (collectively called the English River District at the time) are put under the control of Peter Pond and Patrick Small by the Frobisher brothers and Alexander Henry the Elder. When they arrive inland, Pond and Small note that small pox has preceded them.

1782-1783 Small pox rages in the English River District, particularly amongst the Cree.

1783 A group of Montreal merchants that include Henry the Elder and the Frobishers establish the North West Company (NWC). Simon McTavish is also a member

of this new company, as is his employee, Patrick Small. Each individual in the NWC lends his capital to a joint investment, and common stock is given out proportionally based on the capital invested. Pond is only able to obtain one share, so he splits with the NWC.

1784 Pangman Company is established and competes with NWC in northwestern Saskatchewan. This competition is often intense and violent.

Patrick Small becomes the first full time NWC employee at Île à la Crosse, while Nicholas Montour is sent further north by the company to Athabasca.

Alexandre Mackenzie becomes a partner in the trading firm of Gregory, McLeod & Co.

1784 –1787 A violent rivalry breaks out between the NWC and Pangman Company.

1785 Alexander Mackenzie of the XYC builds a post at Île à la Crosse to compete directly with Patrick Small and his second in command, William McGillivray. As a result of the competition, Small establishes the first post at Pinehouse Lake.

Pond reconciles with the NWC and is placed in charge of the Athabasca region, where he builds a post at the junction of the Athabasca River and Lake. He has three clerks and forty-six voyageurs.

1786 XYC builds a post on the east side of Snake Lake (Lac-au-Serpent; today known as Pinehouse Lake), which is operated by Roderick McKenzie, the cousin of Alexander Mackenzie. Roderick was serving as a clerk. William McGilivray is ordered to build a post near Mackenzie's for the NWC.

1787 There is a reconstitution of NWC, combining the original NWC, Gregory, McLeod, & Co., and Pangman Co.

Pond permanently departs from northwestern Saskatchewan.

1788 Two senior canoemen from Île à la Crosse—Piché and Rapin—arrive at Pond's fort with two extra canoe loads of goods for trade that season in the Athabasca.

Peter Fidler signs on as a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) labourer at nineteen years of age.

1790 Peter Fidler, Malcom Ross, and Philip Turnor from the HBC reach Île à la Crosse. Their job is to survey the region and find alternative routes to Lake Athabasca in order to compete with the NWC.

Philip Turnor has trained Fidler in the art of astronomy and cartography, who then becomes a cartographer for the HBC and is the first HBC man to reach the Athabasca District.

The HBC men winter over under care of NWC and Patrick Small.

The NWC builds a small outpost at Fort Lac-des-Boeufs (now Buffalo Lake or Peter Pond Lake) on the south end of the lake.

1791 The NWC builds a new post on the west shore of Île à la Crosse.

Peter Fidler builds the first HBC post at Île à la Crosse, which is monitored closely by NWC enforcers who intimidate Indians attempting to trade with the HBC.

Both the HBC and NWC posts are located on Aubichon Arm on the west end of the lake, where the present day village is located.

Intimidated, Fidler abandons the first HBC post at Île à la Crosse that season, and it is burned down by Small.

1792 Philip Turnor of the HBC is the first man to use Methy Portage.

1794 David Thompson of HBC begins work to locate a new route to Athabasca.

William McGillivray buys Peter Pond's share in the NWC and becomes the wintering partner in charge of the entire English River Department.

McGillivary oversees a number of posts from the main depot at Île à la Crosse.

1795 The HBC establishes first post at Green Lake on the tributary of the Beaver River and on the north end of the lake.

The New North West Company is created and is known as the XYC.

1798 The NWC builds a post at Green Lake.

The NWC post at Île à la Crosse is operated by Alexander McKay.

1799 The first permanent HBC post at Île à la Crosse is operated by William Linklater and William Auld, who built the post on Sandy Point.

Later that year, William Auld builds a house at Green Lake, three-quarters of a mile from the Canadien house.

William Auld is the HBC Chief Factor for the Churchill District.

1800 The XYC maintains a post at Fort Black on the southeast shore of Lake Île à la Crosse under Samuel Black.

1803-1804 The XYC and NWC merge as the final North West Company.

1804 John Duncan Campell of the NWC attacks William Linklater at Reindeer Lake, stealing a valuable sled of furs. For his success in intimidation tactics, Campbell is put in charge of the NWC's Île à la Crosse post.

1805 The HBC's Green Lake post is burned down by the NWC after the men abandon the post.

1806 The HBC abandons its post at Île à la Crosse after NWC employees destroy the gardens.

1808 The HBC post in Île à la Crosse is seized by NWC and burned.

1809 Peter Fidler of the HBC rebuilds its Île à la Crosse post.

1810 There is a massive overhaul of HBC operations because they are not as successful compared to the NWC.

1811 The HBC abandons Île à la Crosse post again due to tensions with the NWC. That post is burned by the NWC.

1814 A newly restructured HBC returns to Île à la Crosse. Joseph Howse rebuilds the post. HBC posts are now under the management of Chief Factors who are appointed to be in charge of interior posts and now hold shares in the Company.

1816 The NWC seizes the HBC post at Green Lake and burns it down, although it is quickly rebuilt. The NWC also seize posts on Lesser Slave Lake, Lac Île à la Crosse, and Reindeer Lake.

1817 The NWC seizes the HBC post and its employees are taken prisoner at Île à la Crosse and Green Lake. The posts are burned again, although, again, they are rebuilt.

1818 The HBC rebuilds its post at Green Lake.

1819 An outpost is established at Portage La Loche under Perrins and Sevaine.

Sir John Franklin begins his expedition to explore the south shore of the Polar Sea and passes through Île à la Crosse.

1820 John Clarke builds a new fort at Île à la Crosse adjacent to the 1814 post.

The HBC moves the post at Green Lake to the south end of the lake.

HBC reestablishes the outpost at La Loche further south.

1821 The NWC merges into the HBC.

Endnote

[1]Adapted from Ernest Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1930); Greg Marchildon and Sid Robinson, *Canoeing the Churchill: A Practical Guide to the Historic Voyageur Highway* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 2002); Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*. 2nd ed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); and Arthur S. Morton, *Under Western Skies: A Series of Pen-Pictures of the Canadian West in Early Fur Trade Times* (Toronto: T. Nelson, 1937).

Appendix B. First Generation Families, 1810s-1830s.

Bouvier, Michel & Julie Desjarlais

Girard, Joseph & Marguerite Jackson

Herman, Baptiste & "Hay Sister"

Herman, Charlot & Marie Montgrand

Herman, Raphael & Euphemie LaChance/Opikokew

Herman, Samuel & Julie Montgrand

Iron, Baptiste & Therese Durocher

Janvier, Louison & Elizabeth Janvier

Janvier, Pascal & Francoise Le Maigre

Jolibois, Pierre & Louise Janvier

Jourdain, Jean Baptiste & Margaret L'Ours/Bear

Lafleur, Baptiste Charlot & Angelique Jourdain

Laliberte, Pierriche & Serazine Morin

Lariviere, Abraham & Mary Petawchamwistewin

Lariviere, David & Marie Durocher

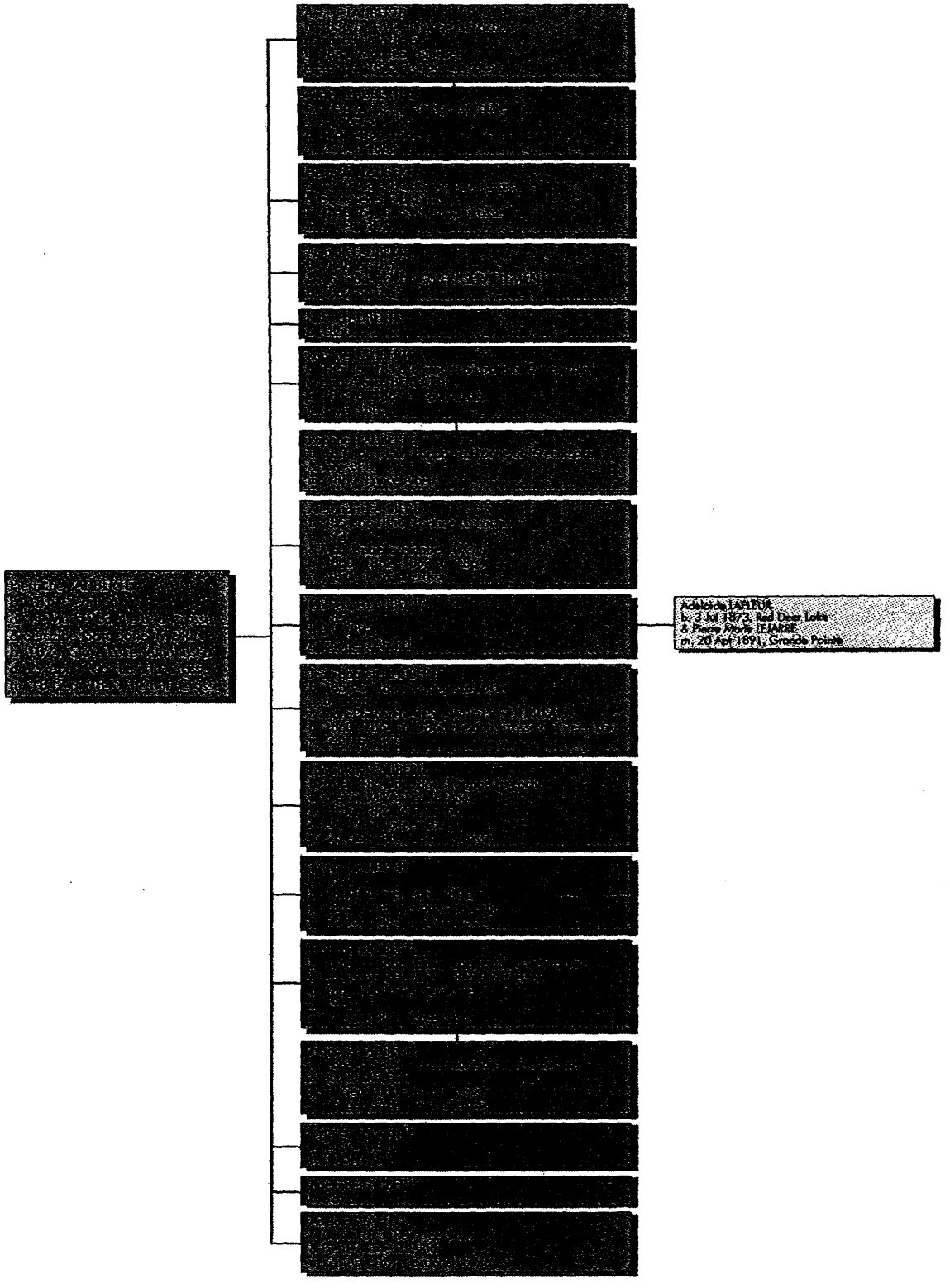
Montgrand, Old & Therese

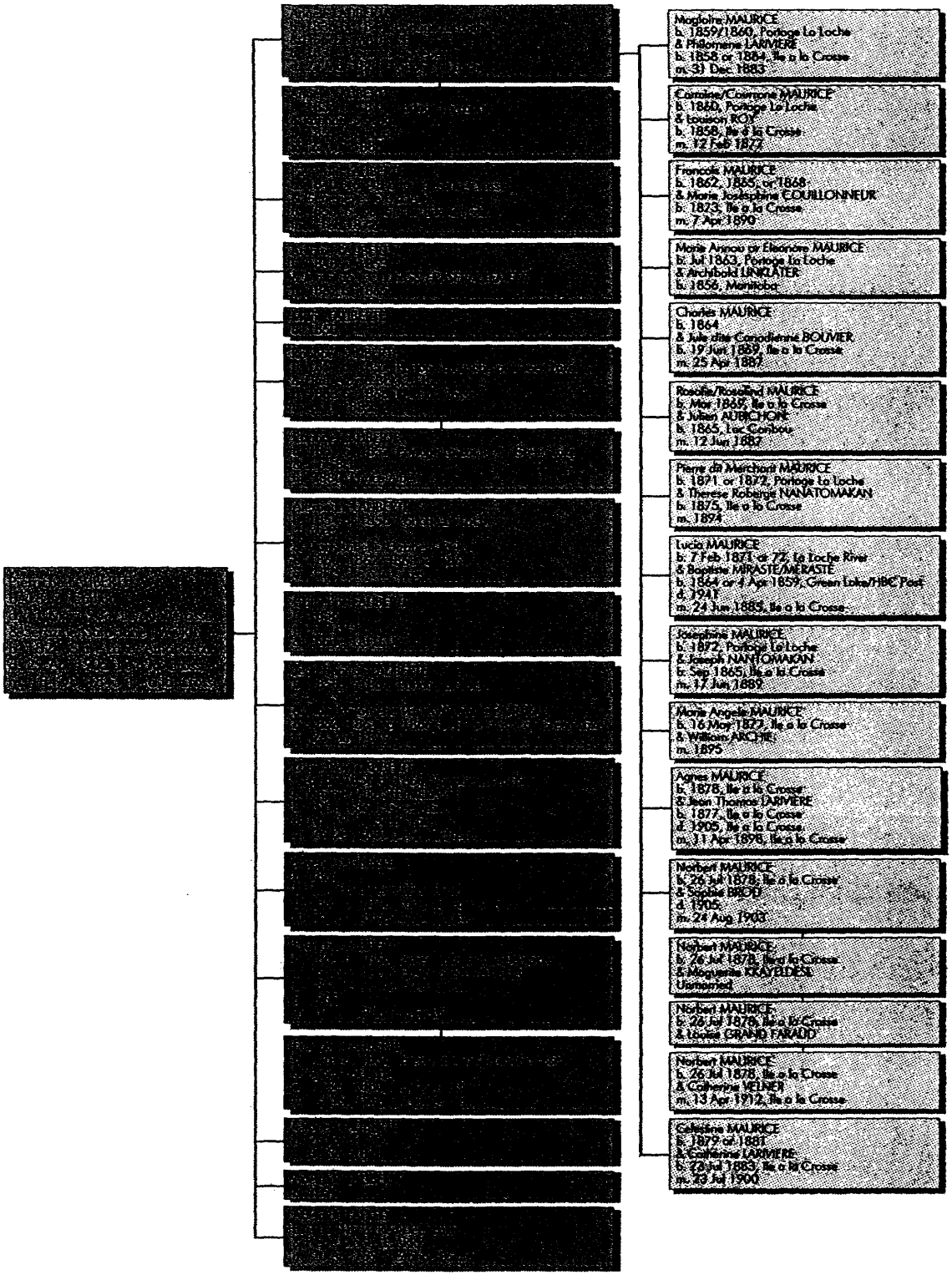
Montgrand, Stanislas & his 3 wives

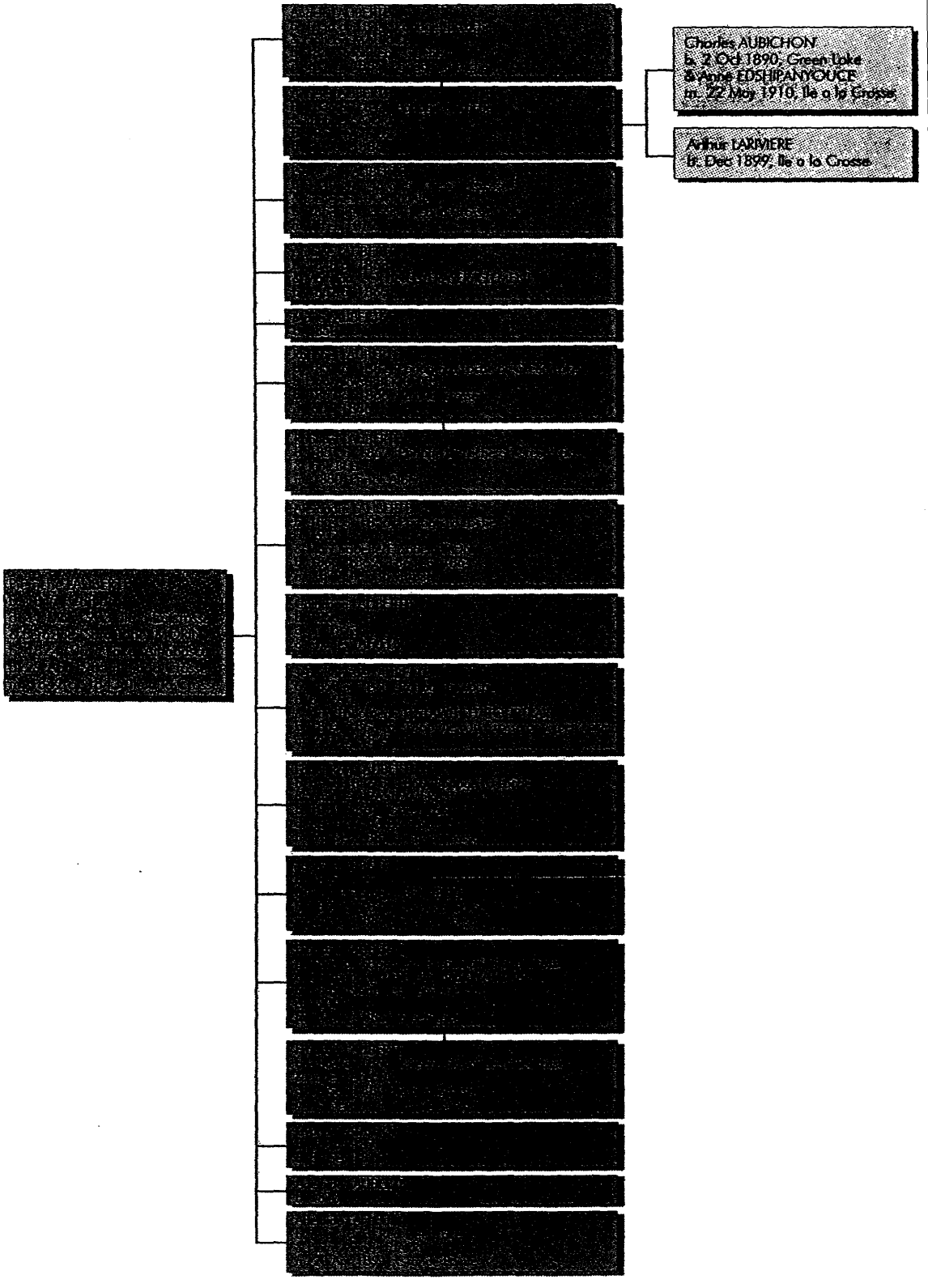
Morin, Antoine & Pilagie Boucher

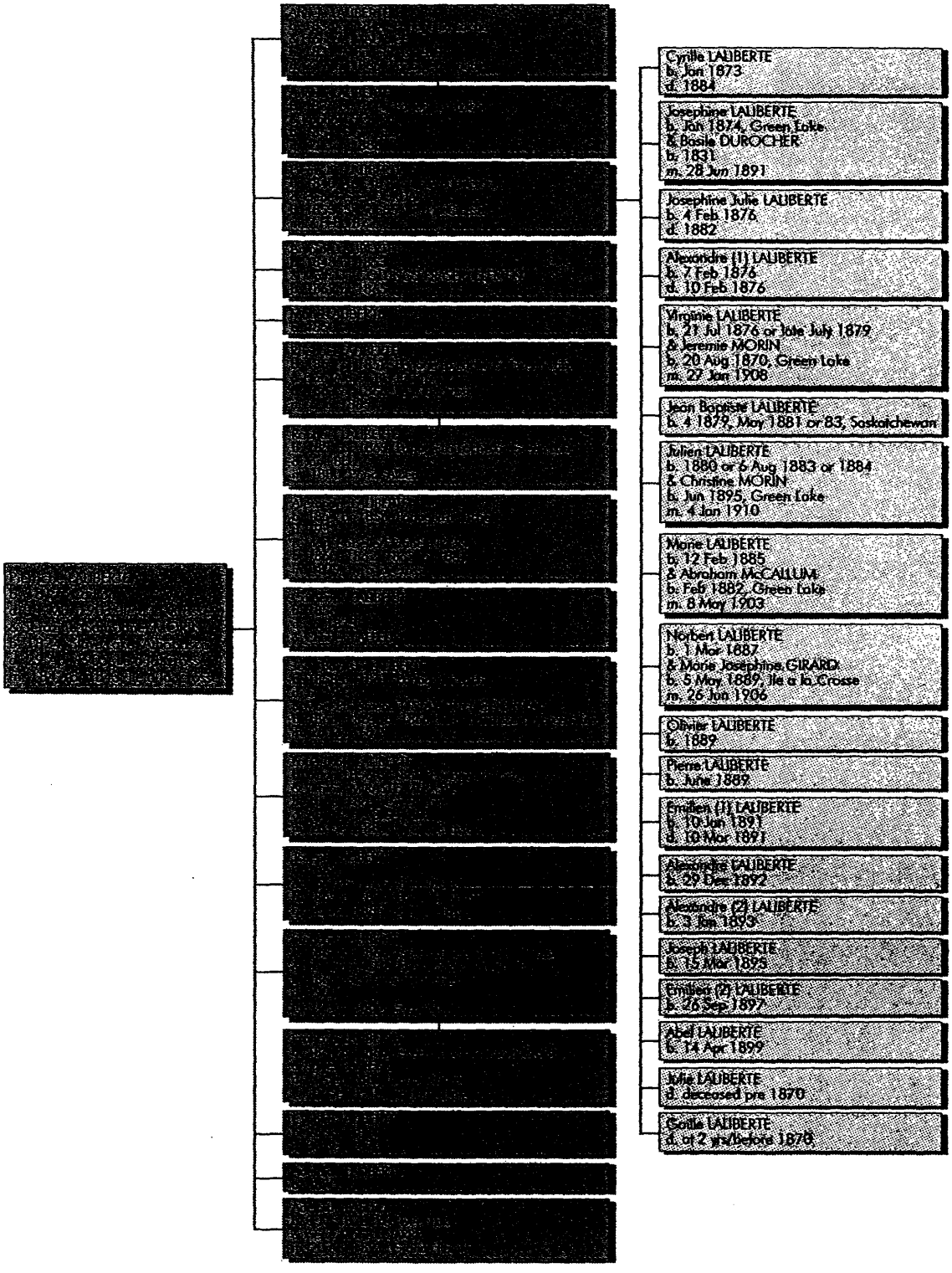
Sylvestre, Baptiste & Marguerite Montgrand

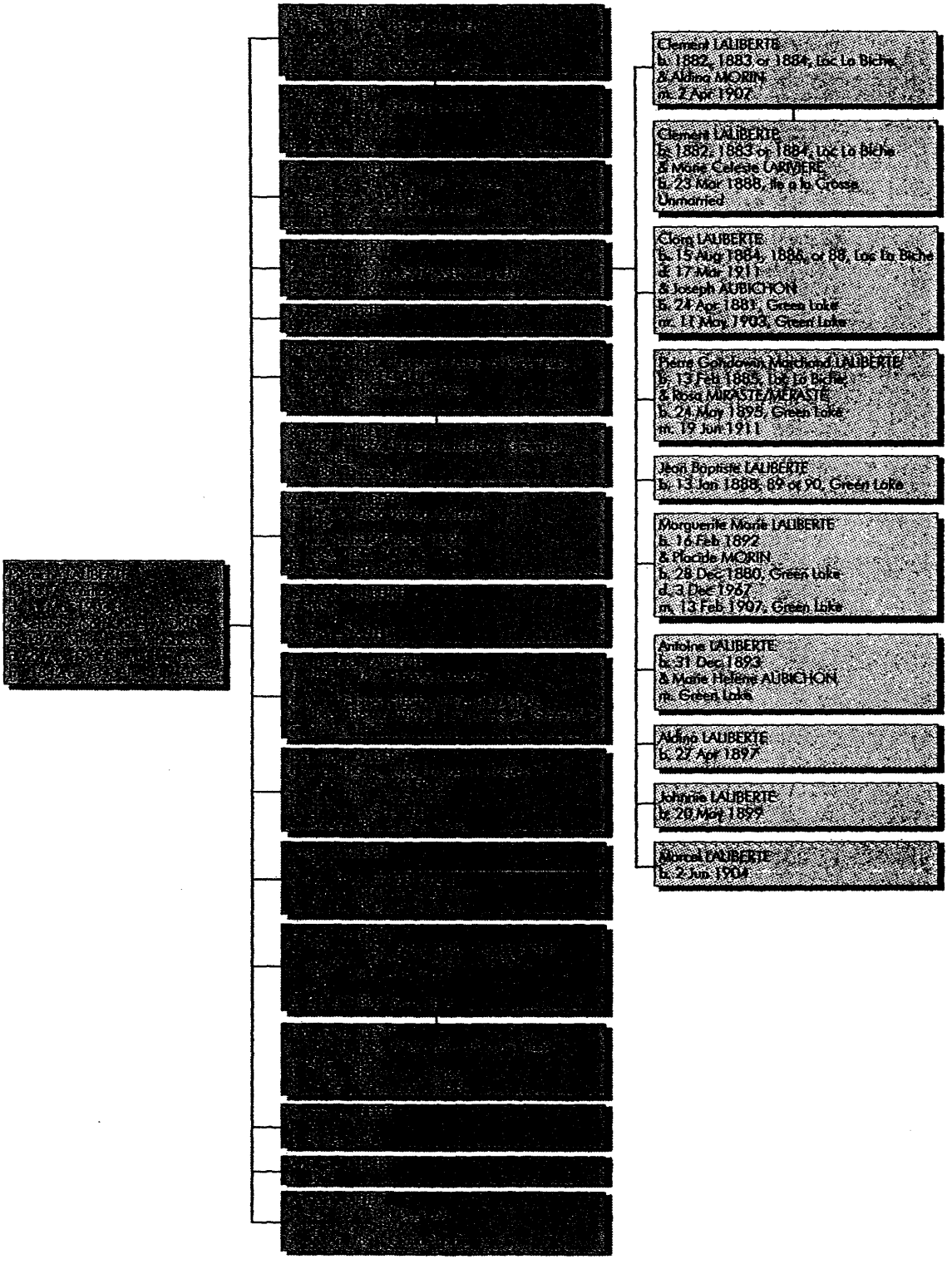
Appendix C. Laliberte Genealogy.

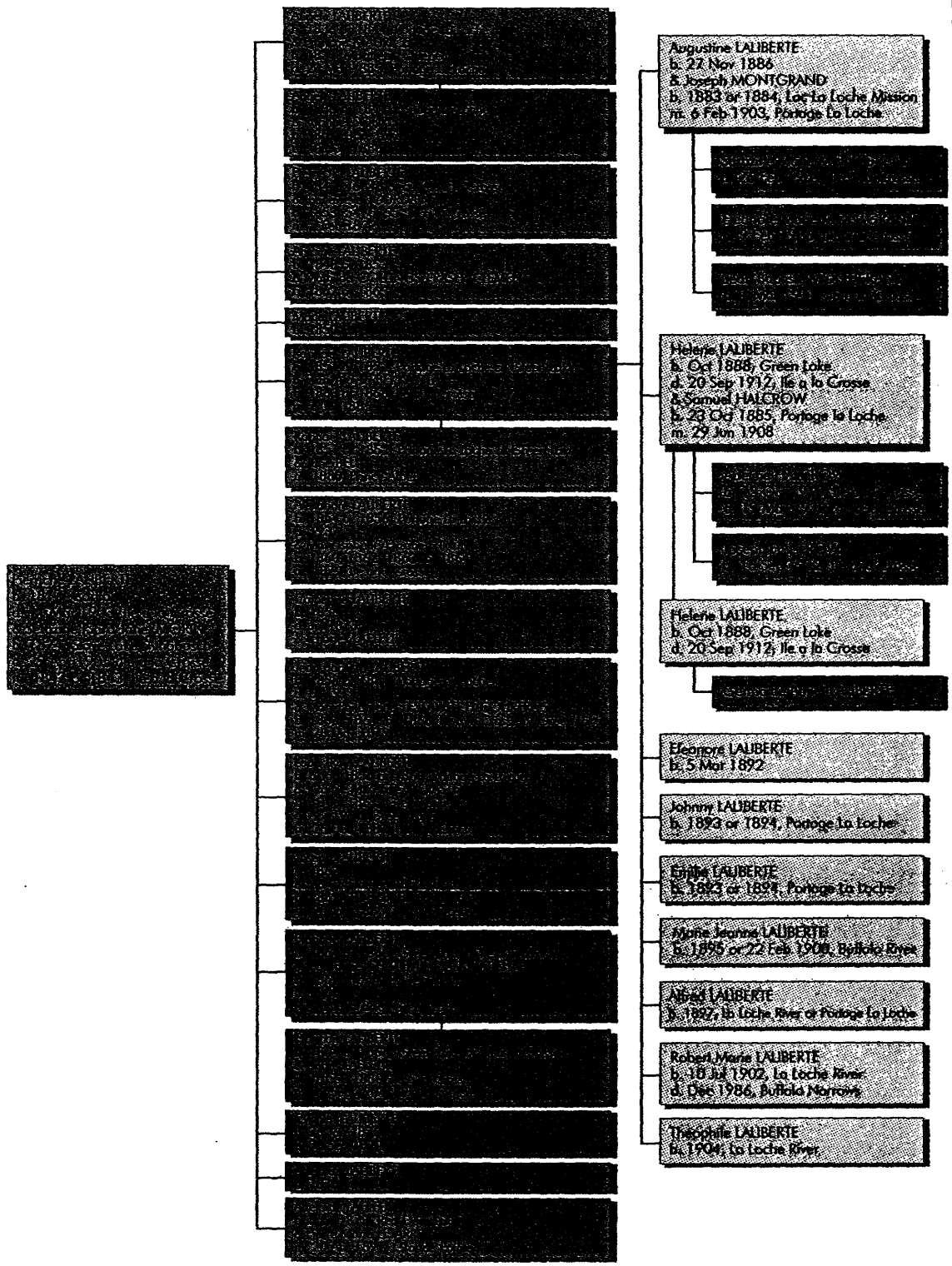


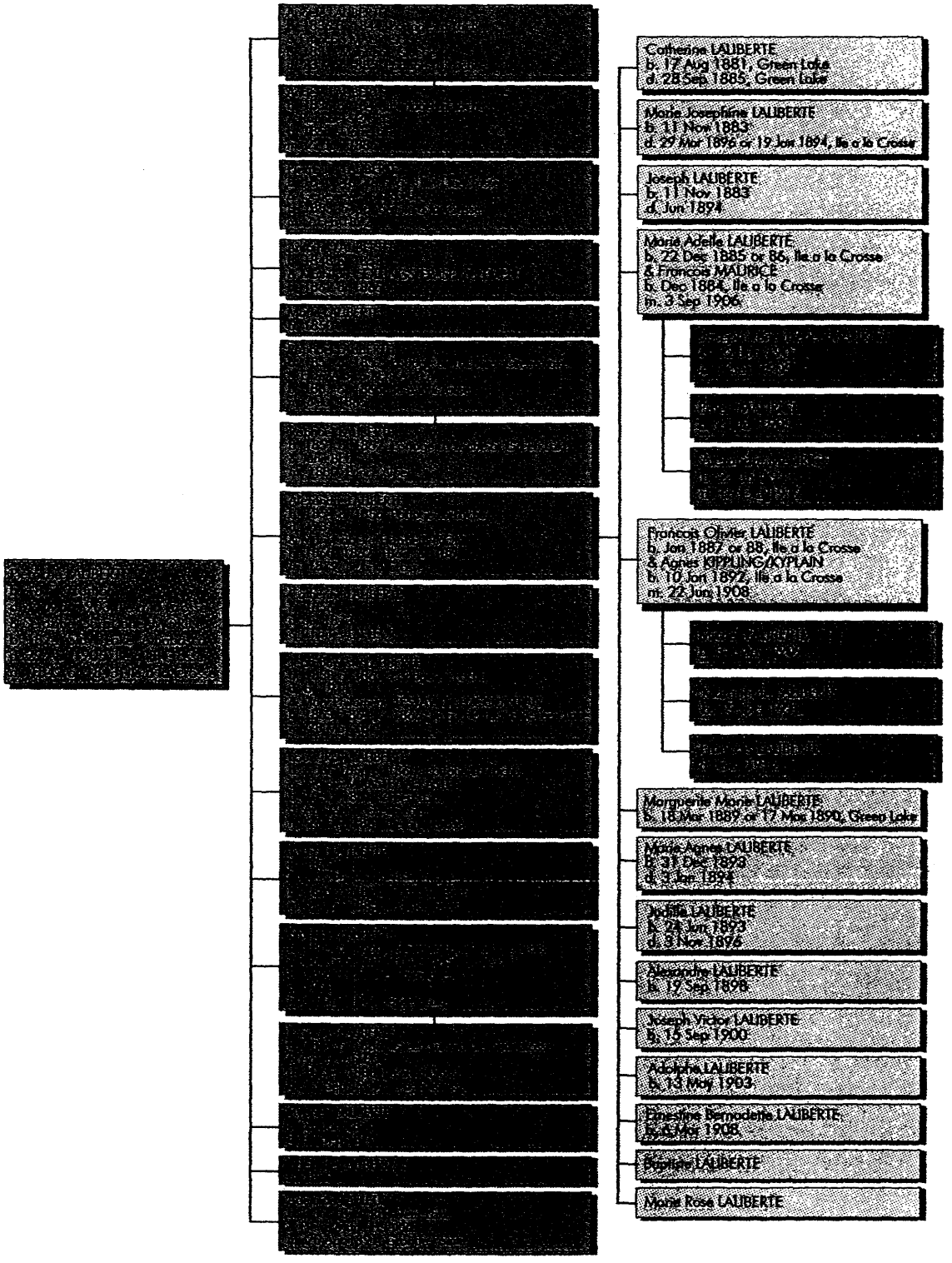

Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomène LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1884, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Dec 1883
Caroline/Corinne MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Isaac ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1872
François MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Maria Joséphine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Anne ou Eléonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald UNKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1882
Pierre dit Marchand MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Robenge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucie MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/Pibic Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Joséphine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angèle MAURICE
b. 16 May 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite KRAYELDESI
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNET
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Guillaume LARIVIERE
b. 12 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900

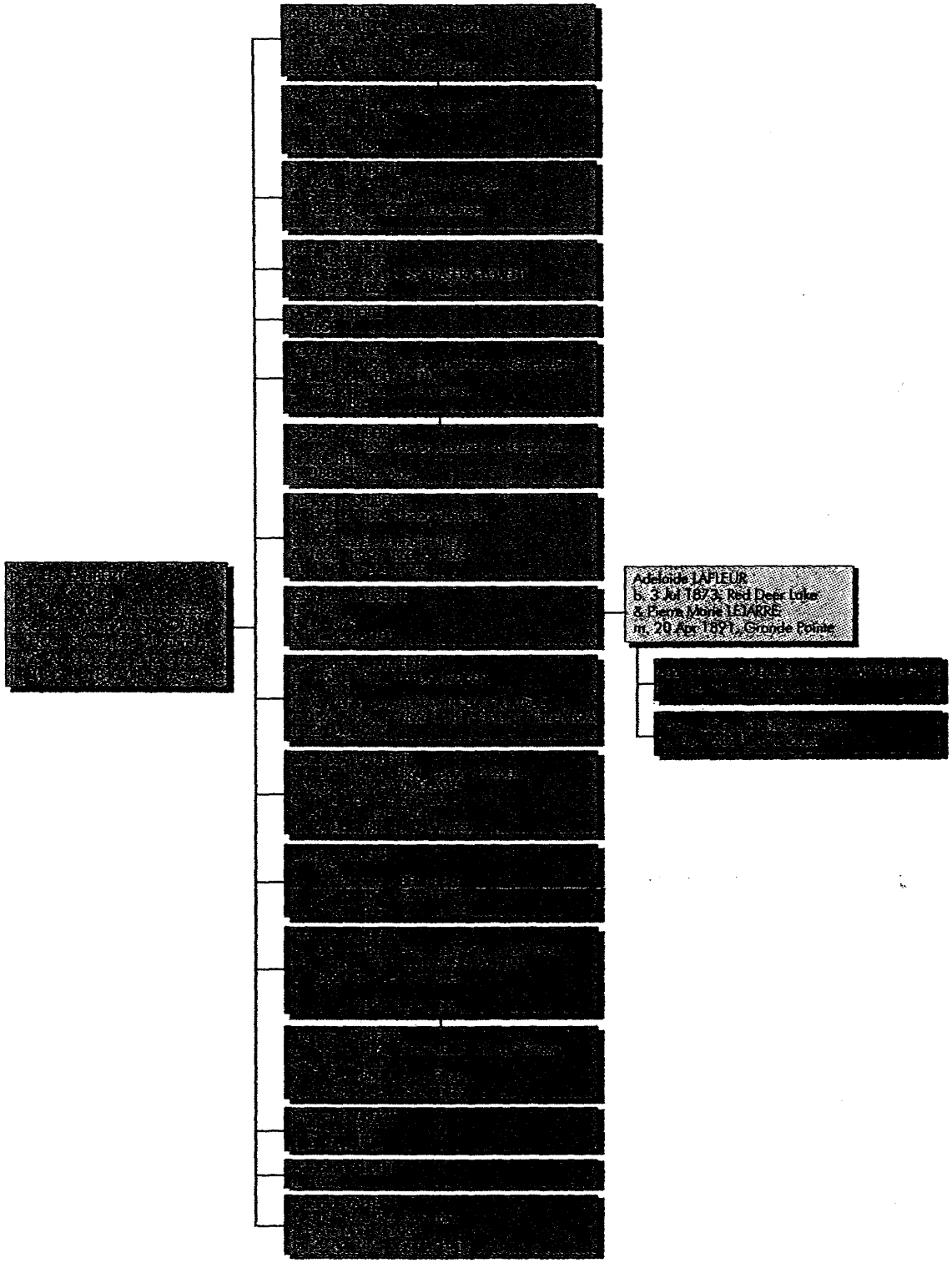

Charles AUBICHON
b. 2 Oct 1890, Green Lake
& Anne EDSHIPANYOUCE
m. 22 May 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Arthur LARIVIERE
b. Dec 1899, Ile a la Crosse

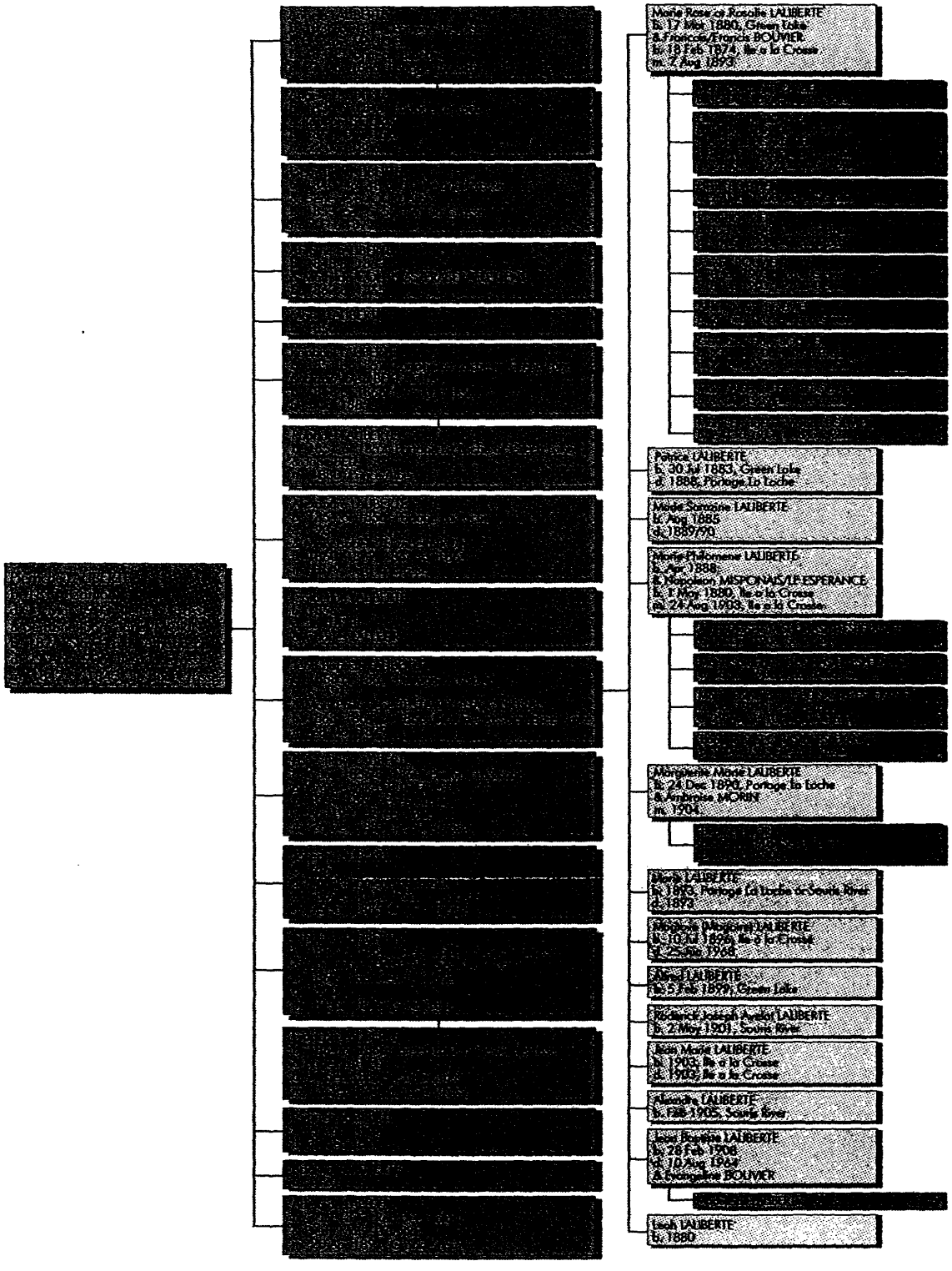

Cyrille LALIBERTE
b. Jan 1873
d. 1884
Josephine LALIBERTE
b. Jan 1874, Green Lake
& Basile DUROCHER
b. 1831
m. 28 Jun 1891
Josephine Julie LALIBERTE
b. 4 Feb 1876
d. 1882
Alexandre (1) LALIBERTE
b. 7 Feb 1876
d. 10 Feb 1876
Virginie LALIBERTE
b. 21 Jul 1876 or late July 1879
& Jeremie MORIN
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
m. 27 Jan 1908
Jean Baptiste LALIBERTE
b. 4 1879, May 1881 or 83, Saskatchewan
Julien LALIBERTE
b. 1880 or 6 Aug 1883 or 1884
& Christine MORIN
b. Jun 1895, Green Lake
m. 4 Jan 1910
Marie LALIBERTE
b. 12 Feb 1885
& Abraham McCALLUM
b. Feb 1882, Green Lake
m. 8 May 1903
Norbert LALIBERTE
b. 1 Mar 1887
& Marie Josephine GIRARD
b. 5 May 1889, Ile a la Crosse
m. 26 Jun 1906
Olivier LALIBERTE
b. 1889
Pierre LALIBERTE
b. June 1889
Emilien (1) LALIBERTE
b. 10 Jan 1891
d. 10 Mar 1891
Alexandre LALIBERTE
b. 29 Dec 1892
Alexandre (2) LALIBERTE
b. 3 Jan 1893
Joseph LALIBERTE
b. 15 Mar 1895
Emilien (2) LALIBERTE
b. 26 Sep 1897
Abel LALIBERTE
b. 14 Apr 1899
Julie LALIBERTE
d. deceased pre 1870
Gaille LALIBERTE
d. at 2 yrs/before 1870

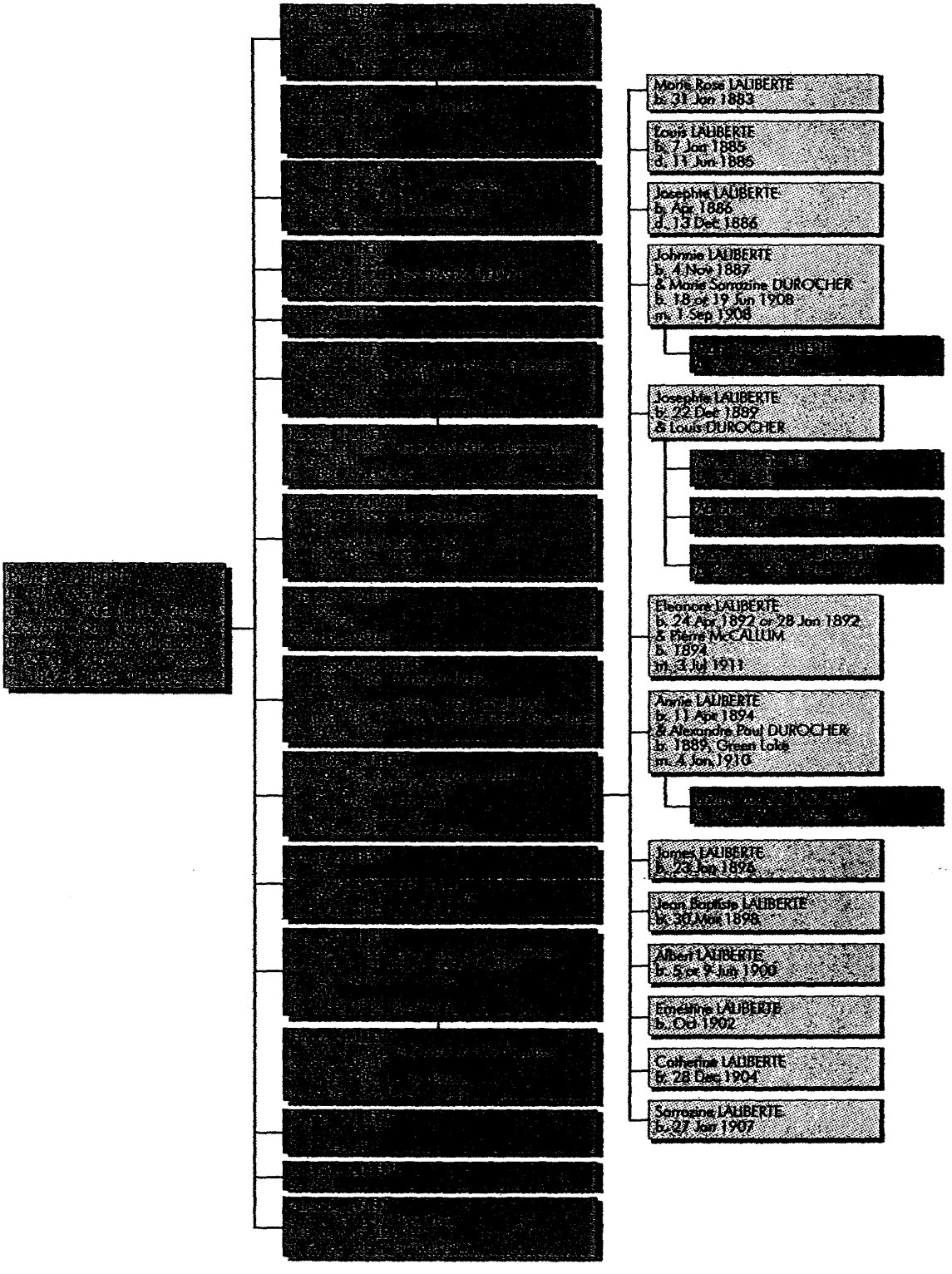

Clement LALIBERTE
b. 1882, 1883 or 1884, Loc La Biche
& Alma MORIN
m. 2 Apr 1907
Clement LALIBERTE
b. 1882, 1883 or 1884, Loc La Biche
& Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Unmarried
Clara LALIBERTE
b. 15 Aug 1884, 1888, or 89, Loc La Biche
d. 17 Mar 1911
& Joseph AUBICHON
b. 24 Apr 1881, Green Lake
m. 11 May 1903, Green Lake
Pierre Gordowin Marchand LALIBERTE
b. 13 Feb 1885, Loc La Biche
& Rosa MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 24 May 1895, Green Lake
m. 19 Jun 1911
Jean Baptiste LALIBERTE
b. 13 Jan 1888, 89 or 90, Green Lake
Marguerite Marie LALIBERTE
b. 16 Feb 1892
& Placide MORIN
b. 28 Dec 1880, Green Lake
d. 3 Dec 1967
m. 13 Feb 1907, Green Lake
Antoine LALIBERTE
b. 31 Dec 1893
& Marie Helene AUBICHON
m. Green Lake
Alcime LALIBERTE
b. 27 Apr 1897
Johnnie LALIBERTE
b. 20 May 1899
Marcel LALIBERTE
b. 2 Jun 1904

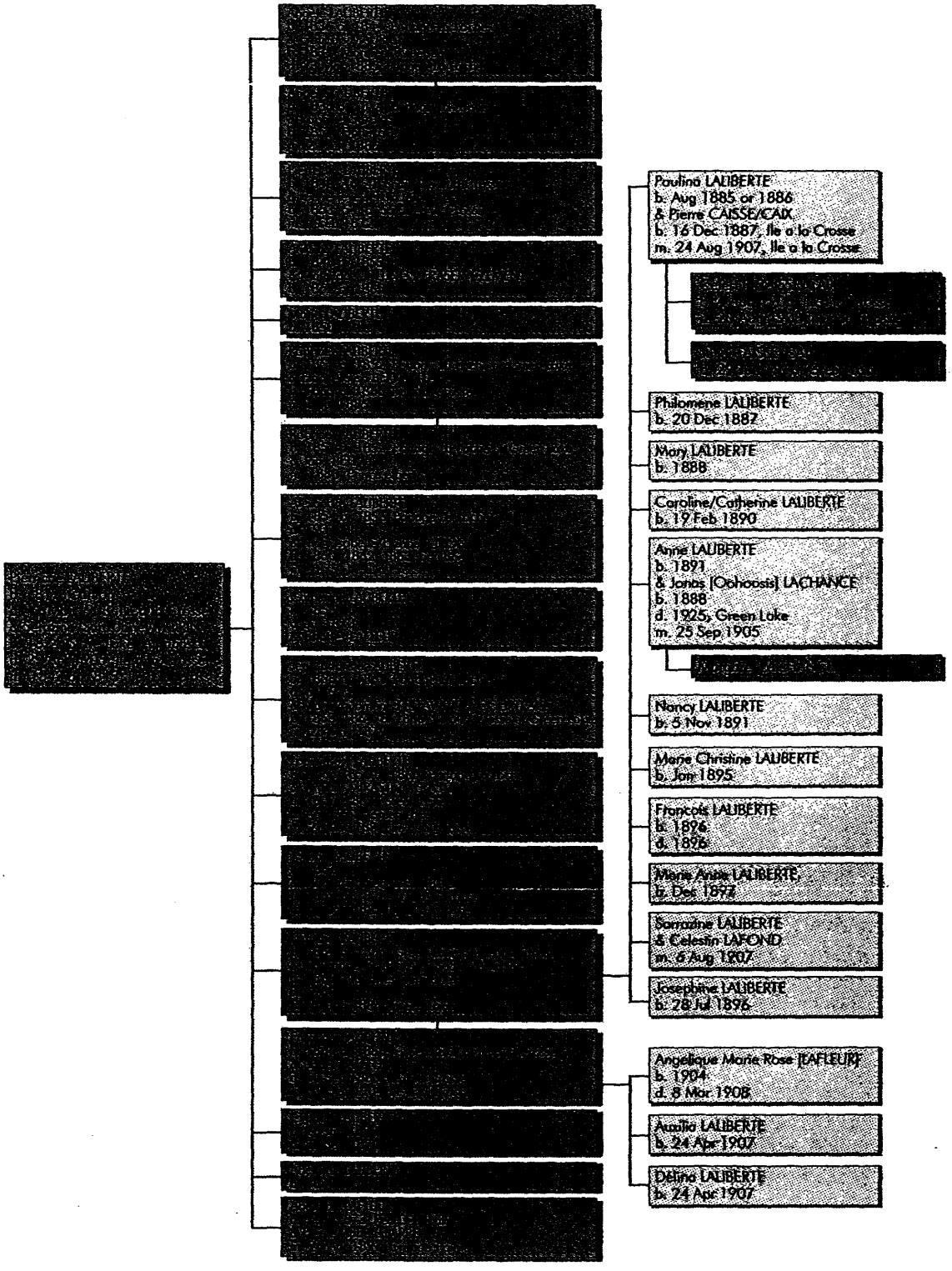

Augustine LALIBERTE
b. 22 Nov 1886
& Joseph MONTGRAND
b. 1883 or 1884, Lac La Loche Mission
m. 6 Feb 1903, Portage La Loche
Helene LALIBERTE
b. Oct 1888, Green Lake
d. 20 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
& Samuel HALCROW
b. 23 Oct 1885, Portage la Loche
m. 29 Jun 1908
Helene LALIBERTE
b. Oct 1888, Green Lake
d. 20 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Eleonore LALIBERTE
b. 5 Mar 1892
Johnny LALIBERTE
b. 1893 or 1894, Portage La Loche
Emile LALIBERTE
b. 1893 or 1894, Portage La Loche
Marie Jeanne LALIBERTE
b. 1895 or 22 Feb 1900, Buffalo River
Alfred LALIBERTE
b. 1897, La Loche River or Portage La Loche
Robert Marie LALIBERTE
b. 10 Jul 1902, La Loche River
d. Dec 1986, Buffalo Narrows
Theophile LALIBERTE
b. 1904, La Loche River


Catherine LALIBERTE
b. 17 Aug 1881, Green Lake
d. 28 Sep 1885, Green Lake
Marie Josephine LALIBERTE
b. 11 Nov 1883
d. 29 Mar 1896 or 19 Jan 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LALIBERTE
b. 11 Nov 1883
d. Jun 1894
Marie Adelle LALIBERTE
b. 22 Dec 1885 or 86, Ile a la Crosse
& Francois MAURICE
b. Dec 1884, Ile a la Crosse
m. 3 Sep 1906
François Olivier LALIBERTE
b. Jan 1887 or 88, Ile a la Crosse
& Agnes KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 10 Jan 1892, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jun 1908
Marguerite Marie LALIBERTE
b. 18 Mar 1889 or 17 May 1890, Green Lake
Marie Agnes LALIBERTE
b. 31 Dec 1893
d. 3 Jan 1894
Odille LALIBERTE
b. 24 Jun 1893
d. 3 Nov 1896
Alexandre LALIBERTE
b. 19 Sep 1898
Joseph Victor LALIBERTE
b. 15 Sep 1900
Adolphe LALIBERTE
b. 13 May 1903
Ernestine Bernadette LALIBERTE
b. 6 May 1908
Baptiste LALIBERTE
Marie Rose LALIBERTE

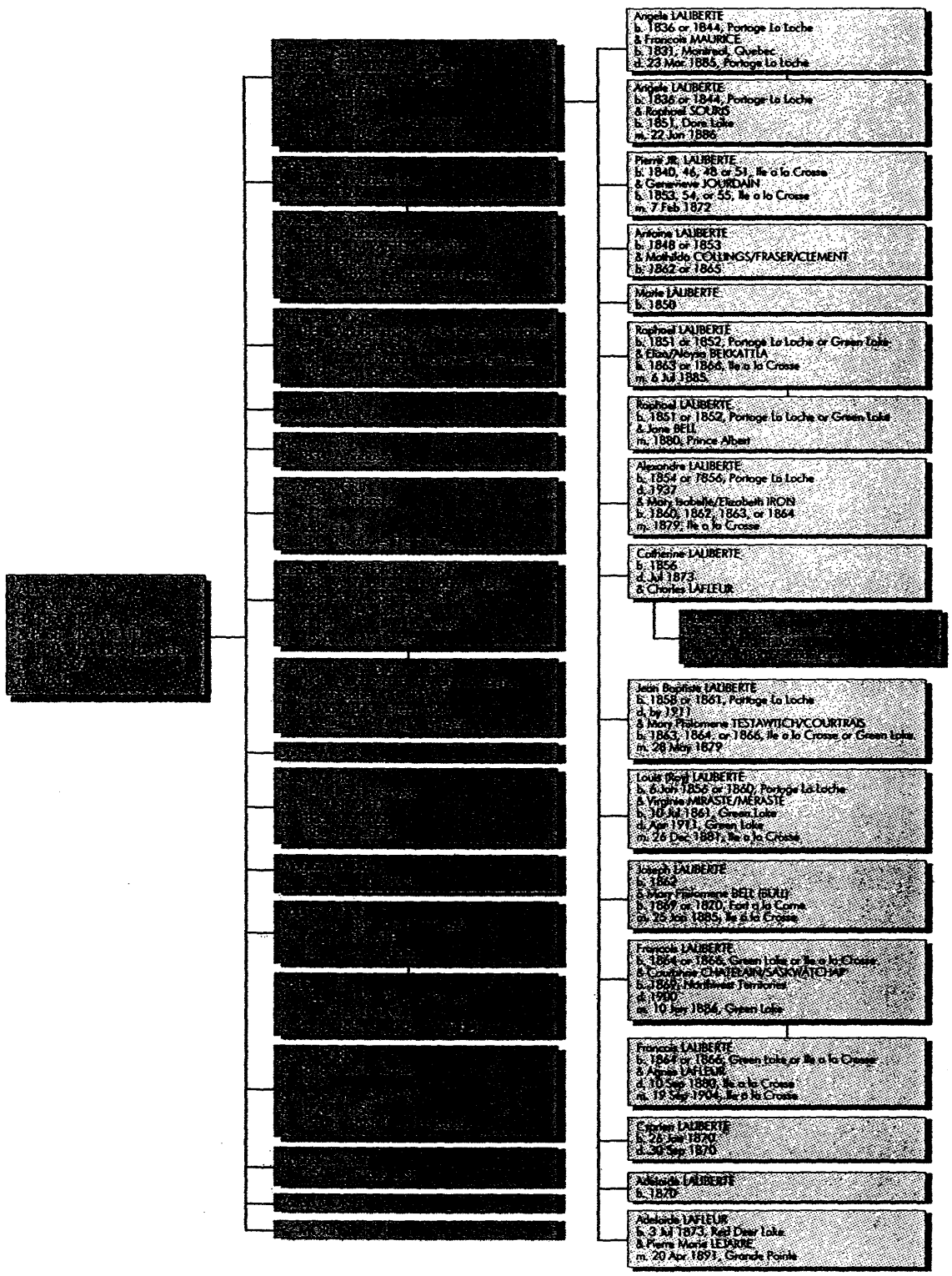

Adelaide LAFLEUR
b. 3 Jul 1873, Red Deer Lake
& Pierre Marie LEJARRE
m. 20 Apr 1891, Grande Pointe

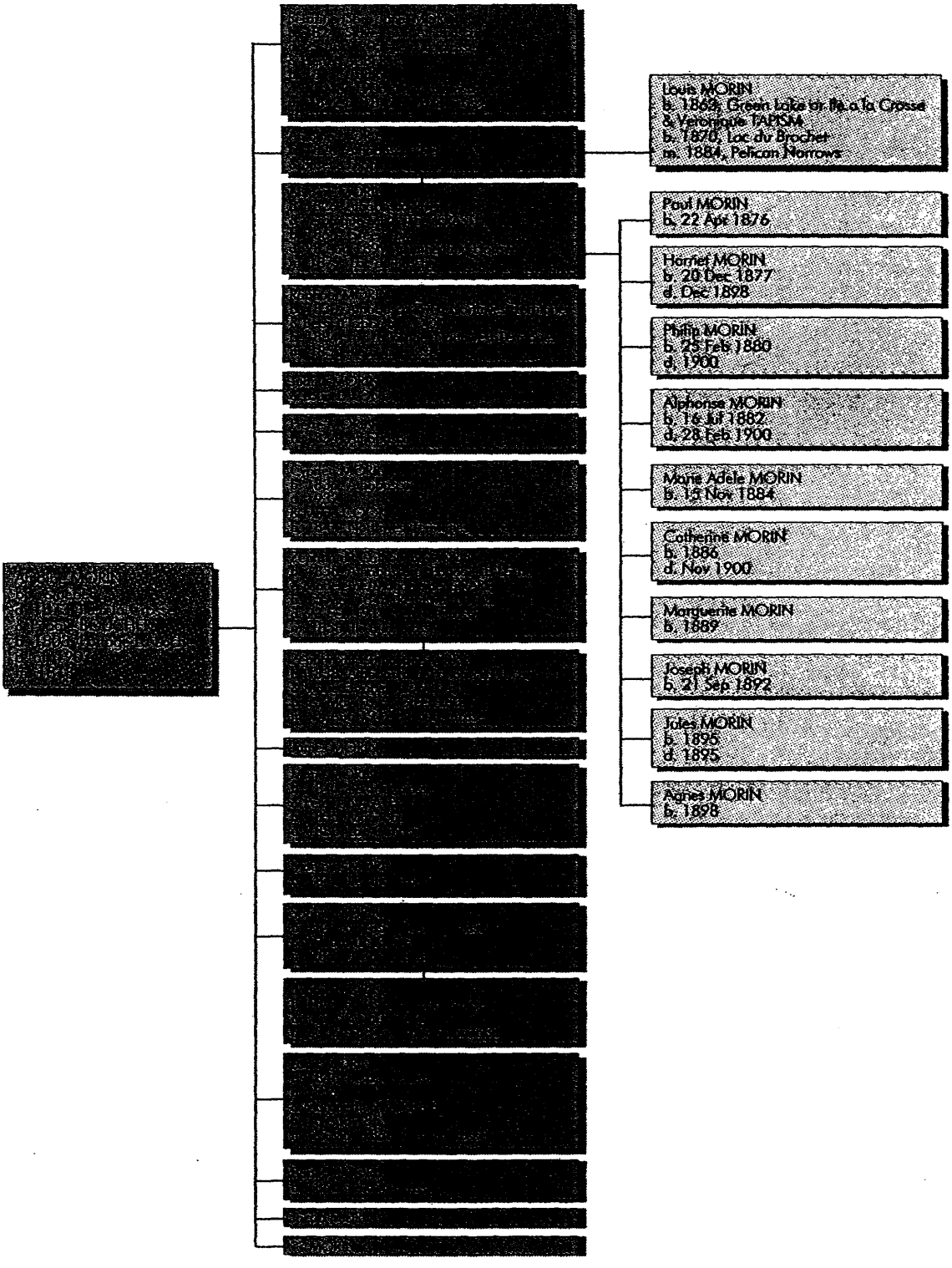

Marie Rose ot Rosalie LALIBERTE
b. 17 Mar 1880, Green Lake
& Francois/Francis BOUVIER
b. 18 Feb 1874, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Aug 1893
Patrice LALIBERTE
b. 30 Jul 1883, Green Lake
d. 1888, Portage La Loche
Marie Salomone LALIBERTE
b. Aug 1885
d. 1889/90
Marie Philomene LALIBERTE
b. Apr 1888
& Napoleon MISPONAS/LESPERANCE
b. 1 May 1880, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Aug 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite Marie LALIBERTE
b. 24 Dec 1890, Portage la Loche
& Ambroise MORIN
m. 1904
Marie LALIBERTE
b. 1893, Portage La Loche or Sounis River
d. 1893
Magloire (Magloire) LALIBERTE
b. 10 Jul 1896, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Jan 1908
Alfred LALIBERTE
b. 5 Feb 1899, Green Lake
Wallace Joseph Ayotte LALIBERTE
b. 2 May 1901, Souris River
Jean Marie LALIBERTE
b. 1903, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Alexandre LALIBERTE
b. Feb 1905, Souris River
Jean Baptiste LALIBERTE
b. 28 Feb 1906
d. 10 Aug 1964
& Evangeline BOUVIER
Louis LALIBERTE
b. 1880

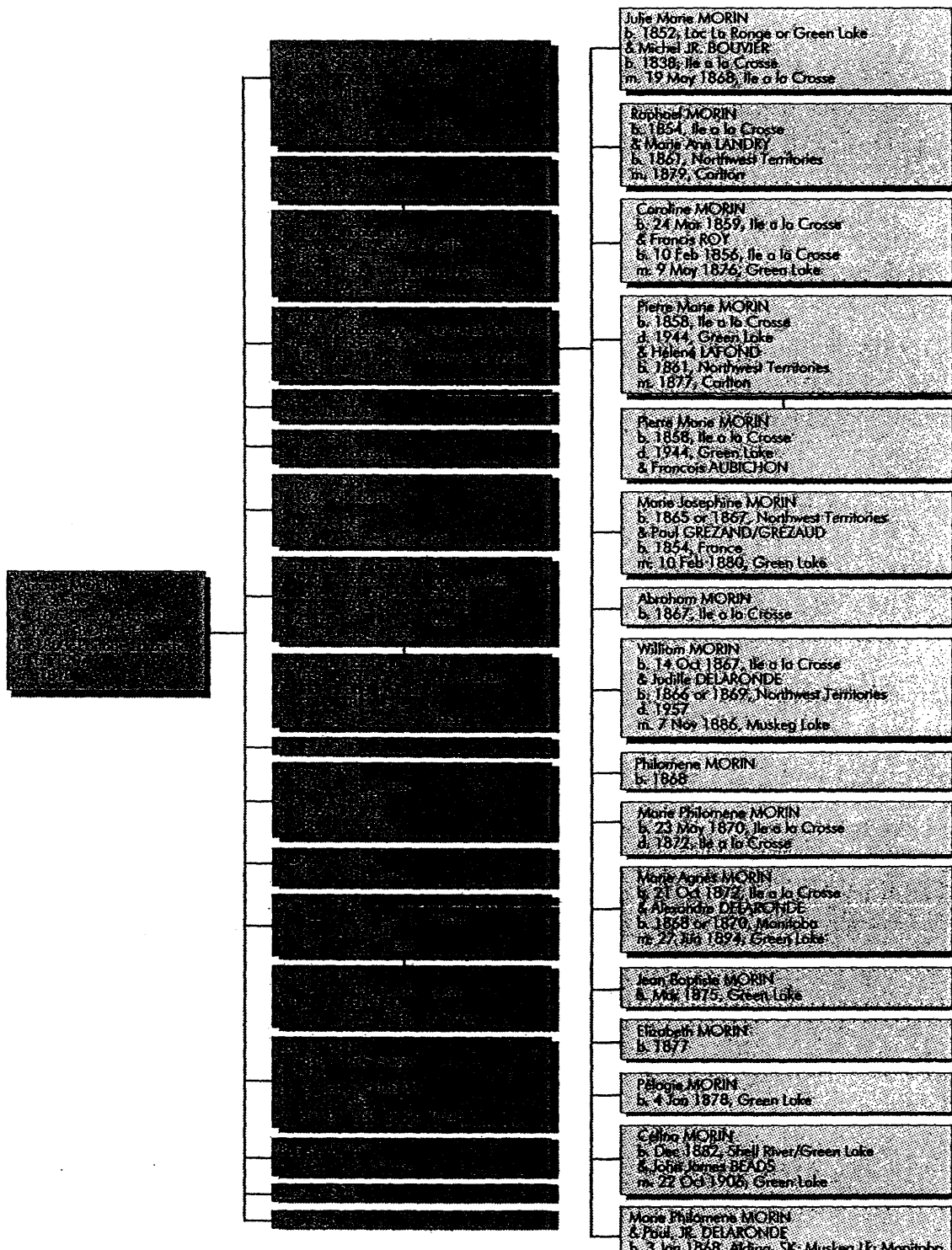

Marie Rose LALIBERTE
b. 31 Jan 1883
Louis LALIBERTE
b. 7 Jan 1885
d. 11 Jun 1885
Josephte LALIBERTE
b. Apr 1886
d. 13 Dec 1886
Johnnie LALIBERTE
b. 4 Nov 1887
& Marie Sarrazine DUROCHER
b. 18 or 19 Jun 1908
m. 1 Sep 1908
Josephte LALIBERTE
b. 22 Dec 1889
& Louis DUROCHER
Eleonore LALIBERTE
b. 24 Apr 1892 or 28 Jan 1892
& Pierre McCALLUM
b. 1894
m. 3 Jul 1911
Annie LALIBERTE
b. 11 Apr 1894
& Alexandre Paul DUROCHER
b. 1889, Green Lake
m. 4 Jan 1910
James LALIBERTE
b. 23 Jan 1896
Jean Baptiste LALIBERTE
b. 30 Mar 1898
Albert LALIBERTE
b. 5 or 9 Jun 1900
Emeline LALIBERTE
b. Oct 1902
Catherine LALIBERTE
b. 28 Dec 1904
Sarrazine LALIBERTE
b. 27 Jan 1907

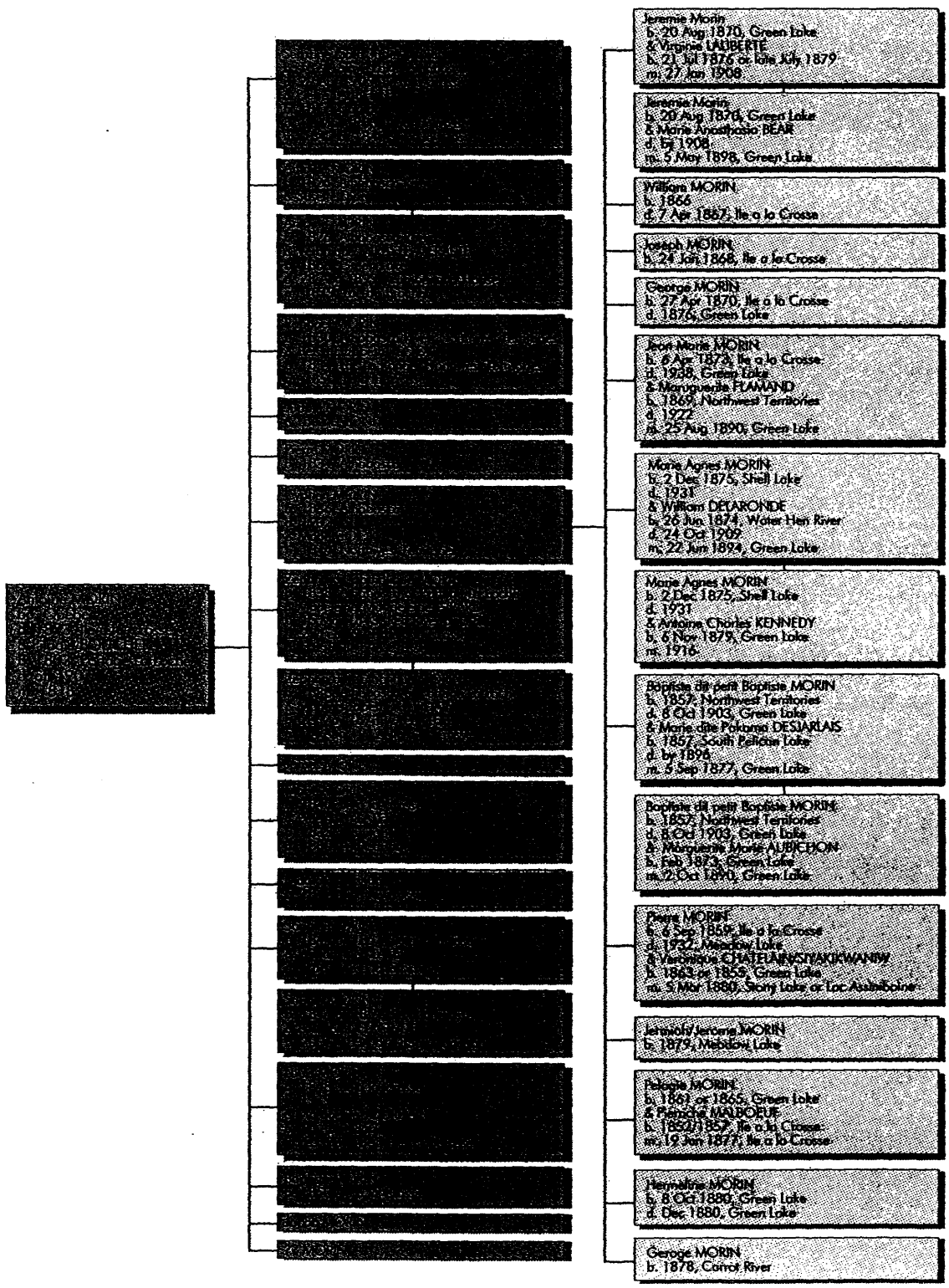

Paulina LALIBERTE
b. Aug 1885 or 1886
& Pierre CAISSE/CAIX
b. 16 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Aug 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene LALIBERTE
b. 20 Dec 1887
Mary LALIBERTE
b. 1888
Caroline/Catherine LALIBERTE
b. 19 Feb 1890
Anne LALIBERTE
b. 1891
& Jonas [Oohoosis] LACHANCE
b. 1888
d. 1925, Green Lake
m. 25 Sep 1905
Nancy LALIBERTE
b. 5 Nov 1891
Marie Christine LALIBERTE
b. Jan 1895
François LALIBERTE
b. 1896
d. 1896
Marie Anne LALIBERTE
b. Dec 1897
Samuline LALIBERTE
& Celestin LAFOND
m. 6 Aug 1907
Josephine LALIBERTE
b. 28 Jul 1898
Angelique Marie Rose [LAFLEUR]
b. 1904
d. 8 Mar 1908
Amelia LALIBERTE
b. 24 Apr 1907
Delina LALIBERTE
b. 24 Apr 1907

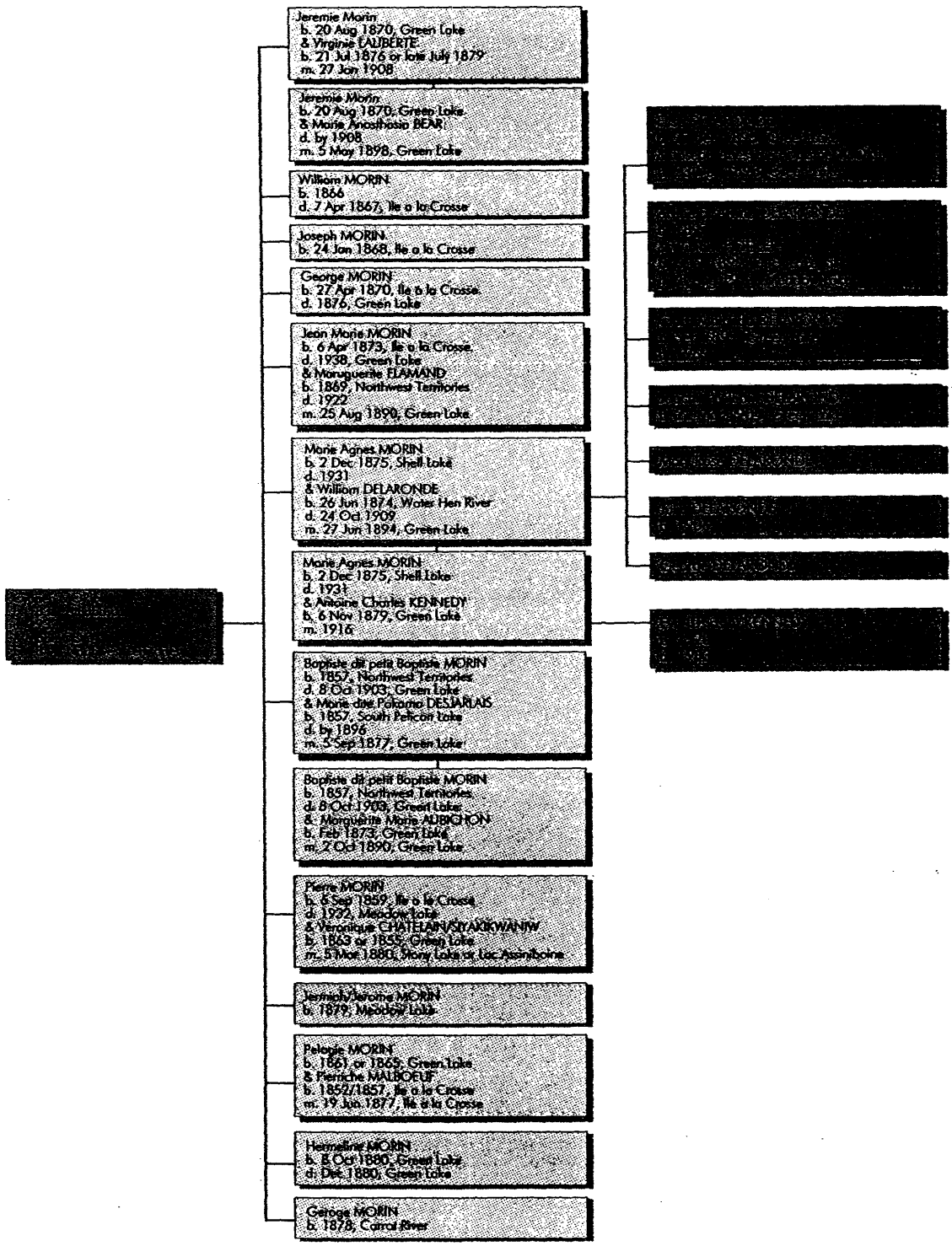
Appendix D. Morin Genealogy.

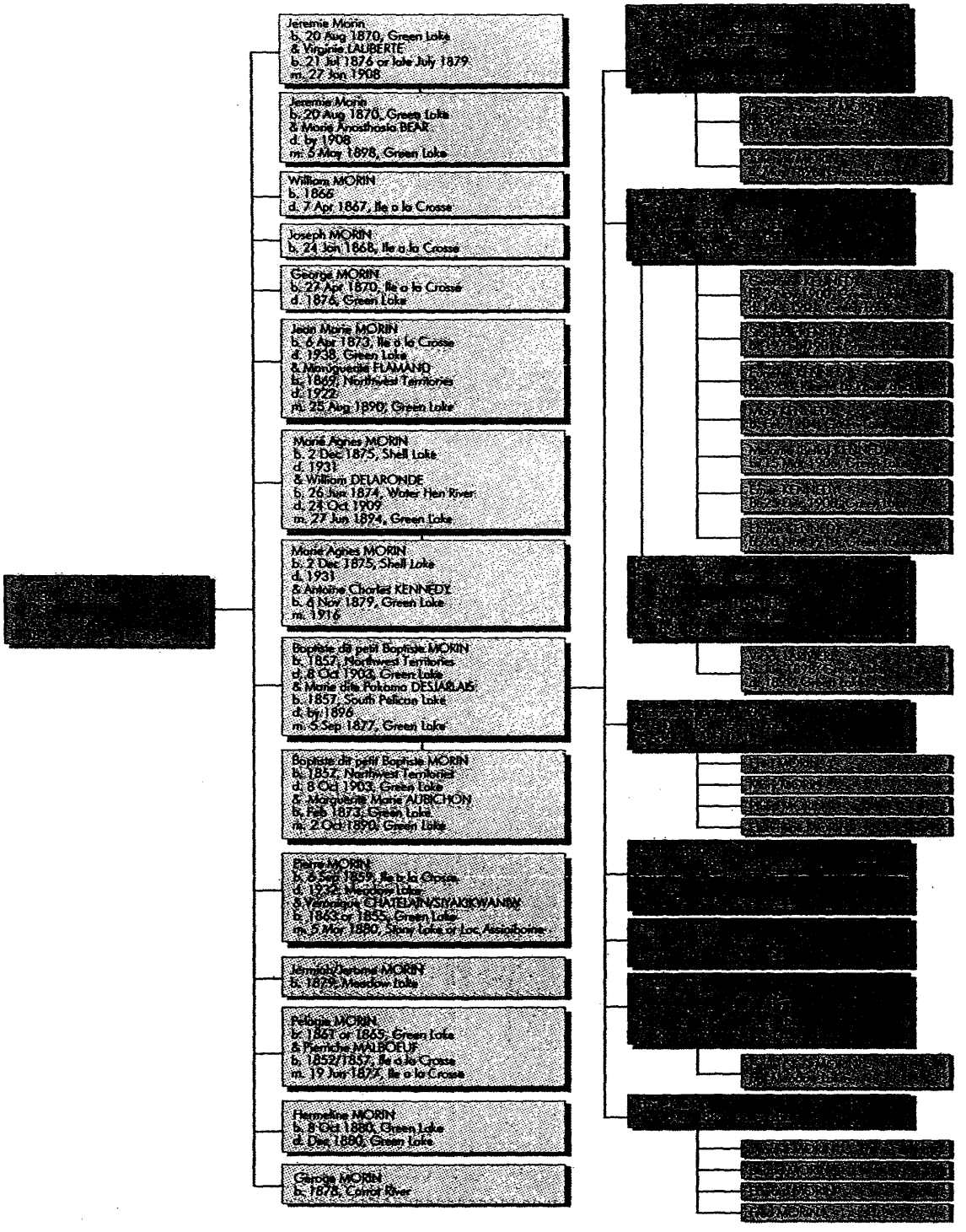


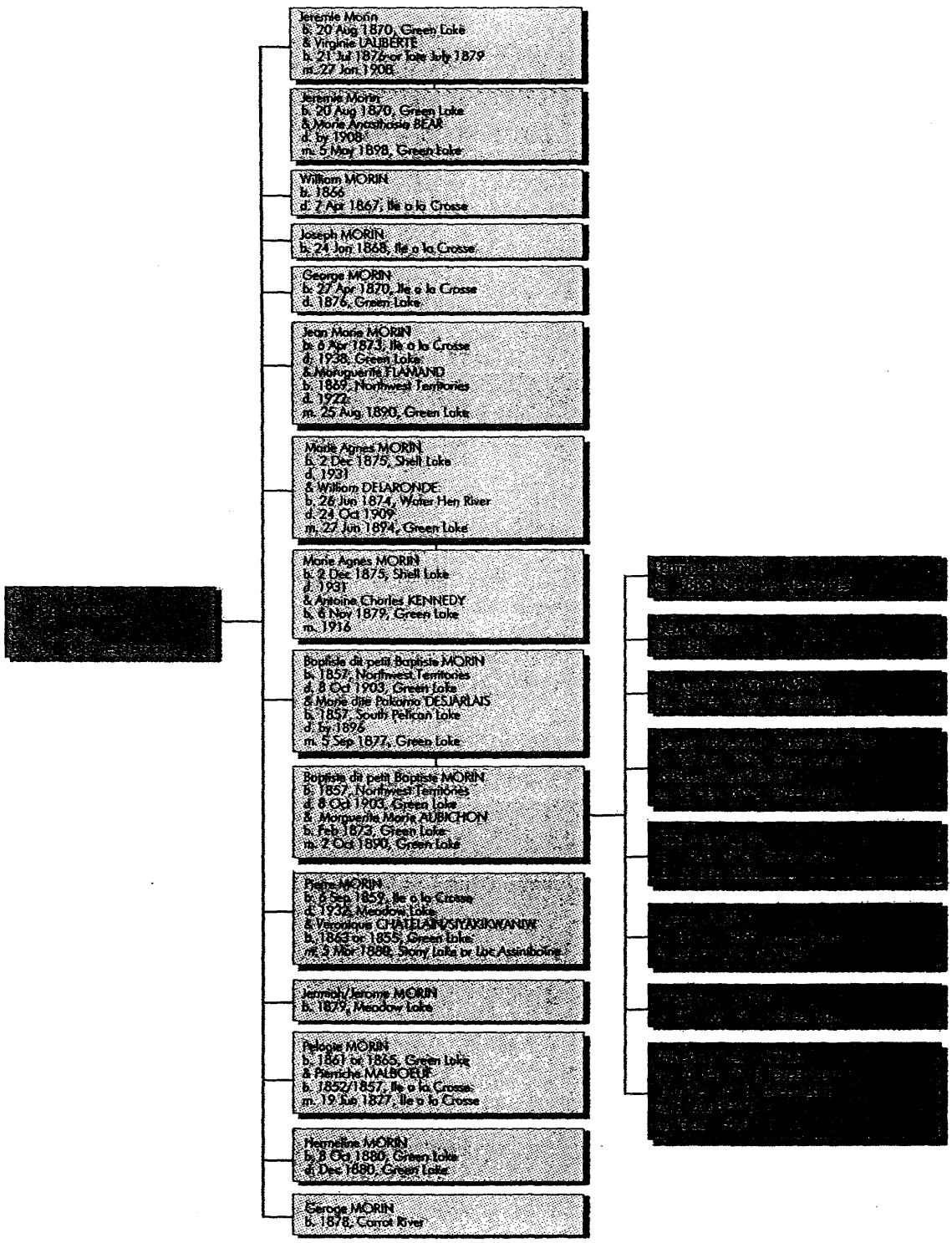

Louis MORIN
b. 1869, Green Lake or Pt. a la Crosse
& Veronique PAPISM
b. 1870, Lac du Brochet
m. 1884, Pelican Narrows
Paul MORIN
b. 22 Apr 1876
Harriet MORIN
b. 20 Dec 1877
d. Dec 1898
Philip MORIN
b. 25 Feb 1880
d. 1900
Alphonse MORIN
b. 16 Jul 1882
d. 28 Feb 1900
Marie Adele MORIN
b. 15 Nov 1884
Catherine MORIN
b. 1886
d. Nov 1900
Marguerite MORIN
b. 1889
Joseph MORIN
b. 21 Sep 1892
Jules MORIN
b. 1895
d. 1895
Agnes MORIN
b. 1898

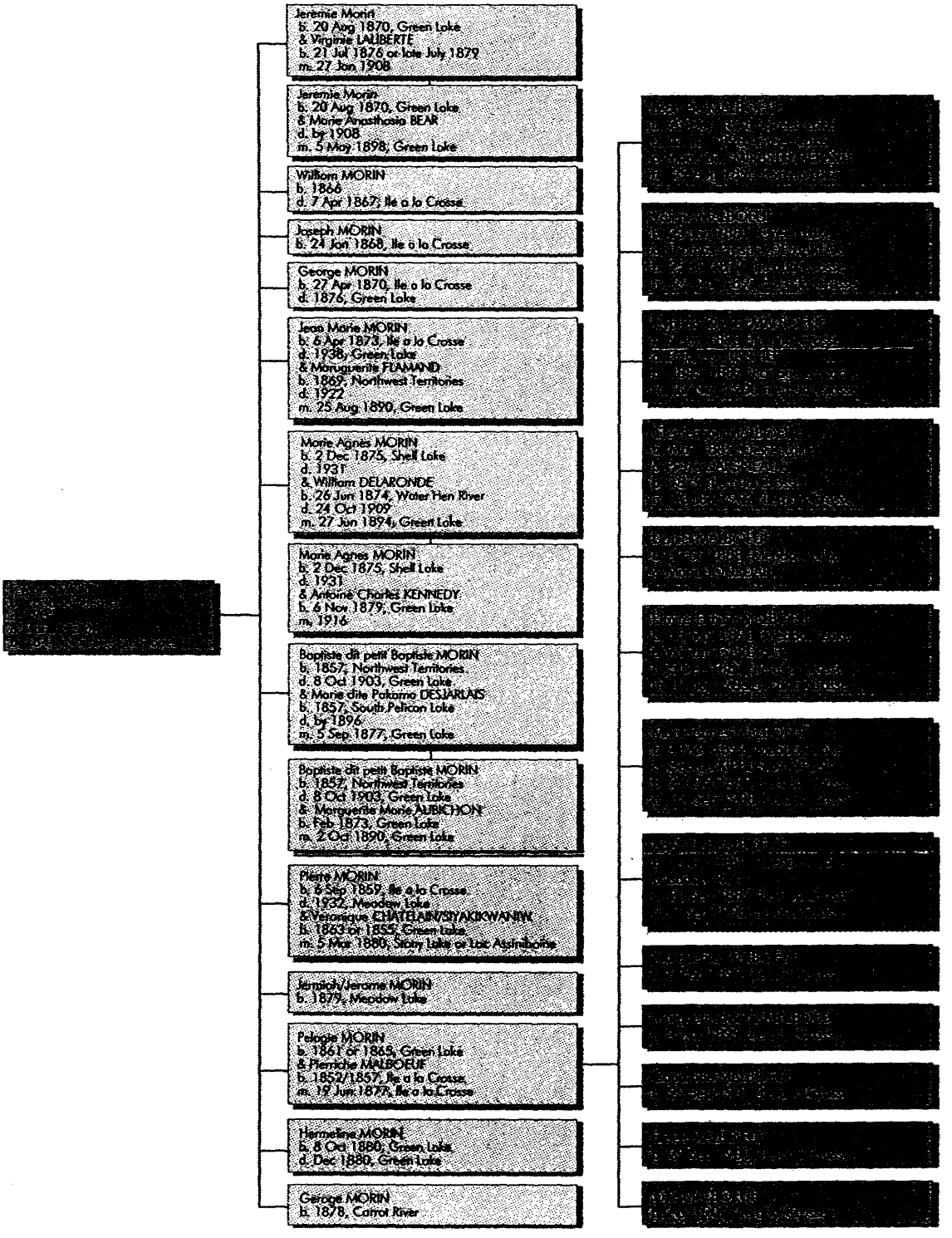

Julie Marie MORIN
b. 1852, Loc La Ronge or Green Lake
& Michel JR. BOUVIER
b. 1838, Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 May 1868, Ile a la Crosse
Raphael MORIN
b. 1854, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Ann LANDRY
b. 1861, Northwest Territories
m. 1879, Carlton
Caroline MORIN
b. 24 Mar 1859, Ile a la Crosse
& Francis ROY
b. 10 Feb 1856, Ile a la Crosse
m. 9 May 1876, Green Lake
Pierre Marie MORIN
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1944, Green Lake
& Helena LAFOND
b. 1861, Northwest Territories
m. 1877, Carlton
Pierre Marie MORIN
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1944, Green Lake
& Francois AUBICHON
Marie Josephine MORIN
b. 1865 or 1867, Northwest Territories
& Paul GREZAND/GREZAUD
b. 1854, France
m. 10 Feb 1880, Green Lake
Abraham MORIN
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
William MORIN
b. 14 Oct 1867, Ile a la Crosse
& Jodille DELARONDE
b. 1866 or 1869, Northwest Territories
d. 1957
m. 7 Nov 1886, Muskeg Lake
Philomene MORIN
b. 1868
Marie Philomene MORIN
b. 23 May 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 21 Oct 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Alexandre DELARONDE
b. 1868 or 1870, Manitoba
m. 27 Jan 1894, Green Lake
Jean Baptiste MORIN
b. Mar 1875, Green Lake
Elizabeth MORIN
b. 1877
Pelagie MORIN
b. 4 Jan 1878, Green Lake
Celina MORIN
b. Dec 1882, Shell River/Green Lake
& John James BEADS
m. 22 Oct 1906, Green Lake
Marie Philomene MORIN
& Paul JR. DELARONDE
b. 3 Jan 1868, Aldina, SK, Muskeg Lk; Manitoba

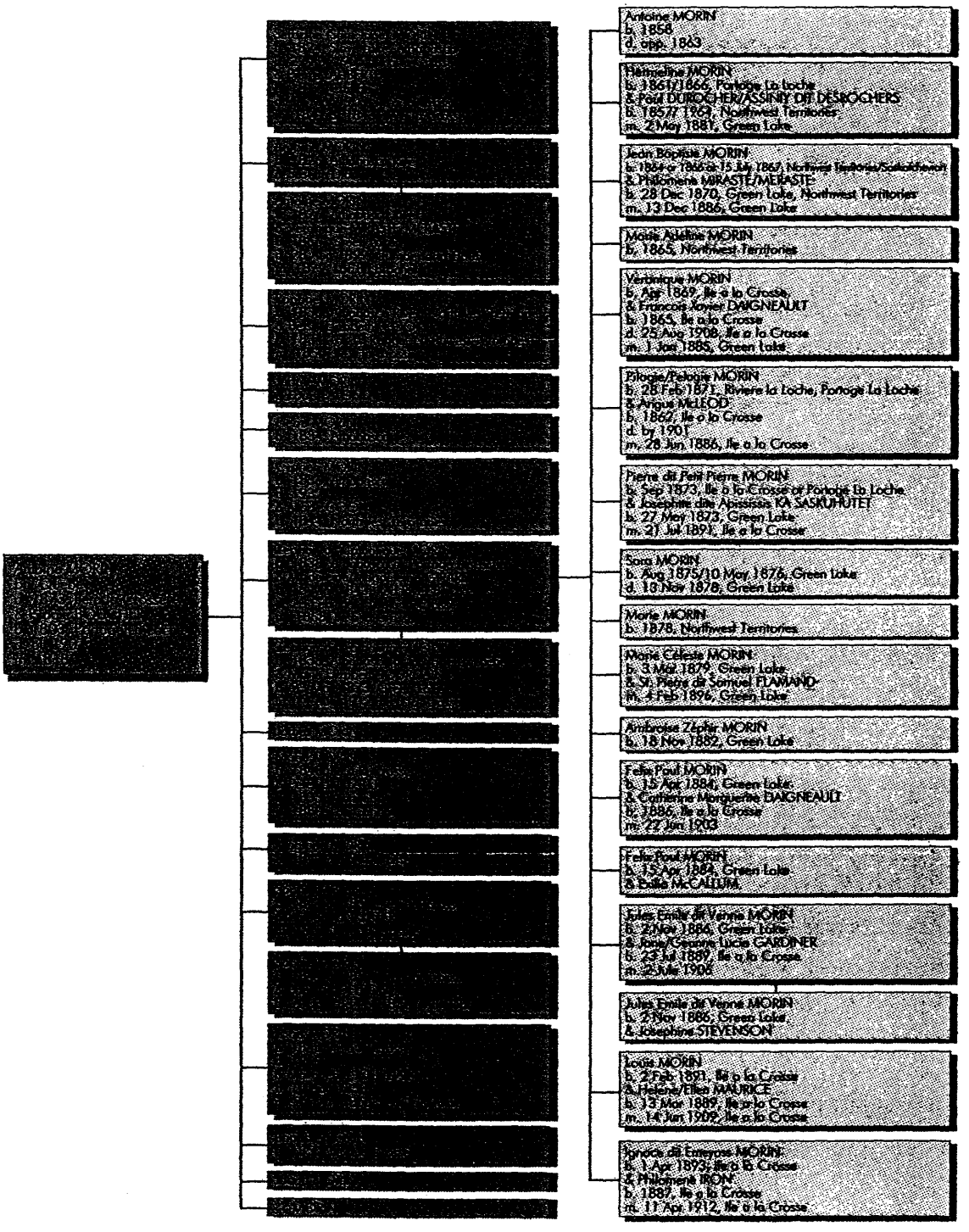

Jeremie Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Virginie LAUBERTE
b. 21 Jul 1876 or late July 1879
m. 27 Jan 1908
Jerome Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Marie Anastasie BEAR
d. by 1908
m. 5 May 1898, Green Lake
William MORIN
b. 1866
d. 7 Apr 1867, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph MORIN
b. 24 Jun 1868, Ile a la Crosse
George MORIN
b. 27 Apr 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1876, Green Lake
Jean Marie MORIN
b. 6 Apr 1873, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1938, Green Lake
& Marguerite FLAMAND
b. 1869, Northwest Territories
d. 1922
m. 25 Aug 1890, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& William DELARONDE
b. 26 Jun 1874, Water Hen River
d. 24 Oct 1909
m. 22 Jun 1894, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& Antoine Charles KENNEDY
b. 6 Nov 1879, Green Lake
m. 1916
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marie dite Polonie DESJARLAIS
b. 1857, South Pelican Lake
d. by 1898
m. 6 Sep 1877, Green Lake
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marguerite Marie AUBICHON
b. Feb 1873, Green Lake
m. 2 Oct 1890, Green Lake
Pierre MORIN
b. 6 Sep 1859, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1932, Meadow Lake
& Veronique CHATELAIN/STAKIKWANIW
b. 1863 or 1853, Green Lake
m. 5 Mar 1880, Stony Lake or Loc Asabiboine
Jeremie/Jerome MORIN
b. 1879, Meadow Lake
Pelagie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
& Francois MAROFLE
b. 1850/1857, Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Jan 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Hermaline MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1880, Green Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
George MORIN
b. 1878, Canot River

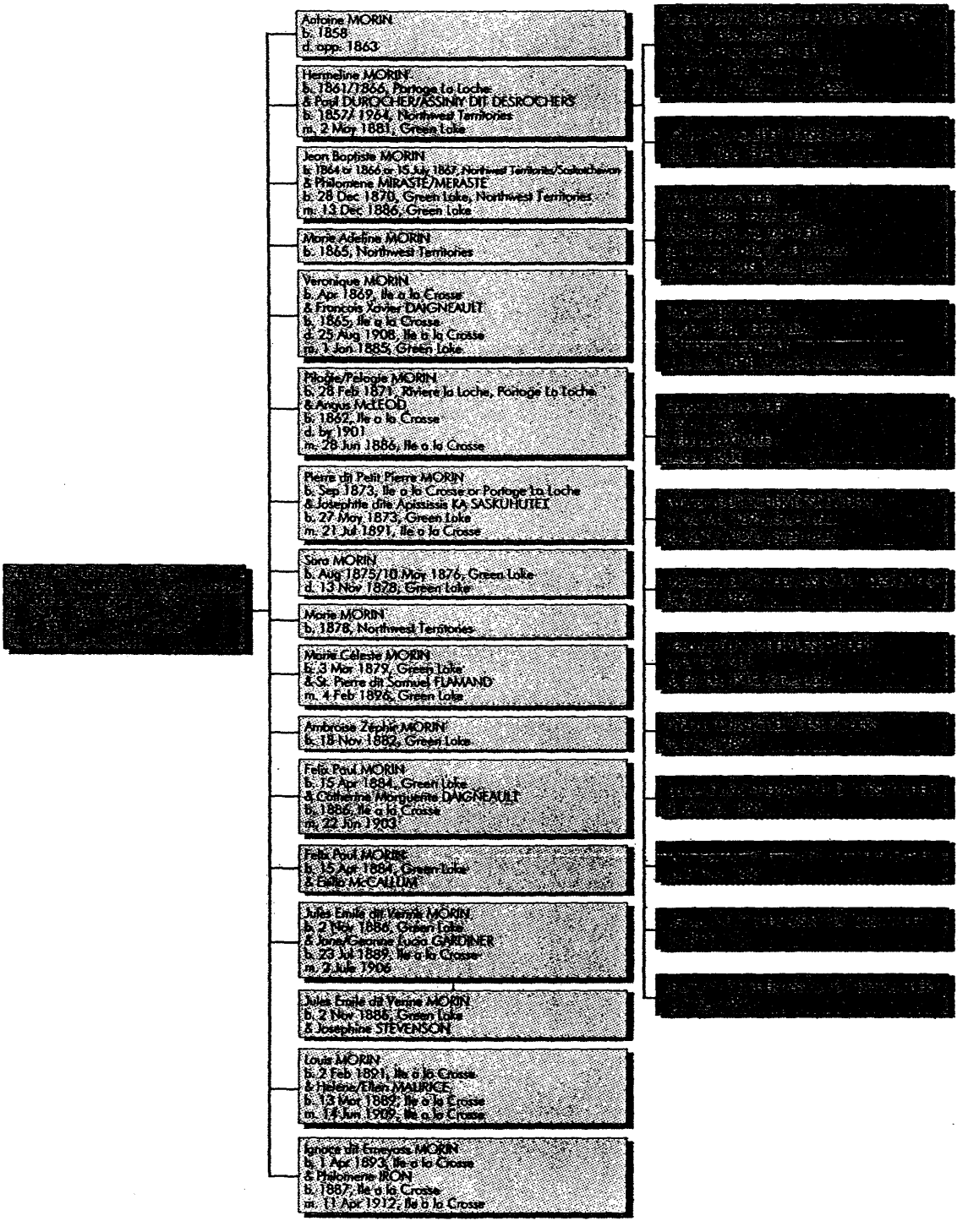

Jeremie Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Virginie LAUBERTE
b. 21 Jul 1876 or late July 1879
m. 27 Jan 1908
Jeremie Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Marie Anasthasia BEAR
d. by 1908
m. 5 May 1898, Green Lake
William MORIN
b. 1866
d. 7 Apr 1867, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph MORIN
b. 24 Jan 1868, Ile a la Crosse
George MORIN
b. 27 Apr 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1876, Green Lake
Jean Marie MORIN
b. 6 Apr 1873, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1938, Green Lake
& Marguerite FLAMAND
b. 1869, Northwest Territories
d. 1922
m. 25 Aug 1890, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& William DELARONDE
b. 26 Jun 1874, Water Hen River
d. 24 Oct 1909
m. 27 Jun 1894, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& Antoine Charles KENNEDY
b. 6 Nov 1879, Green Lake
m. 1916
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marie dite Pakama DESJARLAIS
b. 1857, South Pelican Lake
d. by 1896
m. 5 Sep 1877, Green Lake
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marguerite Marie AUBICHON
b. Feb 1873, Green Lake
m. 2 Oct 1890, Green Lake
Pierre MORIN
b. 6 Sep 1859, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1922, Meadow Lake
& Veronique CHATELAIN/SUAKKWANW
b. 1863 or 1855, Green Lake
m. 5 Mar 1880, Many Lake or Lac Asamboine
Jeremy/Jerome MORIN
b. 1879, Meadow Lake
Pelagie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
& Pierriche MALBOEUF
b. 1852/1857, Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Jun 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Hermeline MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1880, Great Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
George MORIN
b. 1878, Carrot River

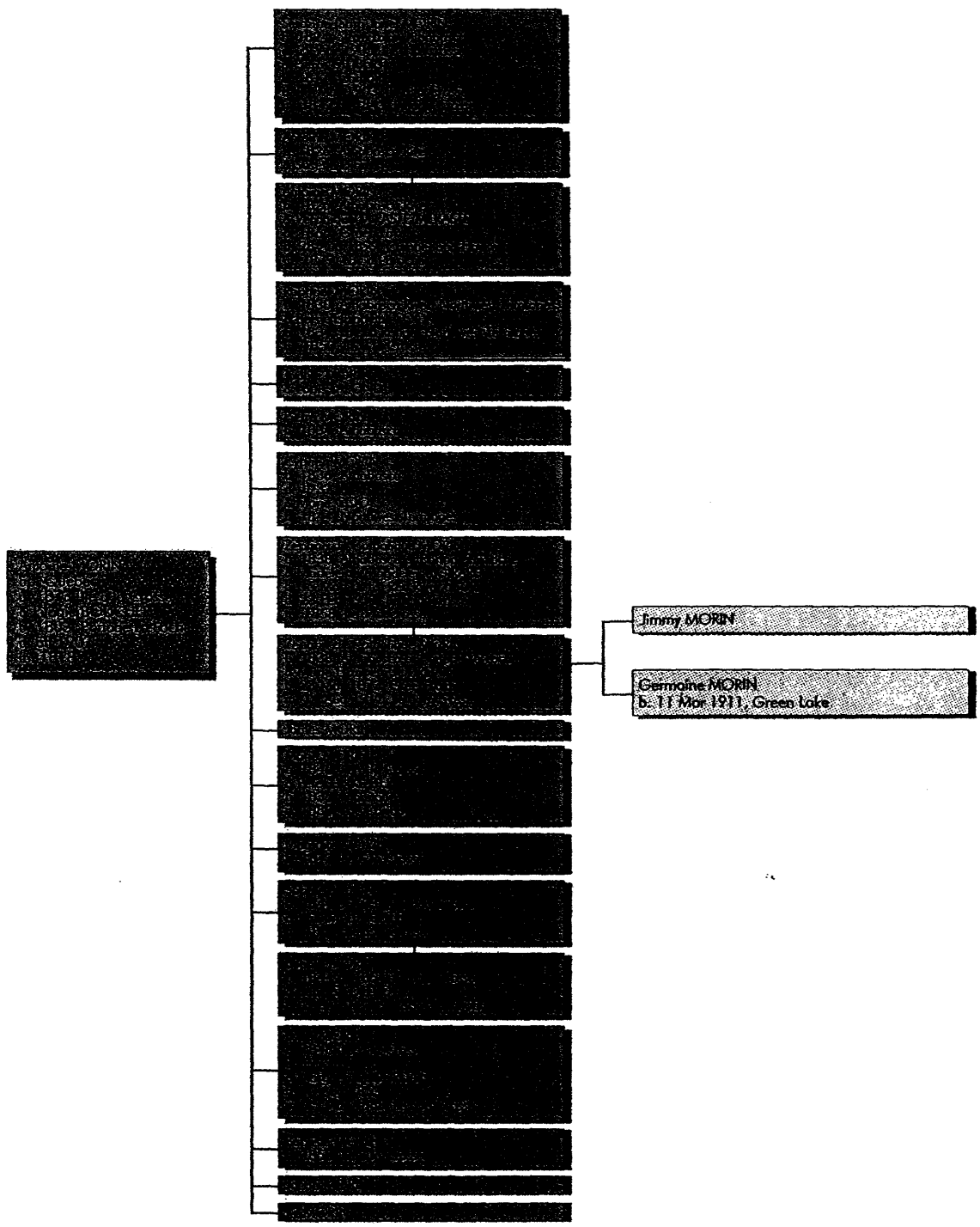

Jeremie Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Virginie LALIBERTE
b. 21 Jul 1876 or late July 1879
m. 27 Jan 1908
Jeremie Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Marie Anasthasia BEAR
d. by 1908
m. 5 May 1898, Green Lake
William MORIN
b. 1866
d. 7 Apr 1867, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph MORIN
b. 24 Jan 1868, Ile a la Crosse
George MORIN
b. 27 Apr 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1876, Green Lake
Jean Marie MORIN
b. 6 Apr 1873, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1938, Green Lake
& Monigwegat HAMAND
b. 1869, Northwest Territories
d. 1922
m. 25 Aug 1890, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& William DELARONDE
b. 26 Jun 1874, Water Hen River
d. 24 Oct 1909
m. 27 Jun 1894, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& Antoine Charles KENNEDY
b. 4 Nov 1879, Green Lake
m. 1916
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marie dite Pokomo DESJARLAIS
b. 1857, South Pelican Lake
d. by 1898
m. 5 Sep 1877, Green Lake
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marguerite Marie AUBICHON
b. Feb 1873, Green Lake
m. 2 Oct 1890, Green Lake
Pierre MORIN
b. 6 Sep 1859, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1935, Meadow Lake
& Veronique CHATELAIN/SIYAKIKWANIW
b. 1863 or 1855, Green Lake
m. 5 Mar 1880, Stony Lake or Loc. Assiniboine
Jermain/Jerome MORIN
b. 1879, Meadow Lake
Pelonie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
& Pierriche MALBOEUF
b. 1852/1857, Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Jun 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Hermeline MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1880, Green Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
Gerige MORIN
b. 1878, Canoe River

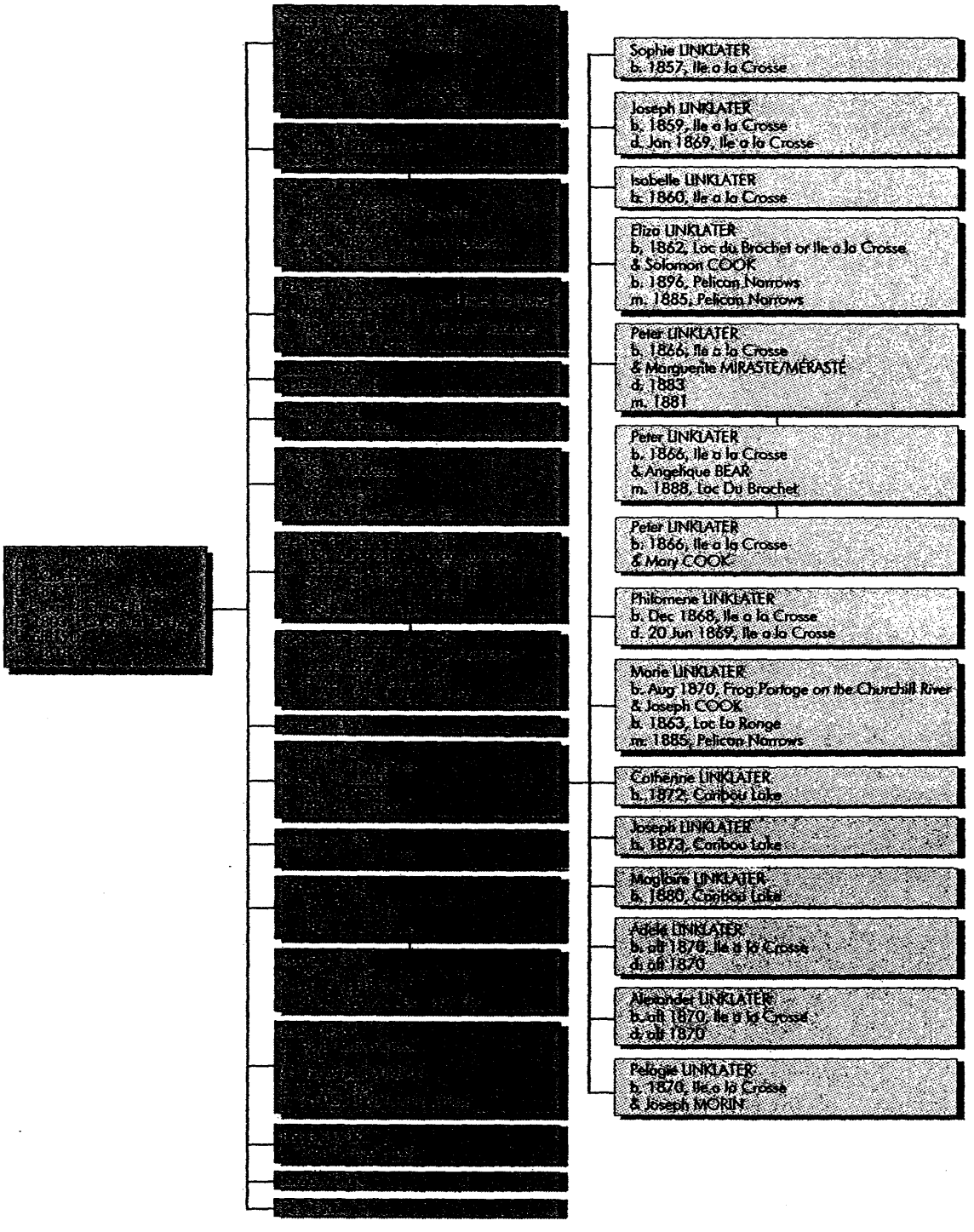

Jeremie Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Virginie LALIBERTE
b. 21 Jul 1876 or Tue July 1879
m. 27 Jan 1908
Jeremie Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Marie Angelhosie BEAR
d. by 1908
m. 5 May 1898, Green Lake
William MORIN
b. 1866
d. 7 Apr 1867, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph MORIN
b. 24 Jan 1868, Ile a la Crosse
George MORIN
b. 27 Apr 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1876, Green Lake
Jean Marie MORIN
b. 8 Apr 1873, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1938, Green Lake
& Marguerite FLAMAND
b. 1869, Northwest Territories
d. 1922
m. 25 Aug 1890, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& William DELARONDE
b. 26 Jun 1874, Water Hen River
d. 24 Oct 1909
m. 27 Jun 1894, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& Antoine Charles KENNEDY
b. 6 Nov 1879, Green Lake
m. 1916
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marie dite Pelagie DESJARLAIS
b. 1857, South Pelican Lake
d. by 1898
m. 5 Sep 1877, Green Lake
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marguerite Marie AUBICHON
b. Feb 1873, Green Lake
m. 2 Oct 1890, Green Lake
Pierre MORIN
b. 6 Sep 1859, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1938, Meadow Lake
& Veronique CHATELAIN/SIYAKIKWANEW
b. 1863 or 1855, Green Lake
m. 2 Mar 1880, Stony Lake or Lac Assiniboine
Jermain/Jerome MORIN
b. 1879, Meadow Lake
Pelagie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
& Pierriche MALBOEUF
b. 1852/1857, Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Jun 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Hermeline MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1880, Green Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
George MORIN
b. 1878, Carrot River

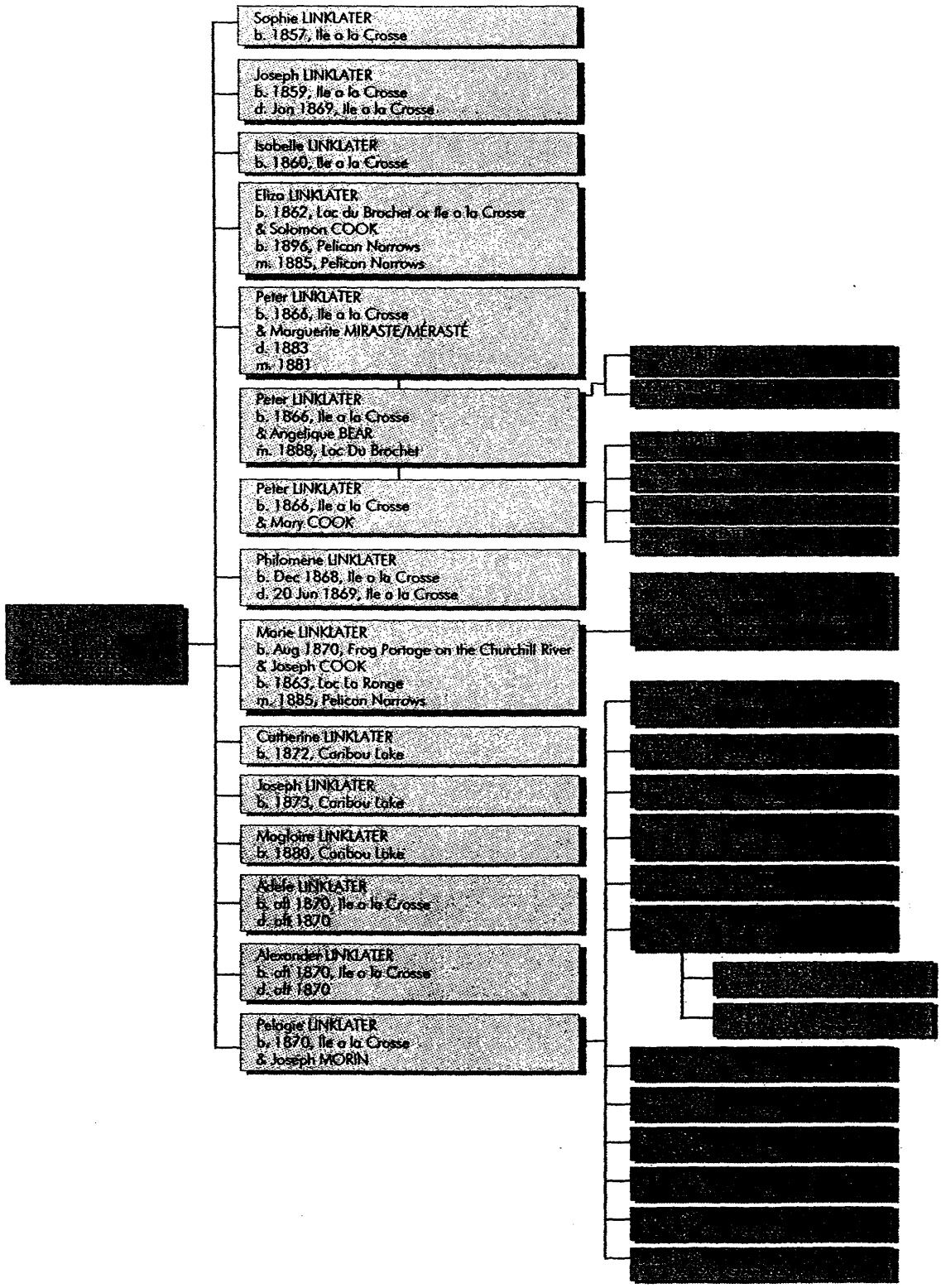

Jeremie Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Virginie LALIBERTE
b. 21 Jul 1876 or late July 1879
m. 27 Jan 1908
Jeremie Morin
b. 20 Aug 1870, Green Lake
& Marie Anastasia BEAR
d. by 1908
m. 5 May 1898, Green Lake
William MORIN
b. 1866
d. 7 Apr 1867, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph MORIN
b. 24 Jan 1868, Ile a la Crosse
George MORIN
b. 27 Apr 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1876, Green Lake
Jean Marie MORIN
b. 6 Apr 1873, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1938, Green Lake
& Marguerite FLAMAND
b. 1869, Northwest Territories
d. 1922
m. 25 Aug 1890, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& William DELARONDE
b. 26 Jun 1874, Water Hen River
d. 24 Oct 1909
m. 27 Jun 1894, Green Lake
Marie Agnes MORIN
b. 2 Dec 1875, Shell Lake
d. 1931
& Antoine Charles KENNEDY
b. 6 Nov 1879, Green Lake
m. 1916
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marie dite Pakomo DESJARLAIS
b. 1857, South Pelican Lake
d. by 1896
m. 5 Sep 1877, Green Lake
Baptiste dit petit Baptiste MORIN
b. 1857, Northwest Territories
d. 8 Oct 1903, Green Lake
& Marguerite Marie AUBICHON
b. Feb 1873, Green Lake
m. 2 Oct 1890, Green Lake
Pierre MORIN
b. 6 Sep 1859, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1932, Meadow Lake
& Veronique CHATELAIN/SHYAKIKWANIW
b. 1863 or 1855, Green Lake
m. 5 Mar 1880, Stony Lake or Lac Assiniboine
Jemiah/Jerome MORIN
b. 1879, Meadow Lake
Pelagie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
& Pierriche MALBOEUF
b. 1852/1857, Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Jun 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Hermeline MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1880, Green Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
George MORIN
b. 1878, Carrot River

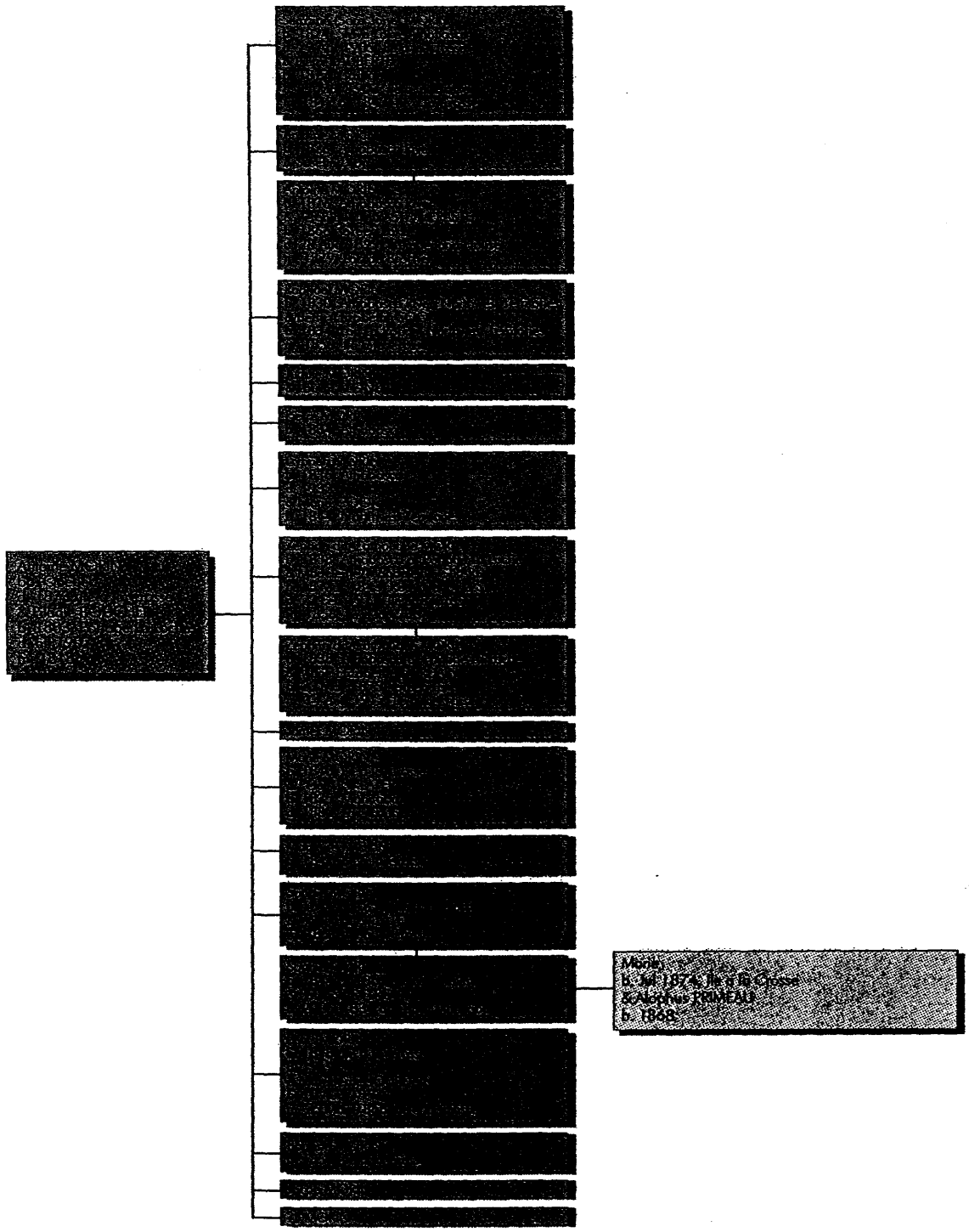

Antoine MORIN
b. 1858
d. app. 1863
Hermeline MORIN
b. 1861/1866, Portage La Loche
& Paul DUROCHER/ASSINIY DIT DESROCHERS
b. 1857/1863, Northwest Territories
m. 2 May 1881, Green Lake
Jean Baptiste MORIN
b. 1864 o 1866 o 15 July 1867, Northwest Territories/Saskatchewan
& Philomène MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 28 Dec 1870, Green Lake, Northwest Territories
m. 13 Dec 1886, Green Lake
Marie Adeline MORIN
b. 1865, Northwest Territories
Véronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& François Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Pélagie/Pelagie MORIN
b. 28 Feb 1871, Riviere la Loche, Portage La Loche
& Angus McLEOD
b. 1862, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1901
m. 28 Jan 1886, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre dit Petit Pierre MORIN
b. Sep 1873, Ile a la Crosse or Portage La Loche
& Josephte dite Apassisis YA SASKUHUTET
b. 27 May 1873, Green Lake
m. 27 Jul 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Sara MORIN
b. Aug 1875/10 May 1876, Green Lake
d. 18 Nov 1878, Green Lake
Marie MORIN
b. 1878, Northwest Territories
Marie Céleste MORIN
b. 3 Mar 1879, Green Lake
& St. Pierre de Samuel FLAMAND
m. 4 Feb 1896, Green Lake
Ambroise Zéphir MORIN
b. 18 Nov 1882, Green Lake
Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
& Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jan 1903
Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
& Bella McCALLUM
Jules Emile dit Yenne MORIN
b. 2 Nov 1886, Green Lake
& Rose Caroline Lucie GARDNER
b. 23 Jul 1889, Ile a la Crosse
m. 2 July 1908
Jules Emile dit Yenne MORIN
b. 2 Nov 1886, Green Lake
& Josephine STEVENSON
Louis MORIN
b. 2 Feb 1891, Ile a la Crosse
& Helene/Ellen MAURICE
b. 13 Mar 1889, Ile a la Crosse
m. 14 Jan 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Ignace dit Emmos MORIN
b. 1 Apr 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philomène IRON
b. 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse

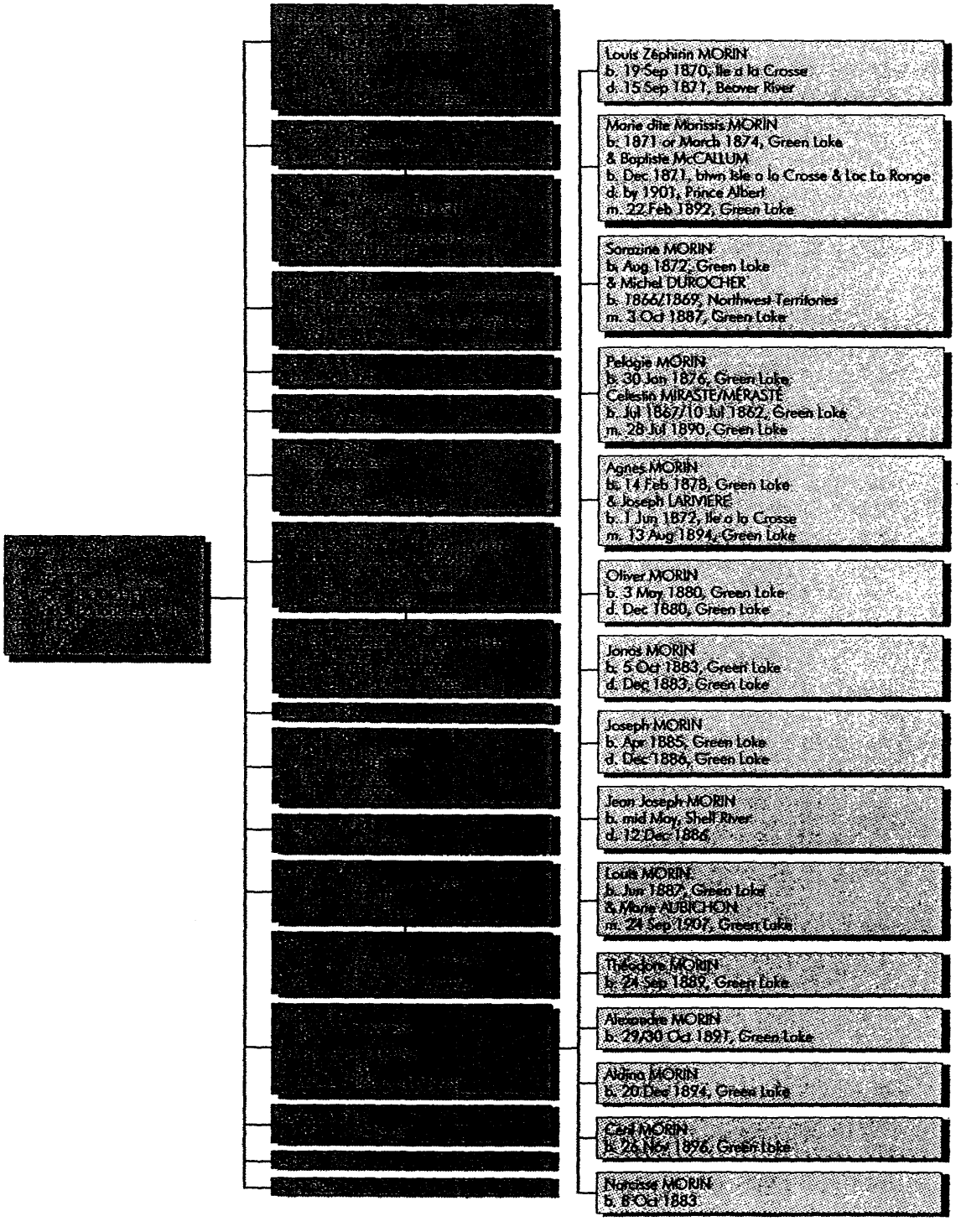

Antoine MORIN
b. 1858
d. app. 1863
Hermeline MORIN
b. 1861/1866, Portage La Loche
& Paul DUROCHER/ASSINIY DIT DESROCHERS
b. 1857/ 1864, Northwest Territories
m. 2 May 1881, Green Lake
Jean Baptiste MORIN
b. 1864 or 1866 or 15 July 1867, Northwest Territories/Saskatchewan
& Philomene MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 28 Dec 1870, Green Lake, Northwest Territories
m. 13 Dec 1886, Green Lake
Marie Adeline MORIN
b. 1865, Northwest Territories
Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Francois Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Pelagie/Pelogie MORIN
b. 28 Feb 1871, Riviere la Loche, Portage La Loche
& Angus McLEOD
b. 1862, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1901
m. 28 Jun 1886, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre dit Petit Pierre MORIN
b. Sep 1873, Ile a la Crosse or Portage La Loche
& Josephte dite Apississis KA SASKUHUTET
b. 27 May 1873, Green Lake
m. 21 Jul 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Sara MORIN
b. Aug 1875/10 May 1876, Green Lake
d. 13 Nov 1878, Green Lake
Marie MORIN
b. 1878, Northwest Territories
Marie Celeste MORIN
b. 3 Mar 1879, Green Lake
& St. Pierre dit Samuel FLAMAND
m. 4 Feb 1896, Green Lake
Ambroise Zephir MORIN
b. 18 Nov 1882, Green Lake
Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
& Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jun 1903
Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
& Ellen McCALLUM
Jules Emile dit Verne MORIN
b. 2 Nov 1886, Green Lake
& Jane/Gerrine Lucie GARDINER
b. 23 Jul 1889, Ile a la Crosse
m. 2 July 1906
Jules Emile dit Verne MORIN
b. 2 Nov 1886, Green Lake
& Josephine STEVENSON
Louis MORIN
b. 2 Feb 1891, Ile a la Crosse
& Helene/Ellen MAURICE
b. 13 Mar 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 14 Jun 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Grace dit Emeyace MORIN
b. 1 Apr 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philomene IRON
b. 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse

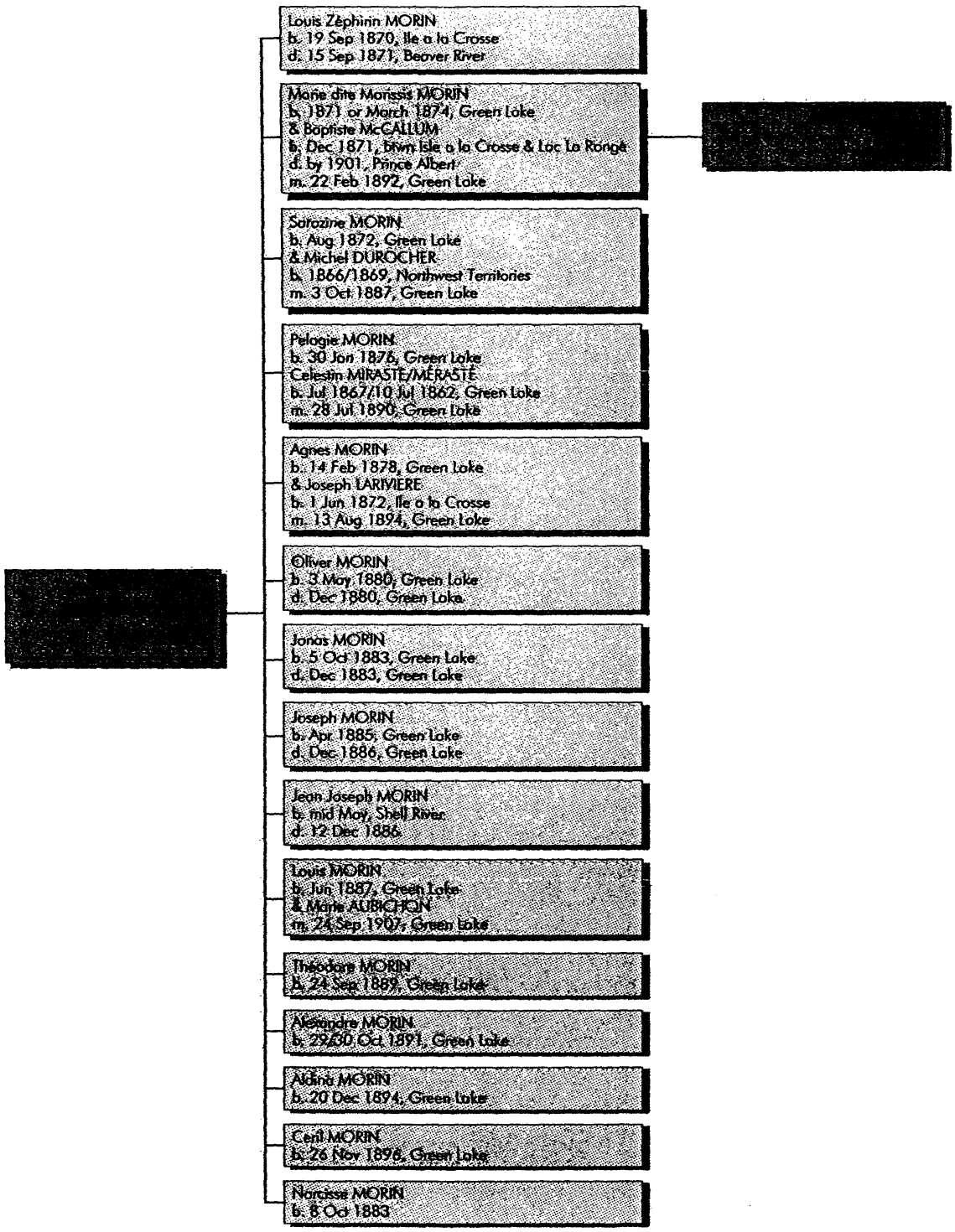

Jimmy MORIN
Germaine MORIN
b. 11 Mar 1911, Green Lake

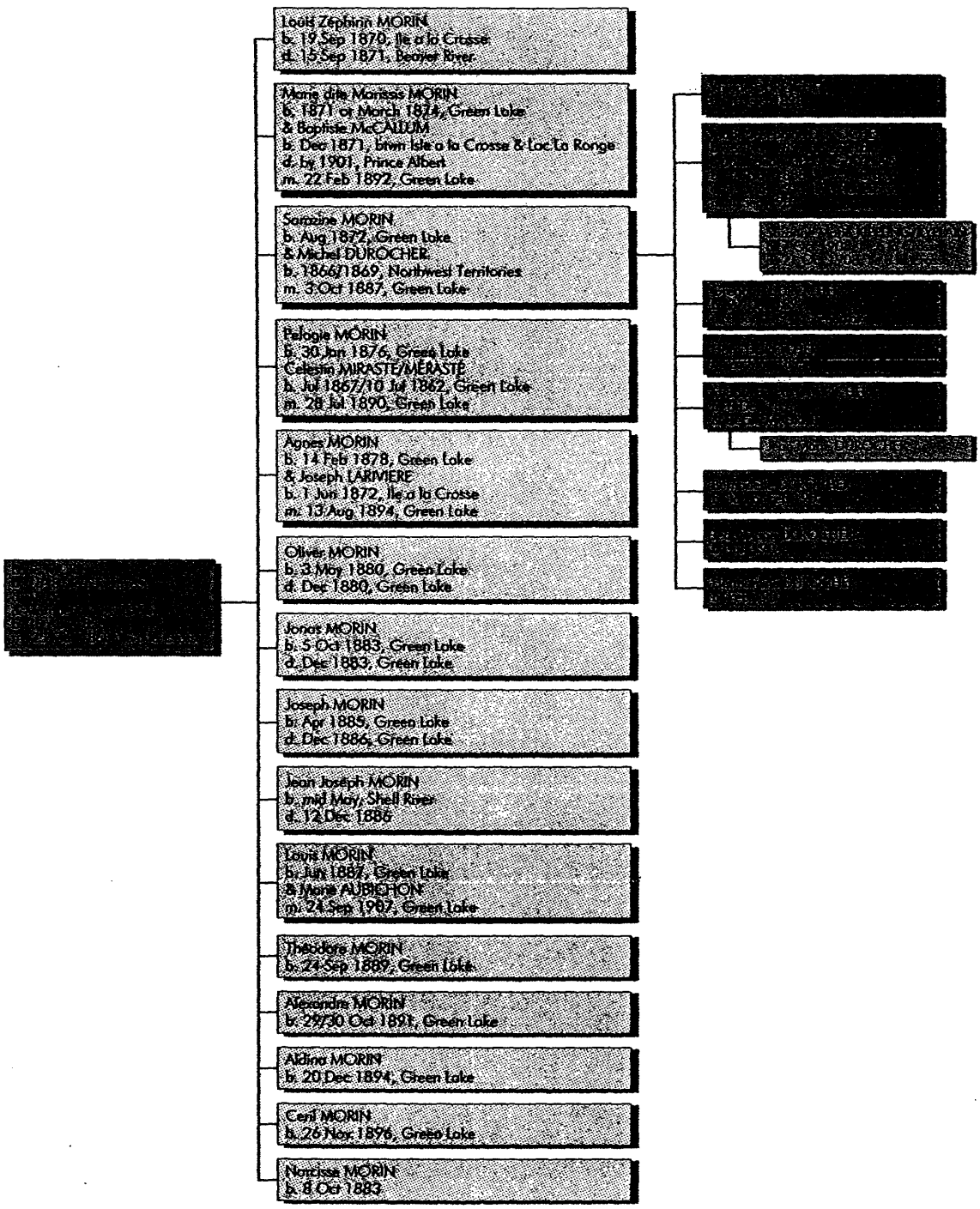

Sophie LINKLATER
b. 1857, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LINKLATER
b. 1859, Ile a la Crosse
d. Jan 1869, Ile a la Crosse
Isabelle LINKLATER
b. 1860, Ile a la Crosse
Eliza LINKLATER
b. 1862, Loc du Brochet or Ile a la Crosse
& Solomon COOK
b. 1896, Pelican Narrows
m. 1885, Pelican Narrows
Peter LINKLATER
b. 1866, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite MIRASTE/MERASTE
d. 1883
m. 1881
Peter LINKLATER
b. 1866, Ile a la Crosse
& Angelique BEAR
m. 1888, Loc Du Brochet
Peter LINKLATER
b. 1866, Ile a la Crosse
& Mary COOK
Philomene LINKLATER
b. Dec 1868, Ile a la Crosse
d. 20 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
Marie LINKLATER
b. Aug 1870, Frog Portage on the Churchill River
& Joseph COOK
b. 1863, Loc La Ronge
m. 1885, Pelican Narrows
Catherine LINKLATER
b. 1872, Caribou Lake
Joseph LINKLATER
b. 1873, Caribou Lake
Magloire LINKLATER
b. 1880, Caribou Lake
Adele LINKLATER
b. aft 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. aft 1870
Alexander LINKLATER
b. aft 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. aft 1870
Pelagie LINKLATER
b. 1870, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph MORIN

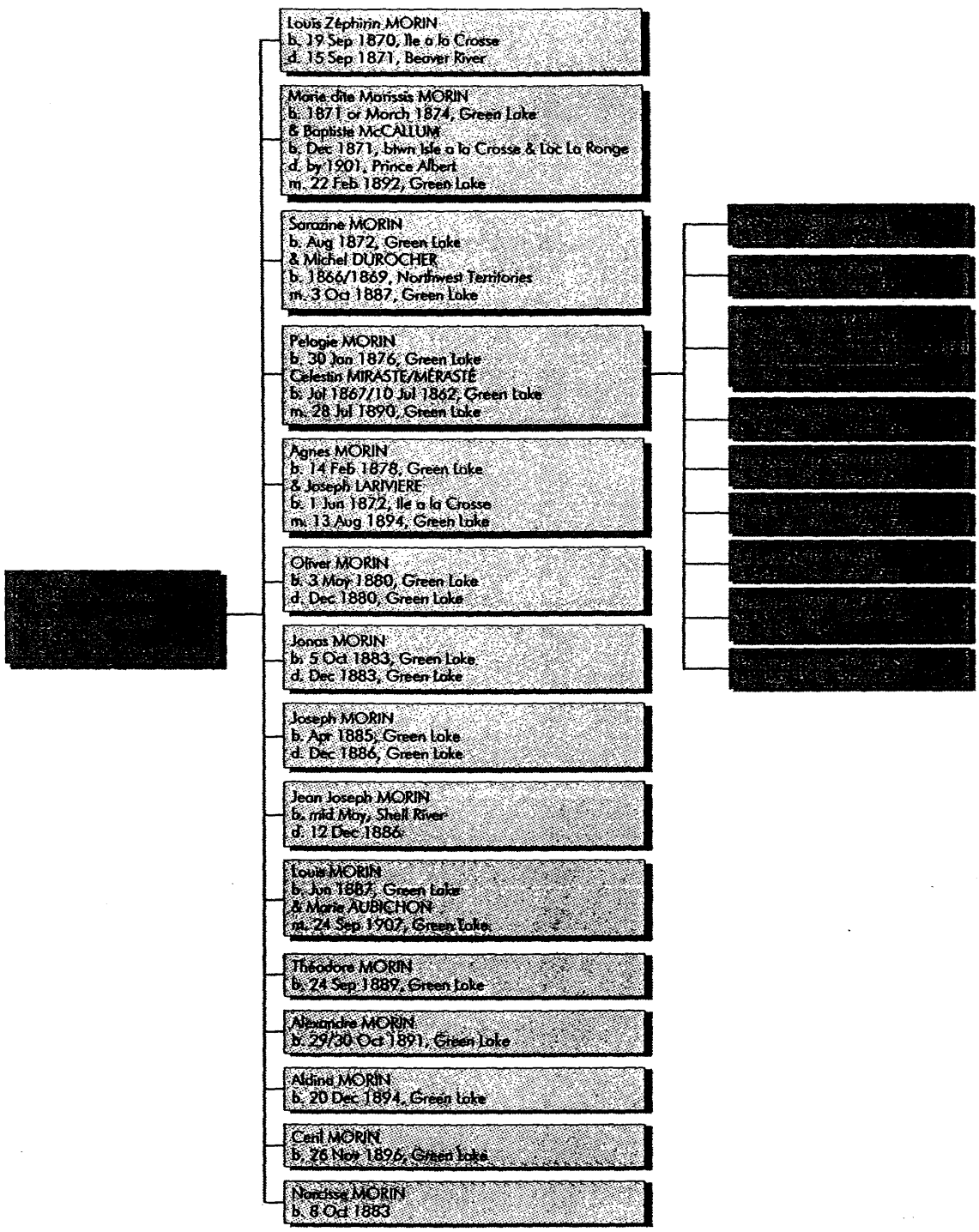

Sophie LINKLATER
b. 1857, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LINKLATER
b. 1859, Ile a la Crosse
d. Jan 1869, Ile a la Crosse
Isabelle LINKLATER
b. 1860, Ile a la Crosse
Eliza LINKLATER
b. 1862, Lac du Brochet or Ile a la Crosse
& Solomon COOK
b. 1896, Pelican Narrows
m. 1885, Pelican Narrows
Peter LINKLATER
b. 1866, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite MIRASTE/MÉRASTÉ
d. 1883
m. 1881
Peter LINKLATER
b. 1866, Ile a la Crosse
& Angelique BEAR
m. 1888, Lac Du Brochet
Peter LINKLATER
b. 1866, Ile a la Crosse
& Mary COOK
Philomene LINKLATER
b. Dec 1868, Ile a la Crosse
d. 20 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
Marie LINKLATER
b. Aug 1870, Frog Portage on the Churchill River
& Joseph COOK
b. 1863, Lac La Ronge
m. 1885, Pelican Narrows
Catherine LINKLATER
b. 1872, Caribou Lake
Joseph LINKLATER
b. 1873, Caribou Lake
Magloire LINKLATER
b. 1880, Caribou Lake
Adele LINKLATER
b. aft 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. aft 1870
Alexander LINKLATER
b. aft 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. aft 1870
Pelagie LINKLATER
b. 1870, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph MORIN

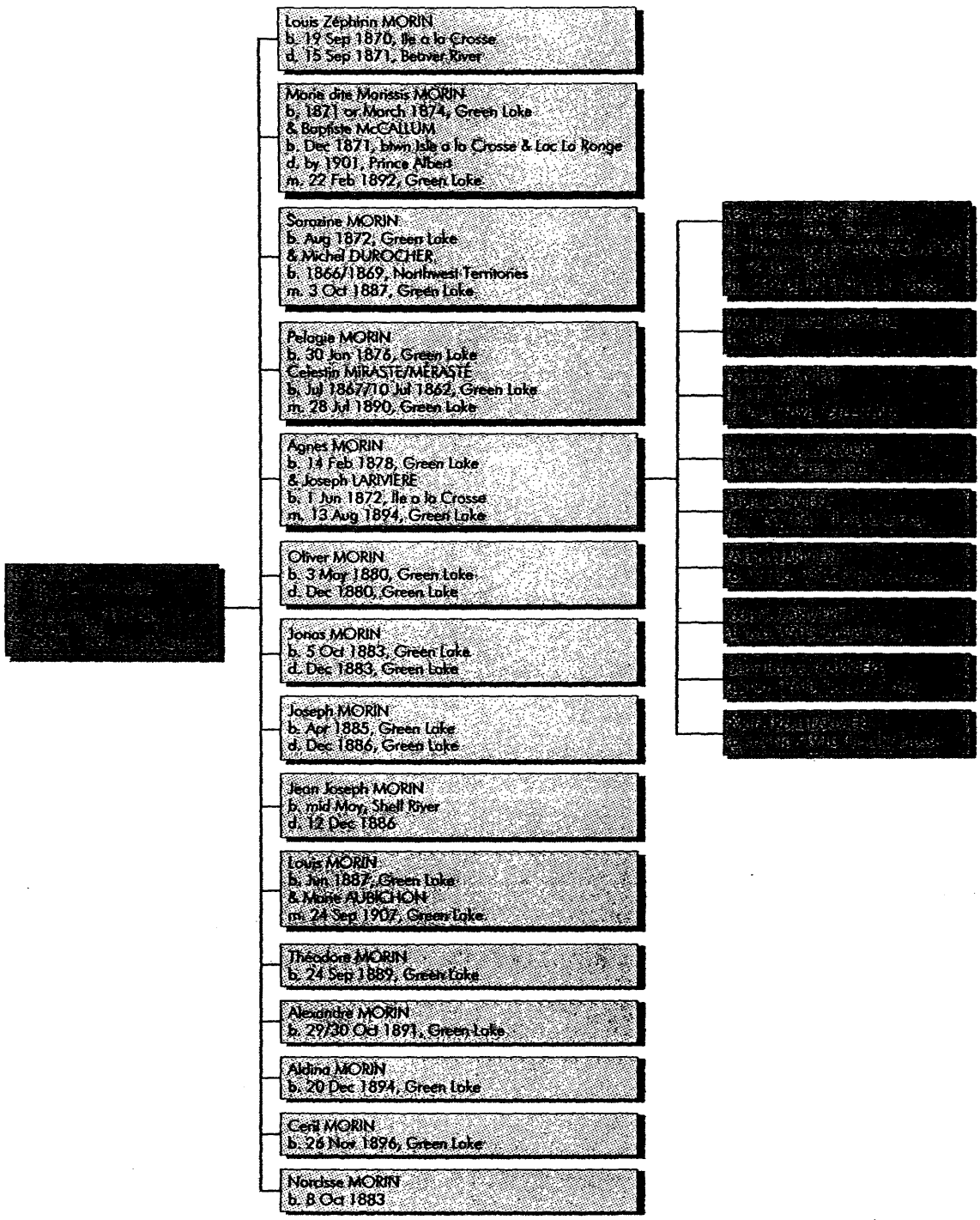



Louis Zéphirin MORIN
b. 19 Sep 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 15 Sep 1871, Beaver River
Marie dite Marissis MORIN
b. 1871 or March 1874, Green Lake
& Baptiste McCALLUM
b. Dec 1871, btwn Isle a la Crosse & Loc La Ronge
d. by 1901, Prince Albert
m. 22 Feb 1892, Green Lake
Sarazine MORIN
b. Aug 1872, Green Lake
& Michel DUROCHER
b. 1866/1869, Northwest Territories
m. 3 Oct 1887, Green Lake
Pelagie MORIN
b. 30 Jan 1876, Green Lake
Celestin MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. Jul 1867/10 Jul 1862, Green Lake
m. 28 Jul 1890, Green Lake
Agnes MORIN
b. 14 Feb 1878, Green Lake
& Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Aug 1894, Green Lake
Oliver MORIN
b. 3 May 1880, Green Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
Jonas MORIN
b. 5 Oct 1883, Green Lake
d. Dec 1883, Green Lake
Joseph MORIN
b. Apr 1885, Green Lake
d. Dec 1886, Green Lake
Jean Joseph MORIN
b. mid May, Shell River
d. 12 Dec 1886
Louis MORIN
b. Jun 1887, Green Lake
& Marie AUBICHON
m. 24 Sep 1907, Green Lake
Theodore MORIN
b. 24 Sep 1889, Green Lake
Alexandre MORIN
b. 29/30 Oct 1891, Green Lake
Alvina MORIN
b. 20 Dec 1894, Green Lake
Carl MORIN
b. 26 Nov 1896, Green Lake
Narcisse MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1883

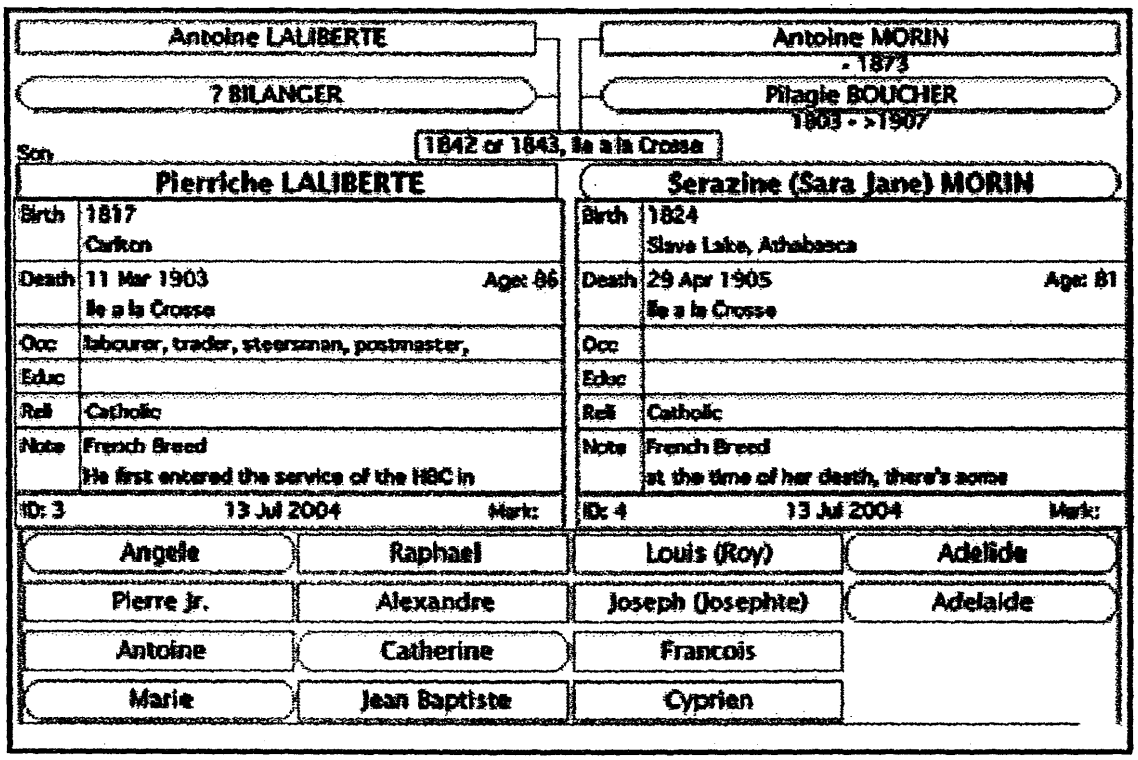

Louis Zéphirin MORIN
b. 19 Sep 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 15 Sep 1871, Beaver River
Marie dite Marissis MORIN
b. 1871 or March 1874, Green Lake
& Baptiste McCALLUM
b. Dec 1871, btwn Isle a la Crosse & Lac La Ronge
d. by 1901, Prince Albert
m. 22 Feb 1892, Green Lake
Sarazine MORIN
b. Aug 1872, Green Lake
& Michel DUROCHER
b. 1866/1869, Northwest Territories
m. 3 Oct 1887, Green Lake
Pelagie MORIN
b. 30 Jan 1876, Green Lake
Celestin MIRASTE/MÉRASTÉ
b. Jul 1867/10 Jul 1862, Green Lake
m. 28 Jul 1890, Green Lake
Agnes MORIN
b. 14 Feb 1878, Green Lake
& Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Aug 1894, Green Lake
Oliver MORIN
b. 3 May 1880, Green Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
Jonas MORIN
b. 5 Oct 1883, Green Lake
d. Dec 1883, Green Lake
Joseph MORIN
b. Apr 1885, Green Lake
d. Dec 1886, Green Lake
Jean Joseph MORIN
b. mid May, Shell River
d. 12 Dec 1886
Louis MORIN
b. Jun 1887, Green Lake
& Marie AUBICHON
m. 24 Sep 1907, Green Lake
Theodore MORIN
b. 24 Sep 1889, Green Lake
Alexandre MORIN
b. 29/30 Oct 1891, Green Lake
Alvina MORIN
b. 20 Dec 1894, Green Lake
Ceril MORIN
b. 26 Nov 1898, Green Lake
Narcisse MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1883


Louis Zéphirin MORIN
b. 19 Sep 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 15 Sep 1871, Beaver River
Marie dite Manasis MORIN
b. 1871 or March 1874, Green Lake
& Baptiste McCALLUM
b. Dec 1871, btwn Isle a la Crosse & Lac La Ronge
d. by 1901, Prince Albert
m. 22 Feb 1892, Green Lake
Suzzaine MORIN
b. Aug 1872, Green Lake
& Michel DUROCHER
b. 1866/1869, Northwest Territories
m. 3 Oct 1887, Green Lake
Pelogie MORIN
b. 30 Jun 1876, Green Lake
Celestin MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. Jul 1867/10 Jul 1862, Green Lake
m. 28 Jul 1890, Green Lake
Agnes MORIN
b. 14 Feb 1878, Green Lake
& Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Aug 1894, Green Lake
Oliver MORIN
b. 3 May 1880, Green Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
Jonas MORIN
b. 5 Oct 1883, Green Lake
d. Dec 1883, Green Lake
Joseph MORIN
b. Apr 1885, Green Lake
d. Dec 1886, Green Lake
Jean Joseph MORIN
b. mid May, Shell River
d. 12 Dec 1886
Louis MORIN
b. Jun 1887, Green Lake
& Marie AUBICHON
m. 24 Sep 1907, Green Lake
Theodore MORIN
b. 24 Sep 1889, Green Lake
Alexandre MORIN
b. 29/30 Oct 1891, Green Lake
Aldina MORIN
b. 20 Dec 1894, Green Lake
Ceni MORIN
b. 26 Nov 1896, Green Lake
Narcisse MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1883

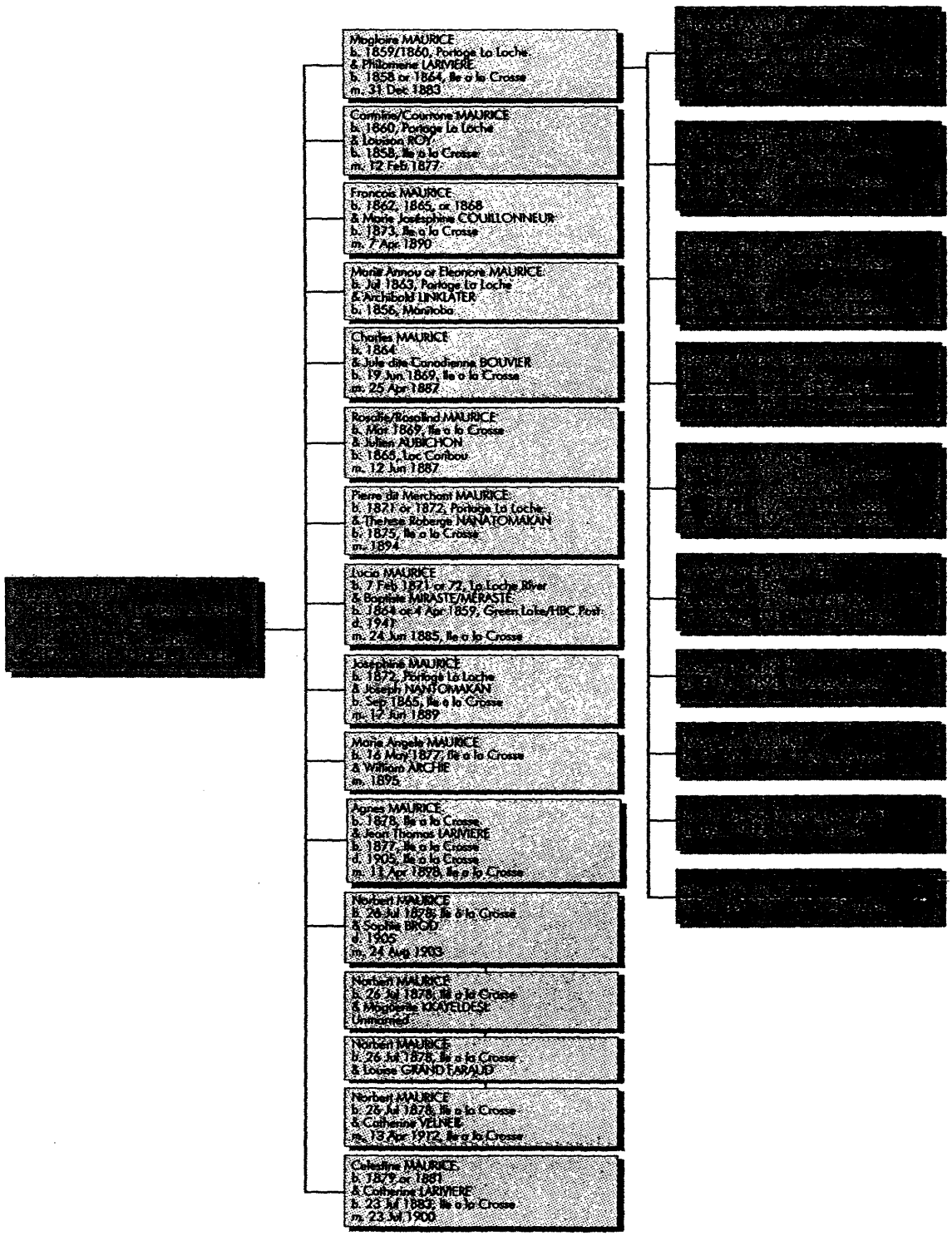

Louis Zéphirin MORIN
b. 19 Sep 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 15 Sep 1871, Beaver River
Marie dite Marissis MORIN
b. 1871 or March 1874, Green Lake
& Baptiste McCALLUM
b. Dec 1871, btwn Isle a la Crosse & Lac La Ronge
d. by 1901, Prince Albert
m. 22 Feb 1892, Green Lake
Sarazine MORIN
b. Aug 1872, Green Lake
& Michel DUROCHER
b. 1866/1869, Northwest Territories
m. 3 Oct 1887, Green Lake
Pelogie MORIN
b. 30 Jan 1876, Green Lake
Celestin MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. Jul 1867/10 Jul 1862, Green Lake
m. 28 Jul 1890, Green Lake
Agnes MORIN
b. 14 Feb 1878, Green Lake
& Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Aug 1894, Green Lake
Oliver MORIN
b. 3 May 1880, Green Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
Jonas MORIN
b. 5 Oct 1883, Green Lake
d. Dec 1883, Green Lake
Joseph MORIN
b. Apr 1885, Green Lake
d. Dec 1886, Green Lake
Jean Joseph MORIN
b. mid May, Shell River
d. 12 Dec 1886
Louis MORIN
b. Jun 1887, Green Lake
& Marie AUBICHON
m. 24 Sep 1907, Green Lake
Theodore MORIN
b. 24 Sep 1889, Green Lake
Alexandre MORIN
b. 29/30 Oct 1891, Green Lake
Aldina MORIN
b. 20 Dec 1894, Green Lake
Ceril MORIN
b. 26 Nov 1896, Green Lake
Narcisse MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1883

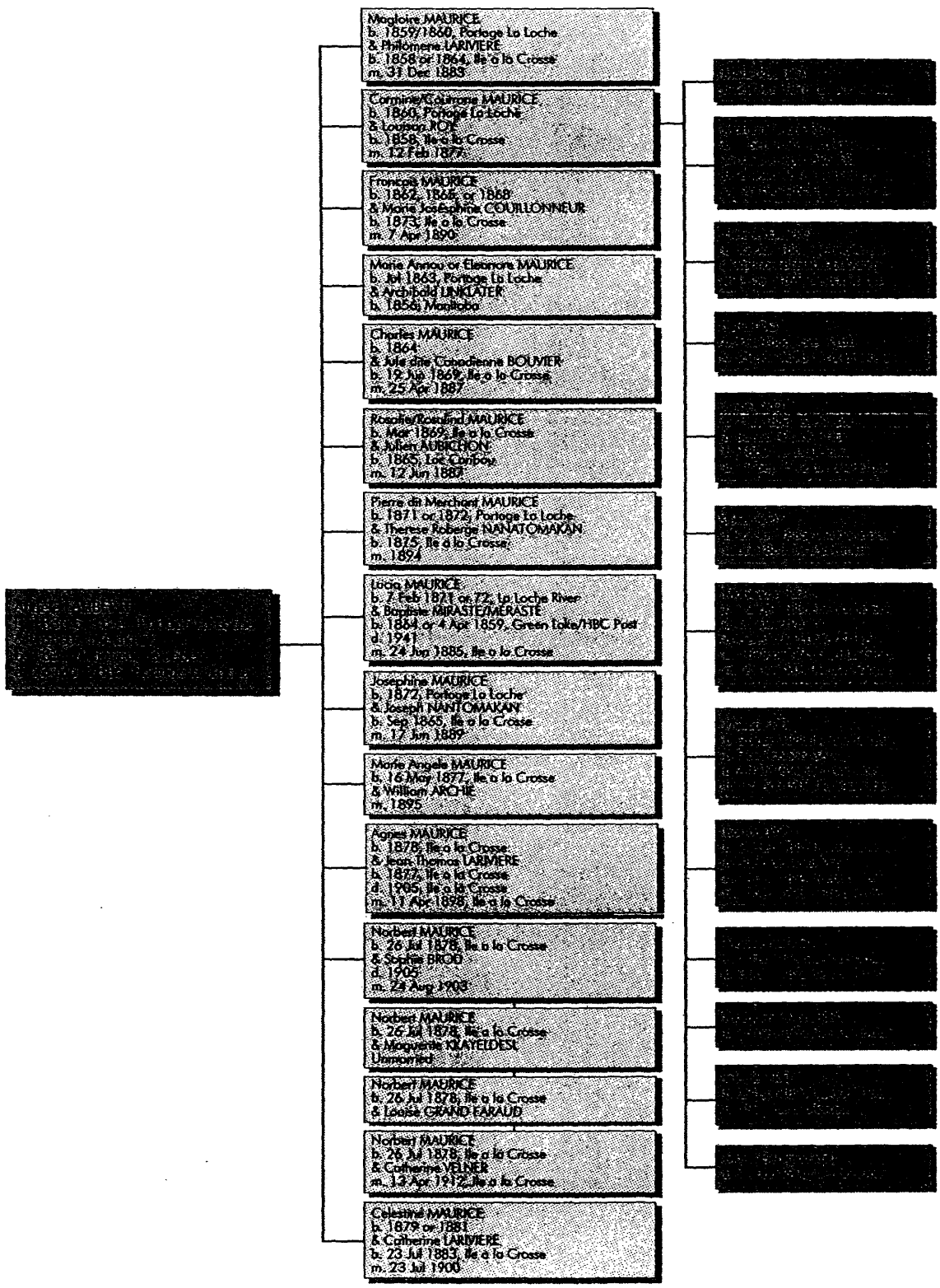

Louis Zéphirin MORIN
b. 19 Sep 1870, Ile a la Crosse
d. 15 Sep 1871, Beaver River
Marie dite Monissis MORIN
b. 1871 or March 1874, Green Lake
& Baptiste McCALLUM
b. Dec 1871, btwn Isle a la Crosse & Lac La Ronge
d. by 1901, Prince Albert
m. 22 Feb 1892, Green Lake
Sarazine MORIN
b. Aug 1872, Green Lake
& Michel DUROCHER
b. 1866/1869, Northwest Territories
m. 3 Oct 1887, Green Lake
Pelagie MORIN
b. 30 Jan 1876, Green Lake
Celestin MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. Jul 1867/10 Jul 1862, Green Lake
m. 28 Jul 1890, Green Lake
Agnes MORIN
b. 14 Feb 1878, Green Lake
& Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Aug 1894, Green Lake
Oliver MORIN
b. 3 May 1880, Green Lake
d. Dec 1880, Green Lake
Jonas MORIN
b. 5 Oct 1883, Green Lake
d. Dec 1883, Green Lake
Joseph MORIN
b. Apr 1885, Green Lake
d. Dec 1886, Green Lake
Jean Joseph MORIN
b. mid May, Shell River
d. 12 Dec 1886
Louis MORIN
b. Jun 1887, Green Lake
& Marie AUBICHON
m. 24 Sep 1907, Green Lake
Theodore MORIN
b. 24 Sep 1889, Green Lake
Alexandre MORIN
b. 29/30 Oct 1891, Green Lake
Aldina MORIN
b. 20 Dec 1894, Green Lake
Ceril MORIN
b. 26 Nov 1896, Green Lake
Nordisse MORIN
b. 8 Oct 1883

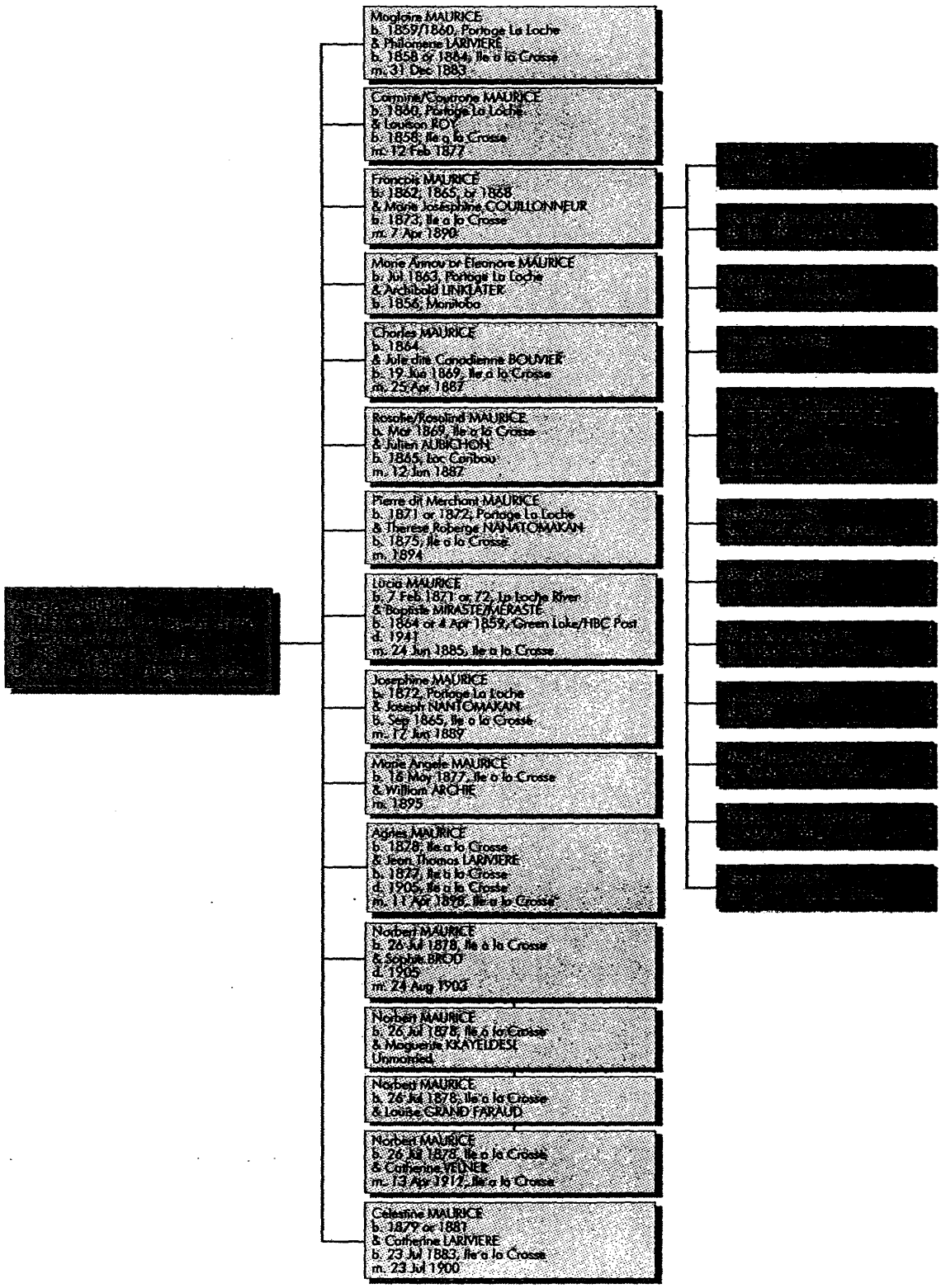
Appendix E. Sample Genealogy Card.

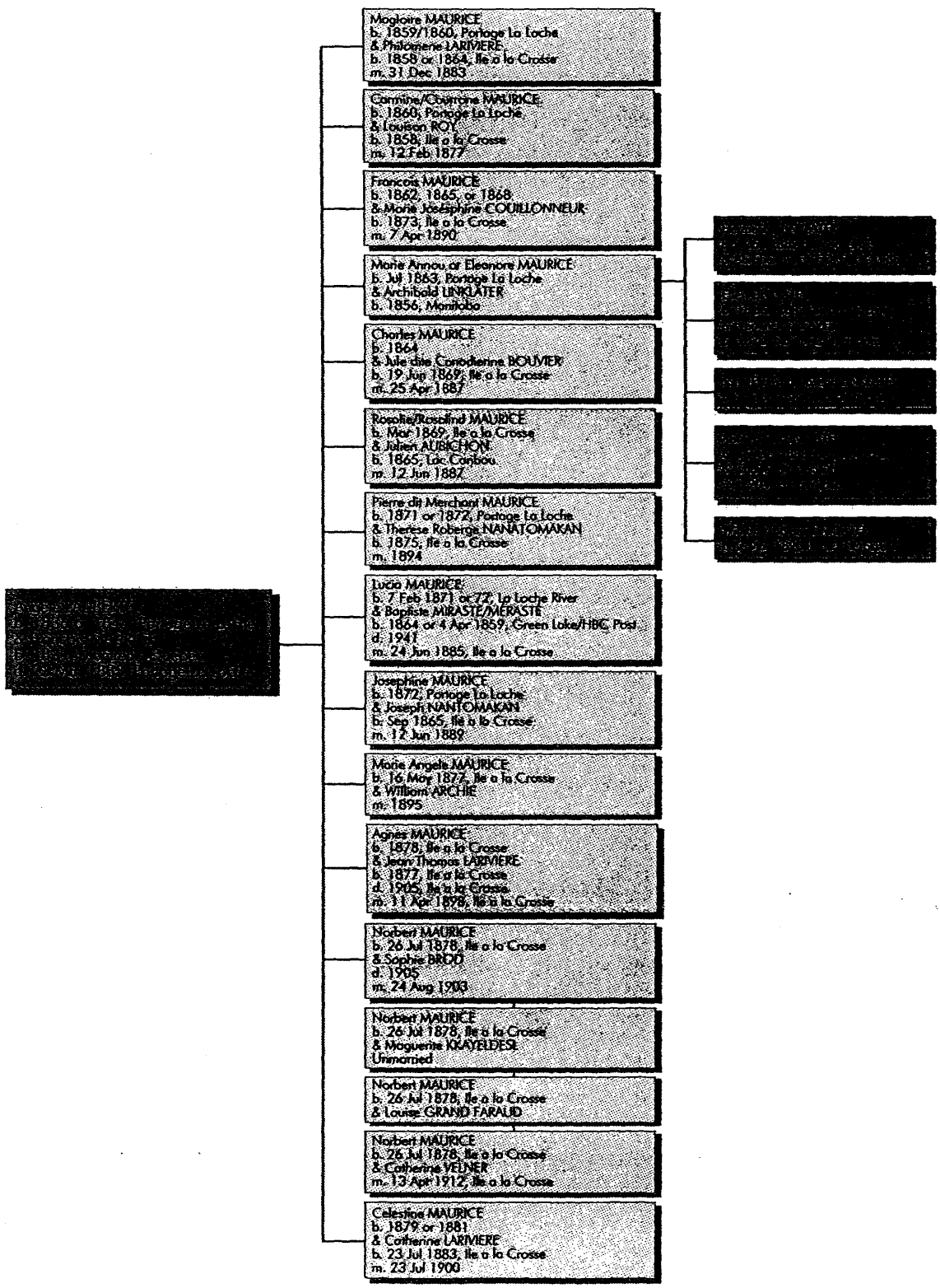


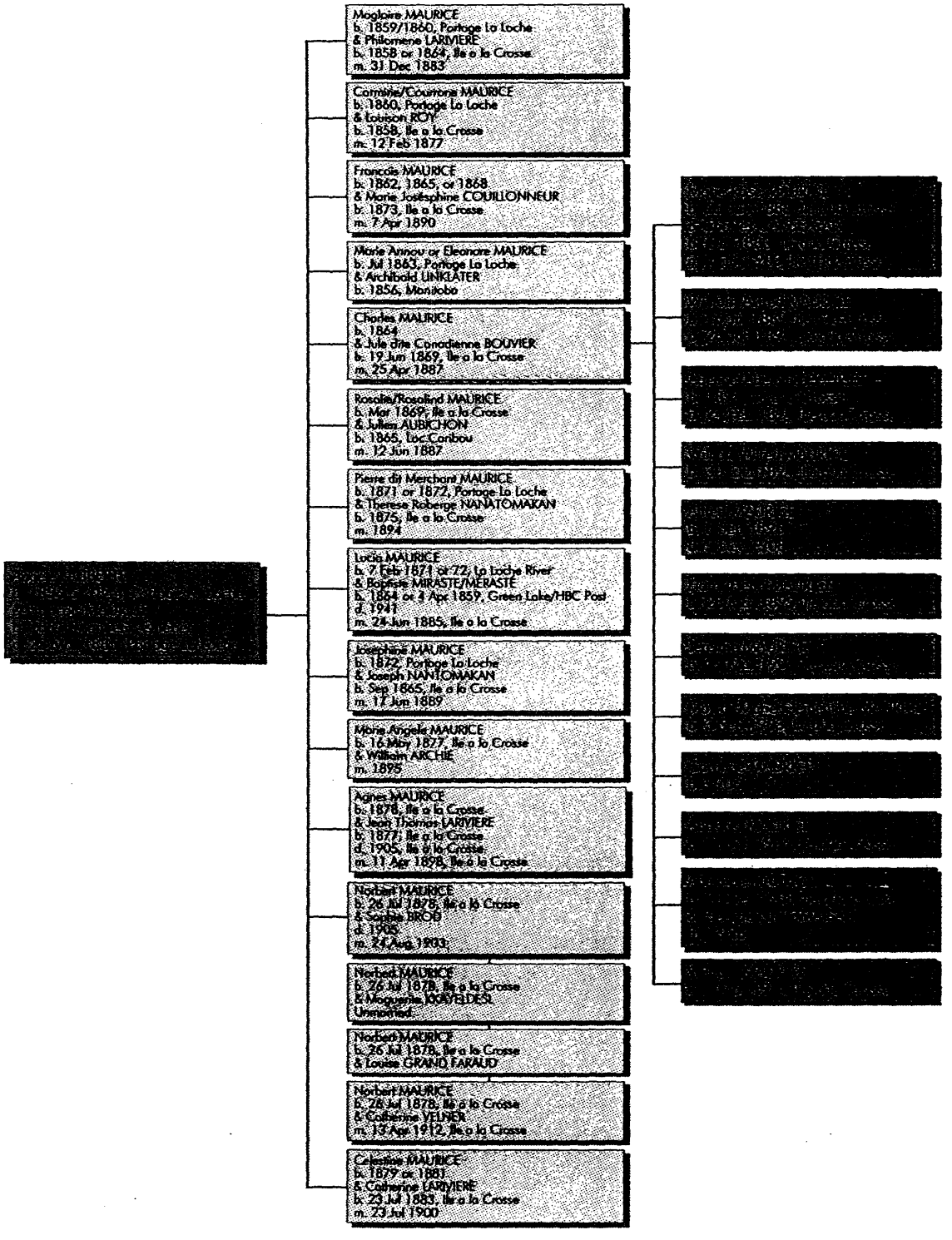
Appendix F. Maurice Genealogy.

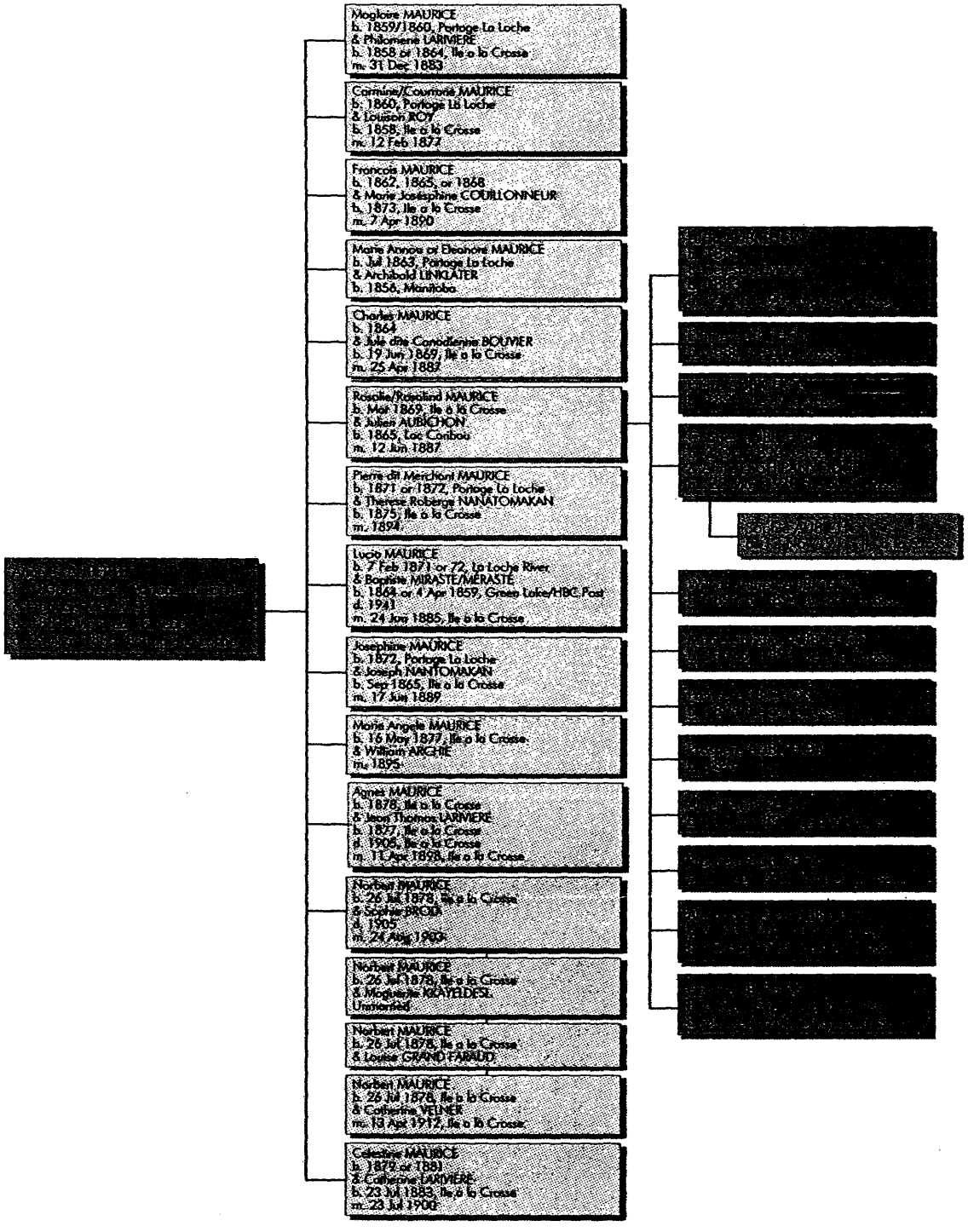


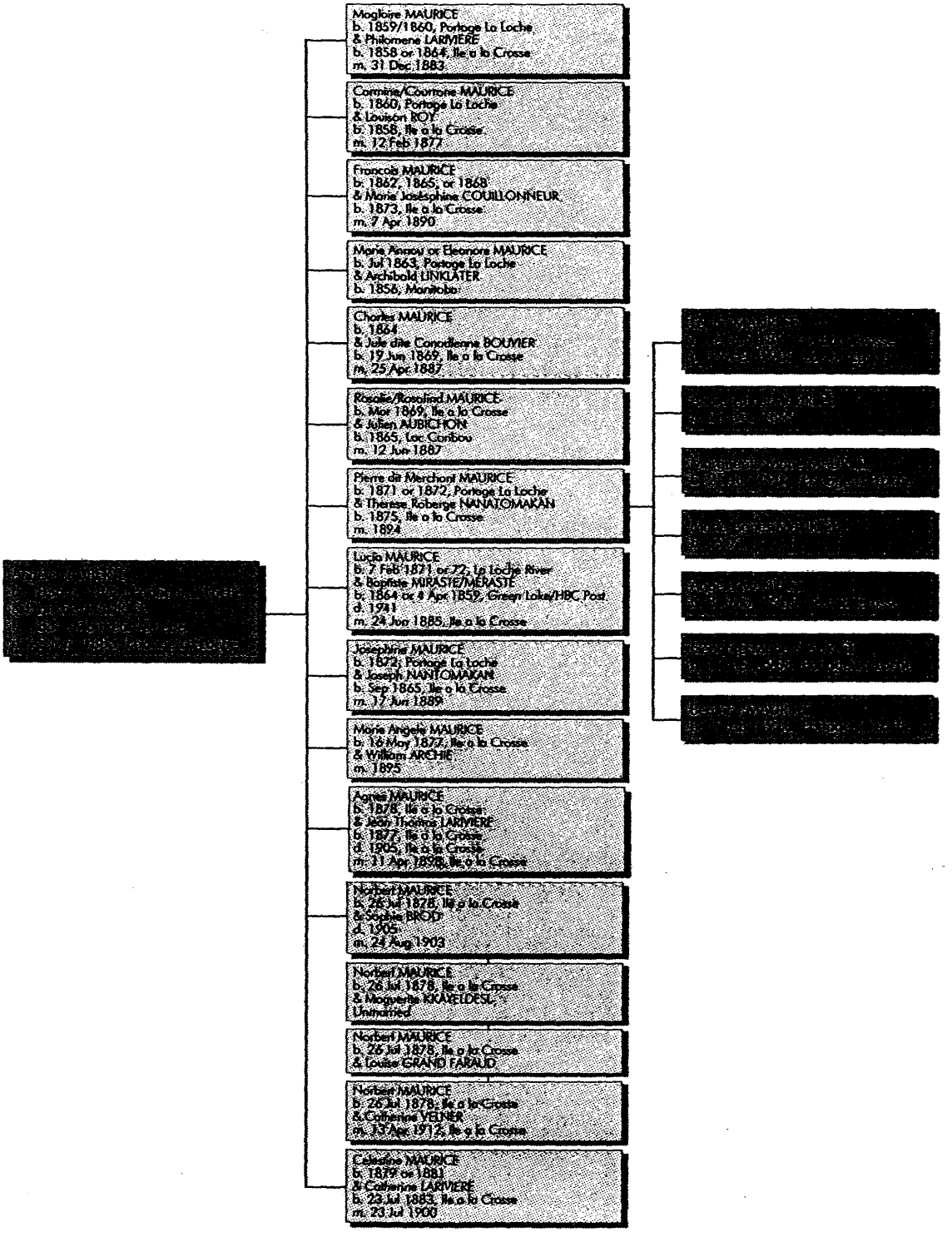

Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Carmine/Catherine MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1879
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annou or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Cobadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Marchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucie MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite KRAYELDESE
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND EARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900

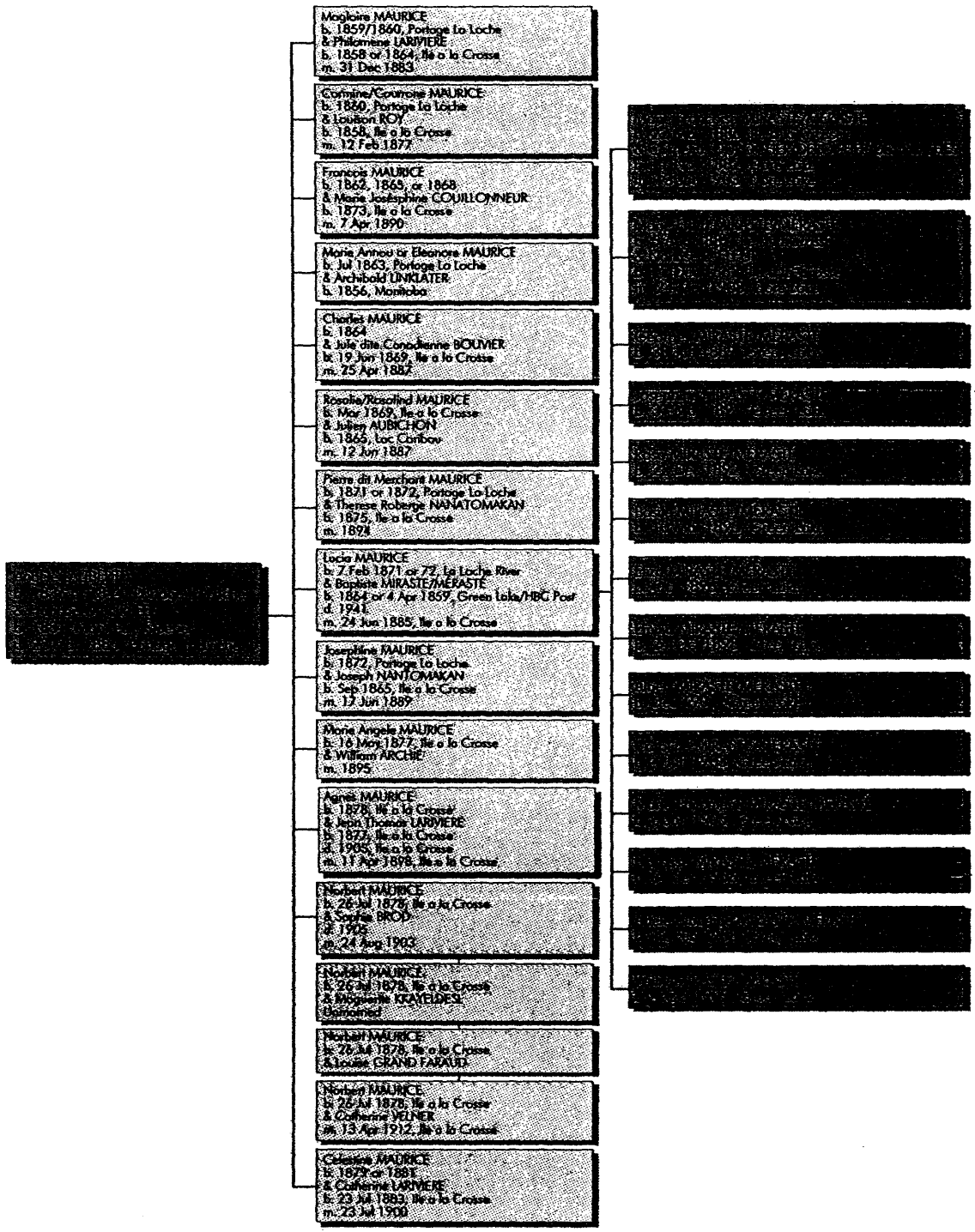

Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1884, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Corinne/Courrone MAURICE
b. 1880, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Amou or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1845, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jan 1887
Pierre dit Merchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucia MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 18 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite KRAYELDESE
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine TENNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900

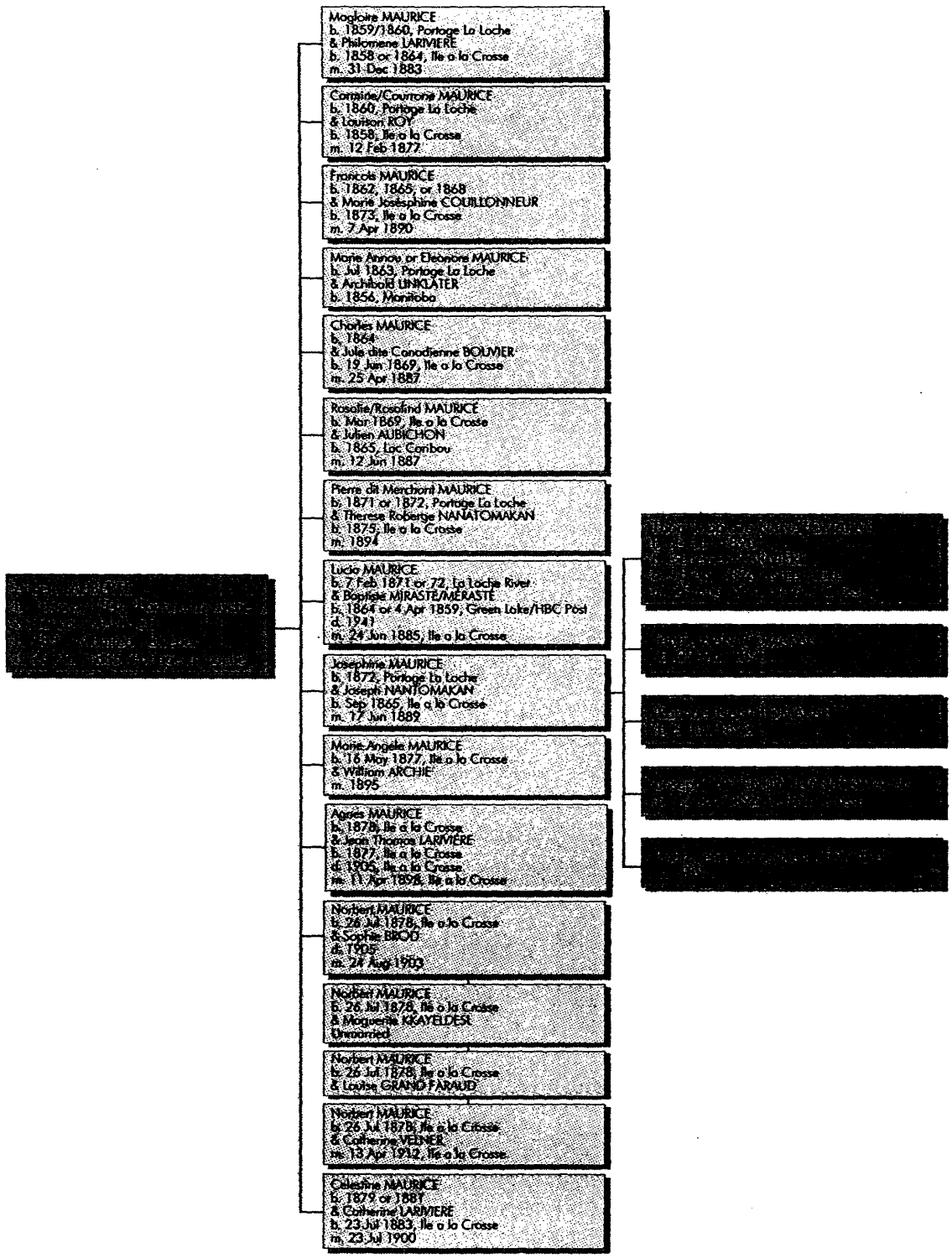

Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Phalonene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Carmine/Courrone MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annou or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Merchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucia MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1869, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1900
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Maguerite KKAYELDESE
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900

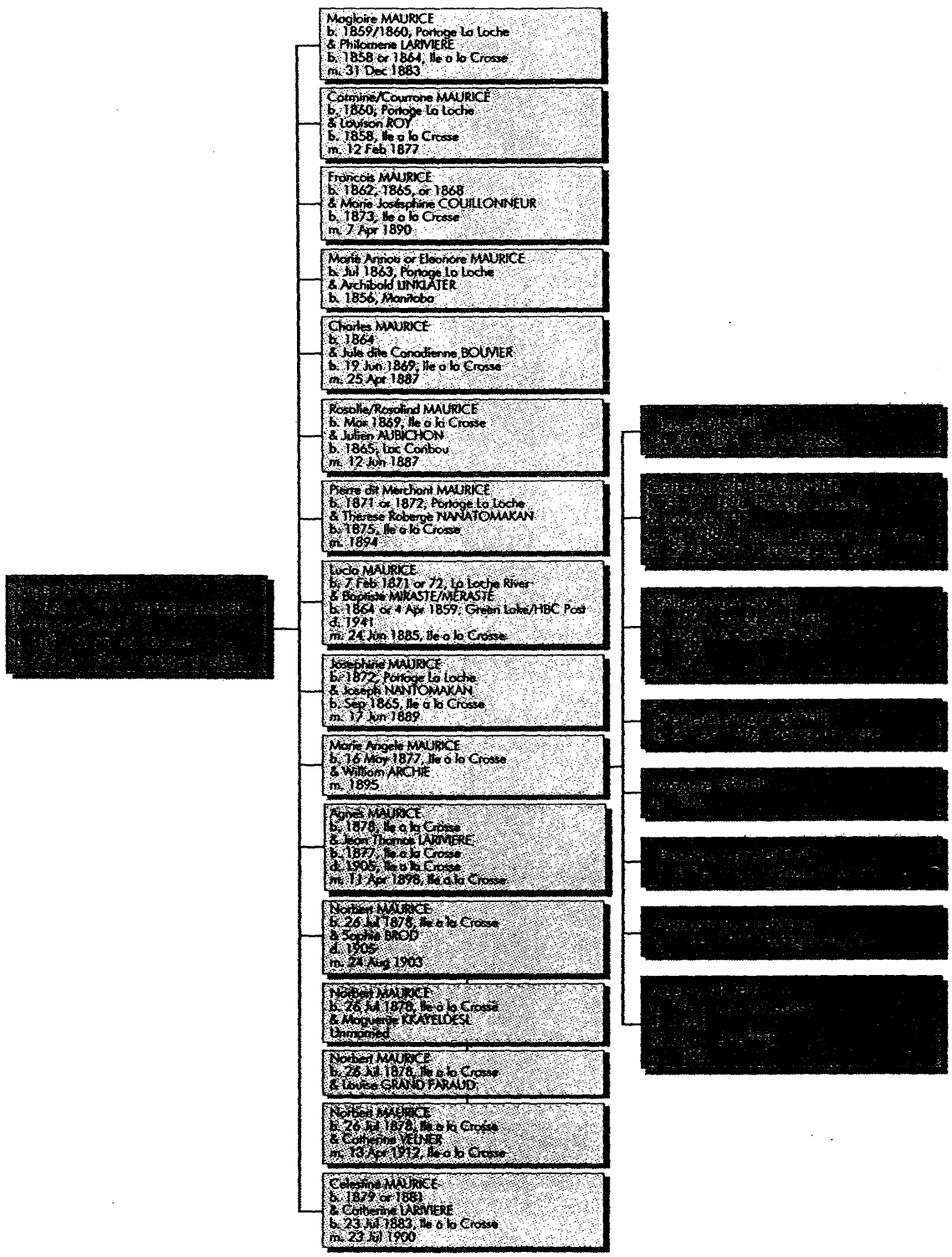

Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Comaine/Cournone MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annou or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Comedienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Merchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucie MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 3 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite IOOLVELDES
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 28 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900

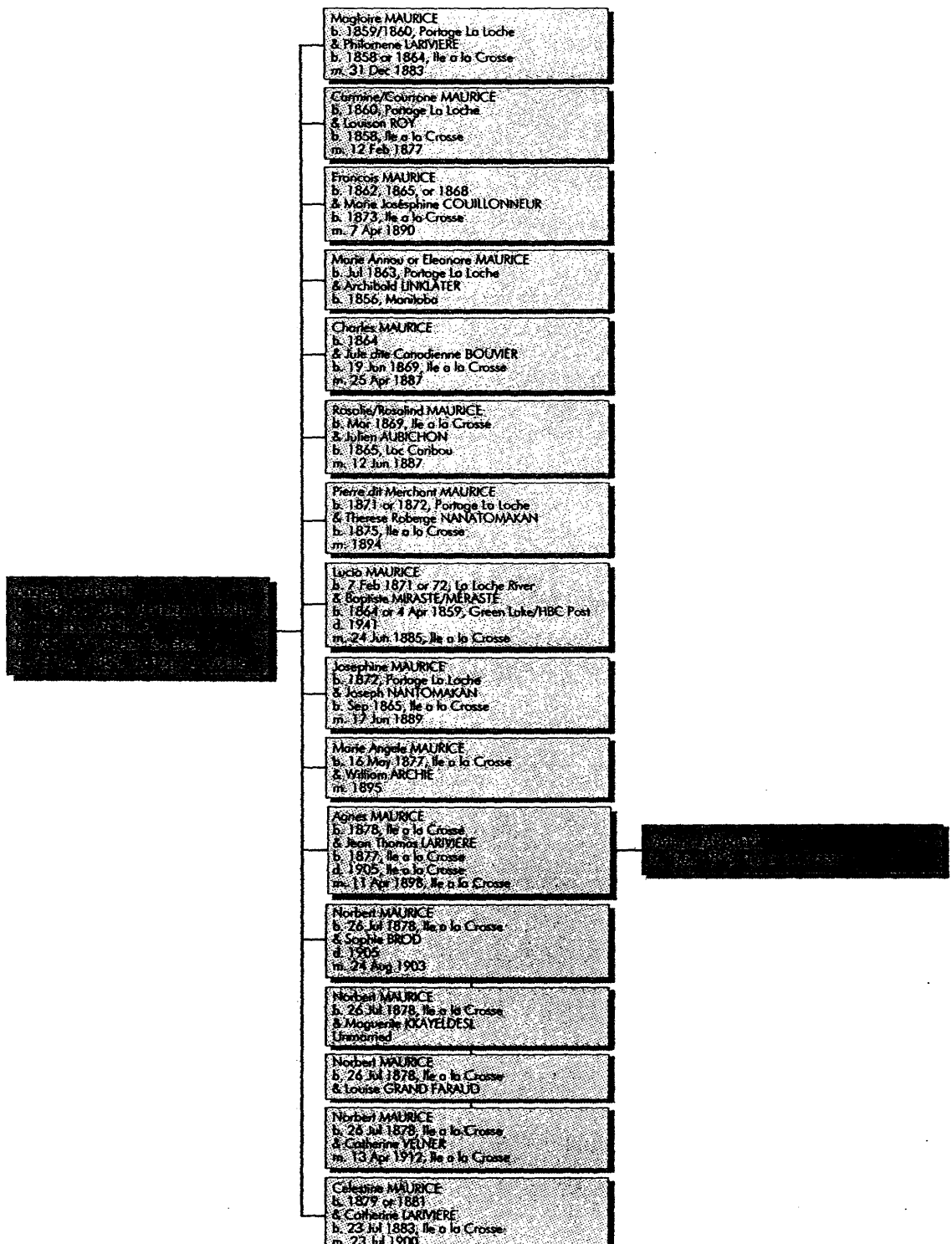

Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomène LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Carmine/Courtoisie MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COURLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annee or Eleanore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mai 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Merchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucie MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1906, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie PROUD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Magueritte KRAYELDESL
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARALD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900

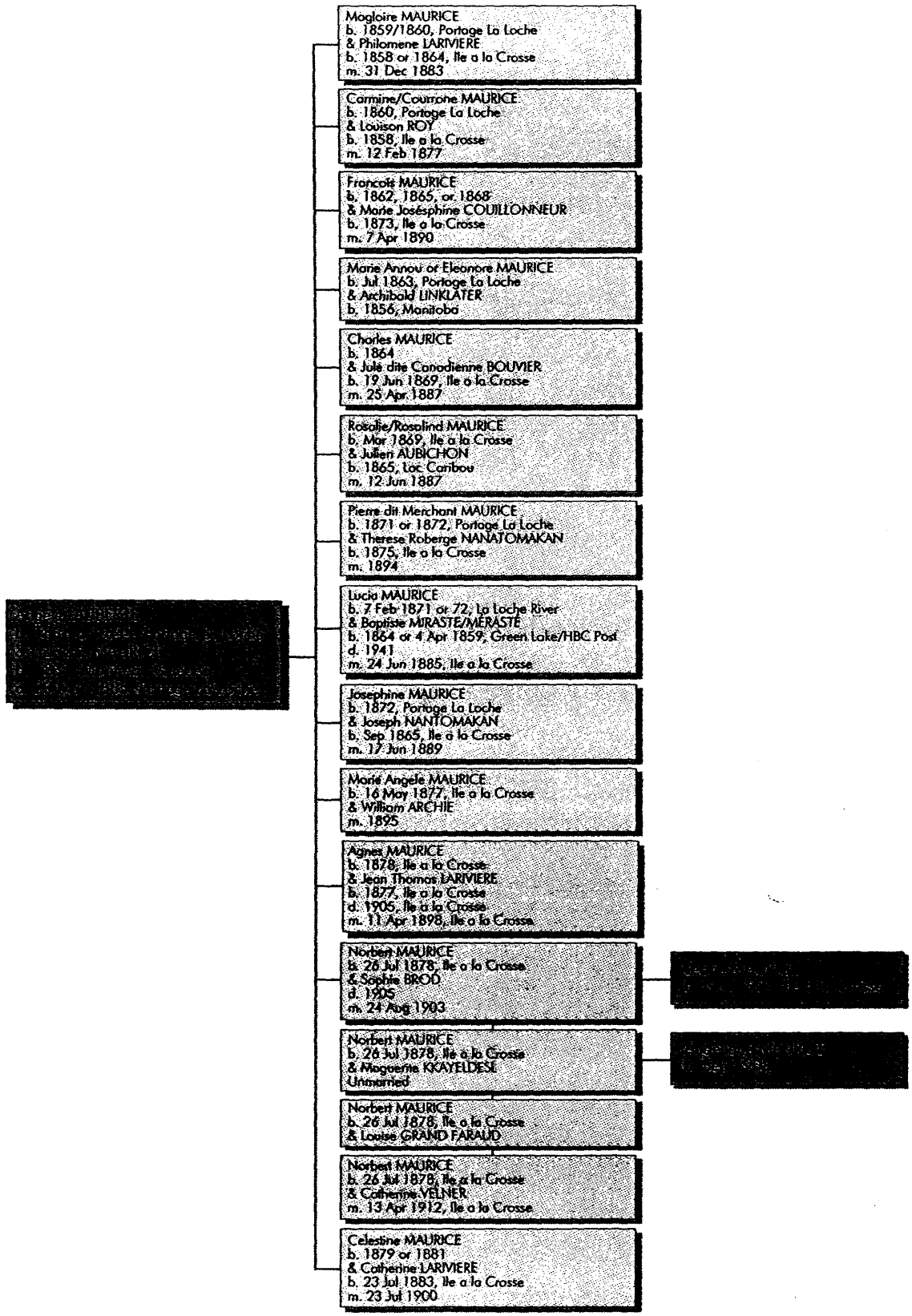

Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Corinne/Courrone MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annou or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Conodienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Roselind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Marchand MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucia MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 8 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite KKAKELDESE, -
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 15 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900

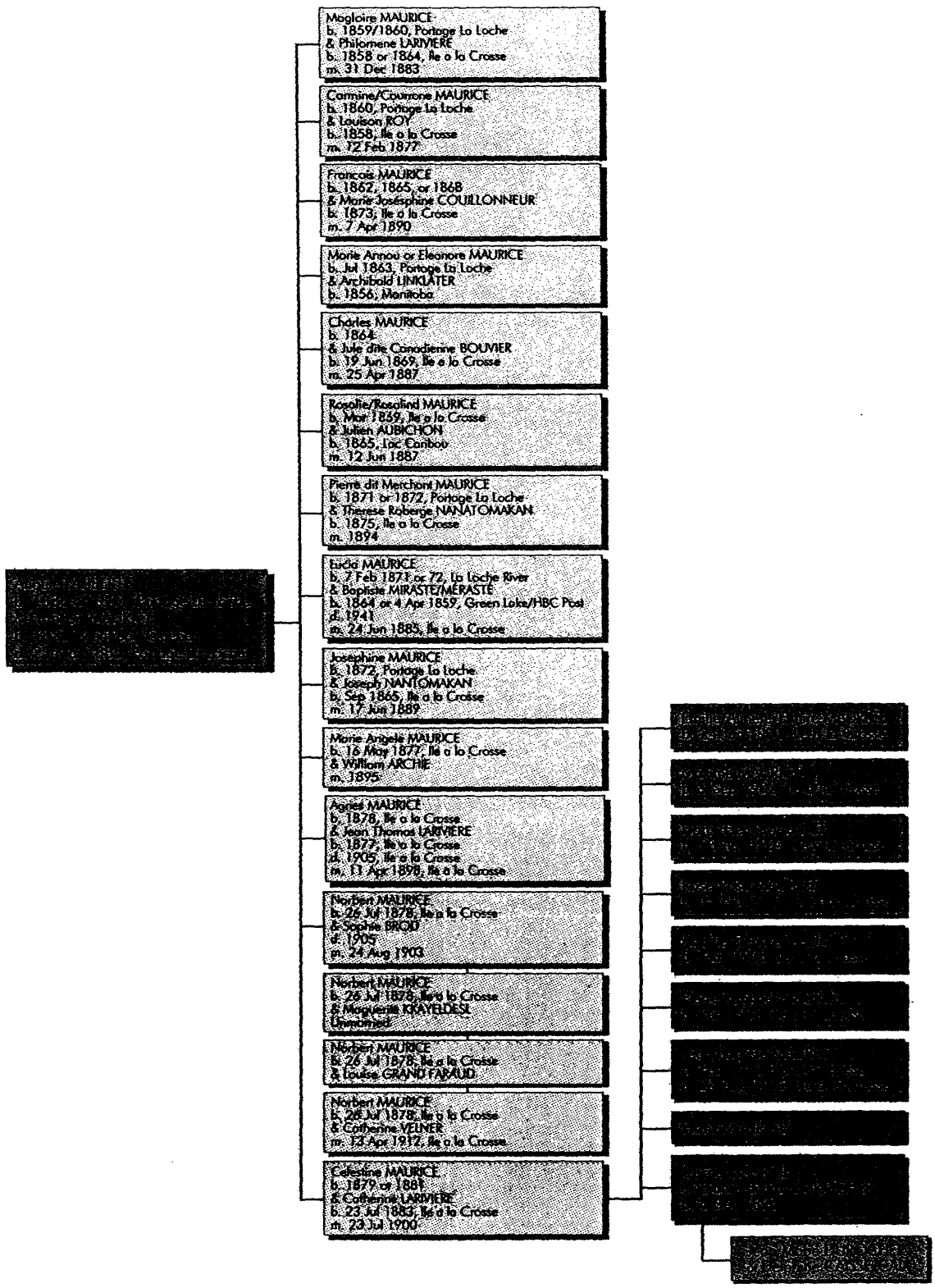

Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomène LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Corinne/Courrone MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Loutton ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Anneu or Eleanore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1882
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1866, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Merchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucie MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/MBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite KRAYELDESI
Quarrelled
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900

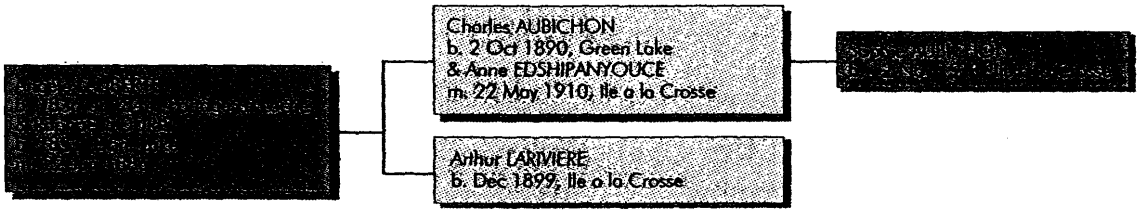

Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1884, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Corraine/Courrone MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annow or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald UNKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Merchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucie MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite KRAYELDEST
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900


Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Catrine/Courrone MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annois or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibold LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Jule dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Marchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucia MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1906, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite KRATELDESK
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND PARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900


Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Carmine/Courrone MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annou or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Jule dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Merchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucia MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Moguerite KKAYELDESI
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900


Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Carmine/Courrone MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josésphine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annou or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julé dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Merchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucia MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MÉRASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Magueritte KKAYELDESE
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900


Magloire MAURICE
b. 1859/1860, Portage La Loche
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1858 or 1864, Ile a la Crosse
m. 31 Dec 1883
Carmine/Couronne MAURICE
b. 1860, Portage La Loche
& Louison ROY
b. 1858, Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Feb 1877
Francois MAURICE
b. 1862, 1865, or 1868
& Marie Josephine COUILLONNEUR
b. 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Apr 1890
Marie Annou or Eleonore MAURICE
b. Jul 1863, Portage La Loche
& Archibald LINKLATER
b. 1856, Manitoba
Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
& Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Apr 1887
Rosalie/Rosalind MAURICE
b. Mar 1859, Ile a la Crosse
& Julien AUBICHON
b. 1865, Lac Caribou
m. 12 Jun 1887
Pierre dit Merchant MAURICE
b. 1871 or 1872, Portage La Loche
& Therese Roberge NANATOMAKAN
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1894
Lucie MAURICE
b. 7 Feb 1871 or 72, La Loche River
& Baptiste MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 1864 or 4 Apr 1859, Green Lake/HBC Post
d. 1941
m. 24 Jun 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine MAURICE
b. 1872, Portage La Loche
& Joseph NANTOMAKAN
b. Sep 1865, Ile a la Crosse
m. 17 Jun 1889
Marie Angele MAURICE
b. 16 May 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& William ARCHIE
m. 1895
Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie BROD
d. 1905
m. 24 Aug 1903
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite KRAYELDESI
Unmarried
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Louise GRAND FARAUD
Norbert MAURICE
b. 26 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
& Catherine VELNER
m. 13 Apr 1917, Ile a la Crosse
Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
& Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Jul 1900


Charles AUBICHON
b. 2 Oct 1890, Green Lake
& Anne EDSHIPANYOUCE
m. 22 May 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Arthur LARIVIERE
b. Dec 1899, Ile a la Crosse

Appendix G. Second Generation (New) Families, 1830s-50s.

Archie, William & Isabelle Dolchewazie & Marie Angele Maurice

Bekattla, George & Nancy Kippling

Caisse, Charles & Mary Pilon Sinclair

Catfish, John & Marie Betkkaye

Corrigal, John Thomas & Sophie (Lucia) Daigneault and Augustine Bouvier

Daigneault, Vincent & Marguerite Bouvier

Delaronde, Paul & Marguerite Sinclair & Sophie Morin

Fontaine, Paul & Julie Sylvestre

Girad, Pierre & Eliza Misponas

Halcrow, Joseph & Josephine Lafleur

Herman, Andre & Louise Jolibois

Herman, Francois Magloire & Marianne Catara

Janvier, Antoine & Madeleine Eyanieriaze

Janvier, Jean & Isabelle Montgrand

Janvier, Joachim & Adeleine Malboeuf & Angele Herman

Kippling, John Thomas & Angele Lariviere

Lafleur, Charles & Catherine Laliberte

Lemaigre, Baptiste & Louise Herman

Malboeuf, Pierre & Margaret Ikkeizik

Maurice, Francois & Angele Laliberte

Meraste, Bazile & Josephte Durocher

Misponas, Samuel & Veronique Durocher

Moberly, Henry & Francois & Philomene Rat

Montgrand, Remi & Catherine Gross Tete

Montgrand, Joachim & Marie

Montgrand, Louison & Julie Rat

Roy, Francois & Marie Lariviere

Sylvestre, Baptiste & La Louise Herman

Appendix H. Third Generation Families, 1870s-1890s.

Gardiner, Roby & Eliza Lucia Daigneault

Kennedy, Frederick & Josephine Jourdain

Lemaigre, Michel & Philomene Herman

Linklater, Archibald & Eleanore Maurice

McCallum, John & Francoise Morisky

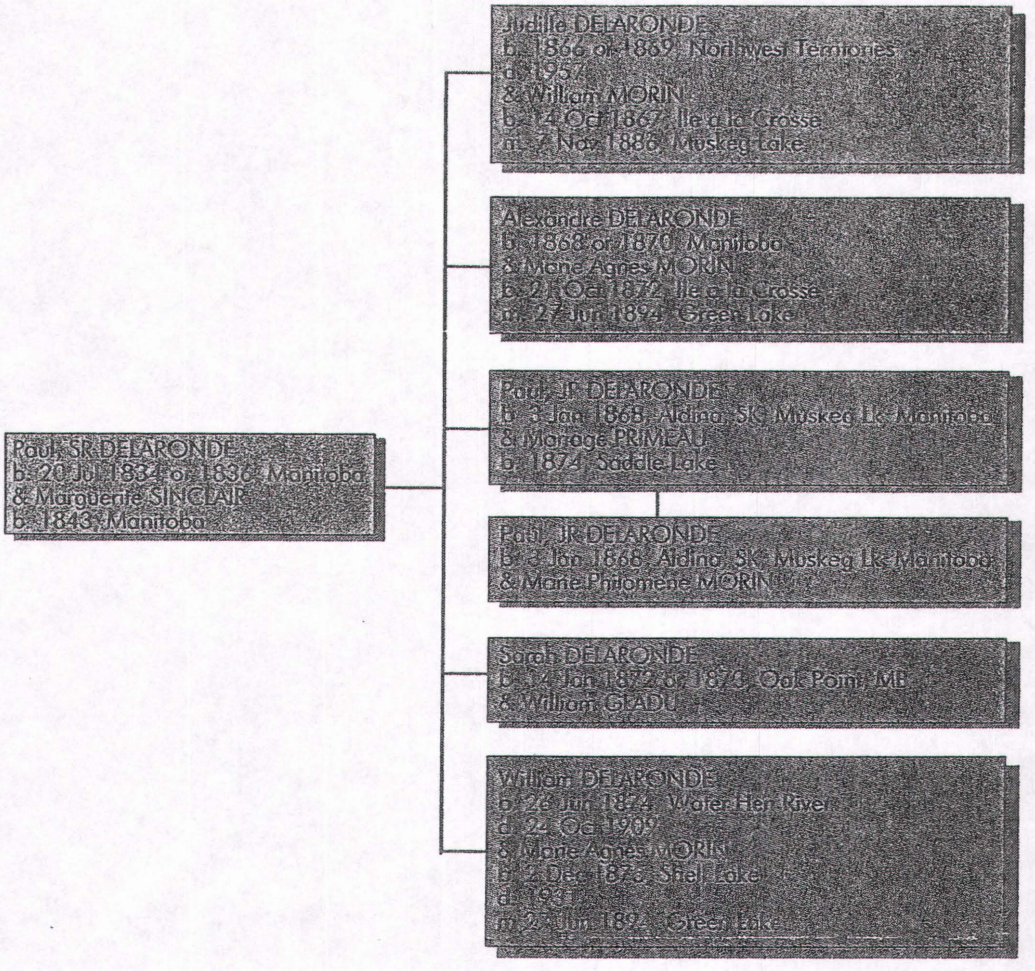
Meraste, Alfred & Rosalie Bear

Meraste, Phillip & Marie Morin

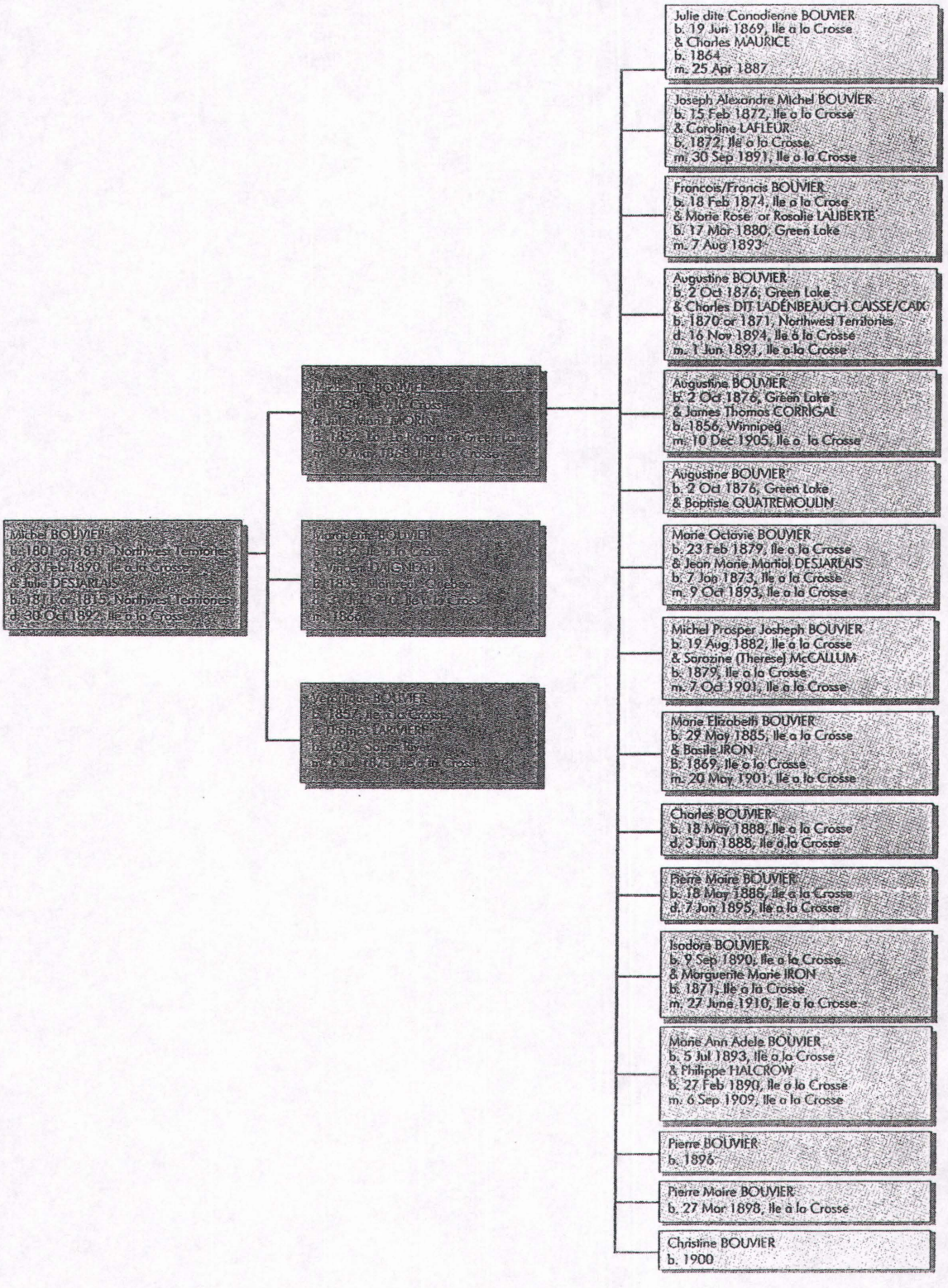
Natomagan, Baptiste & Eliza Durocher & Mary Ann Fisher

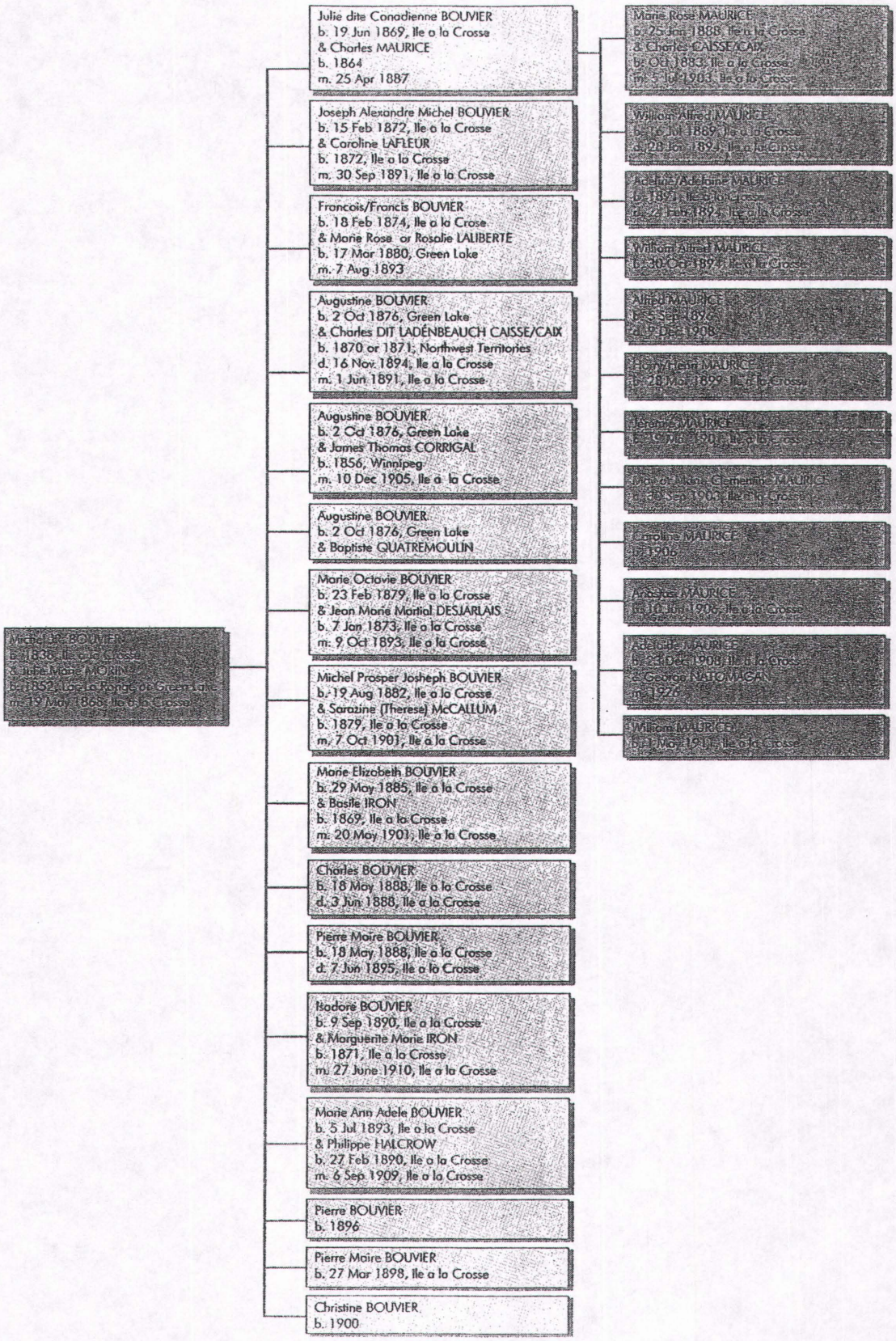
Sinclair, James Nicol & Josephte Durocher

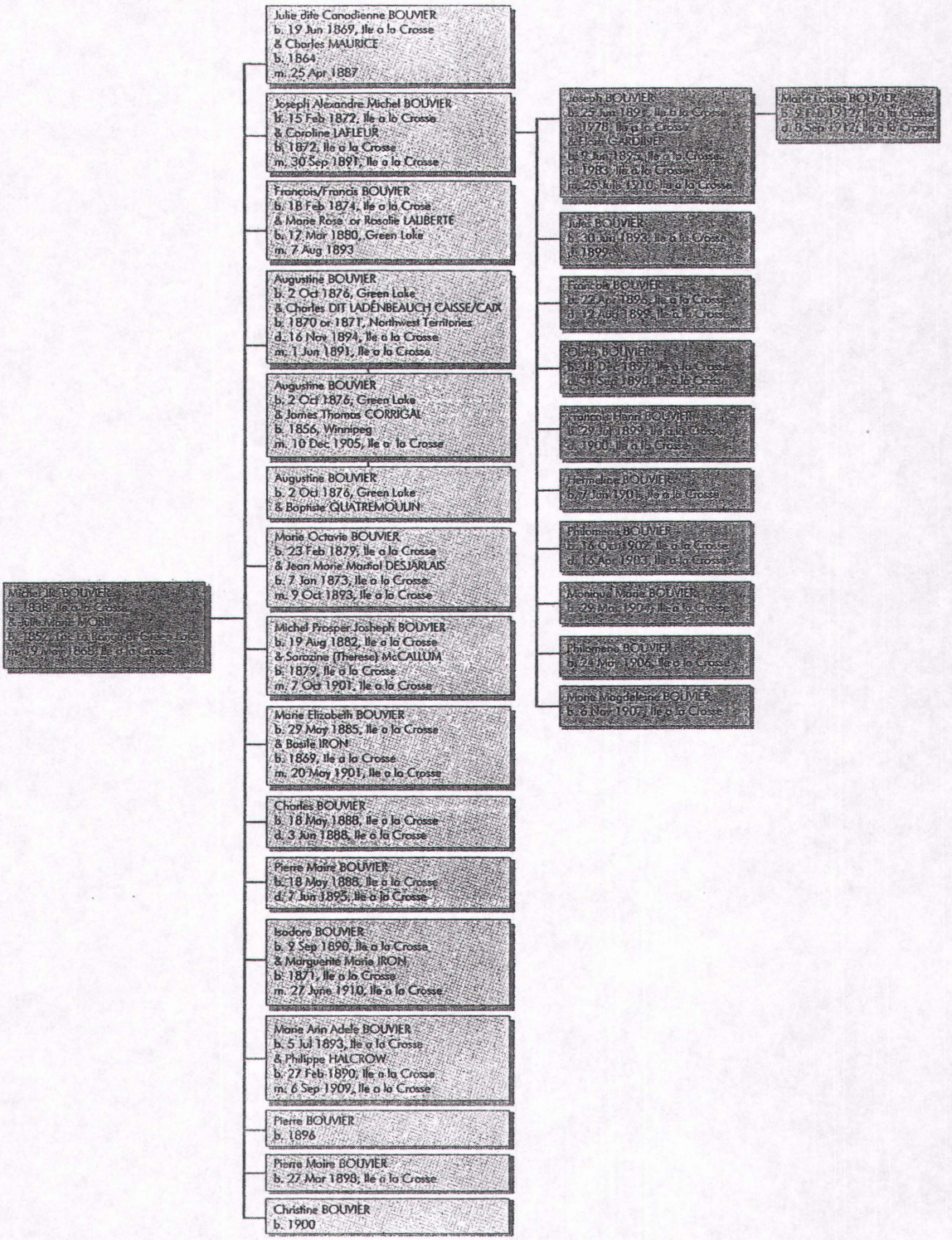
Appendix I. Delaronde Genealogy.

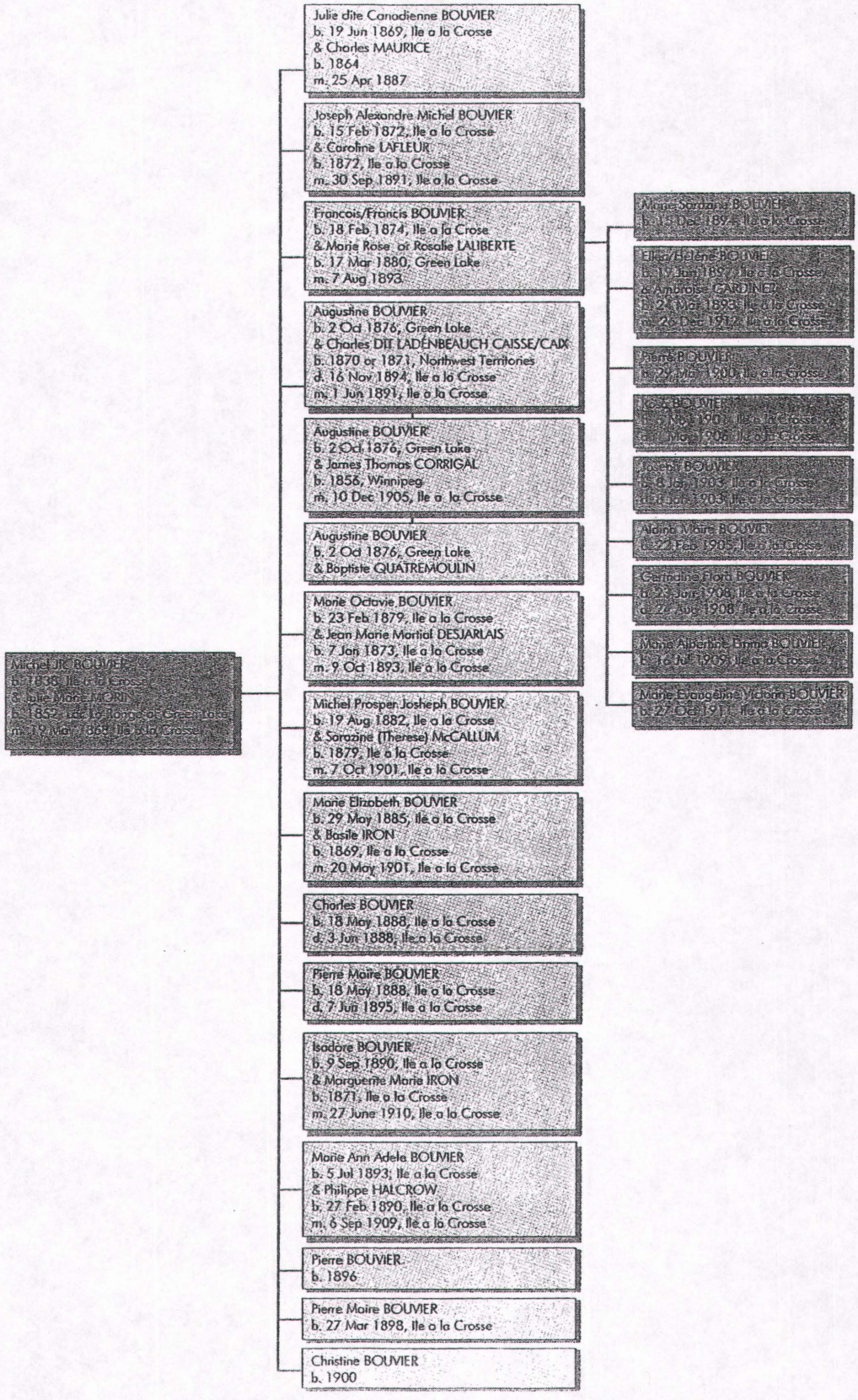


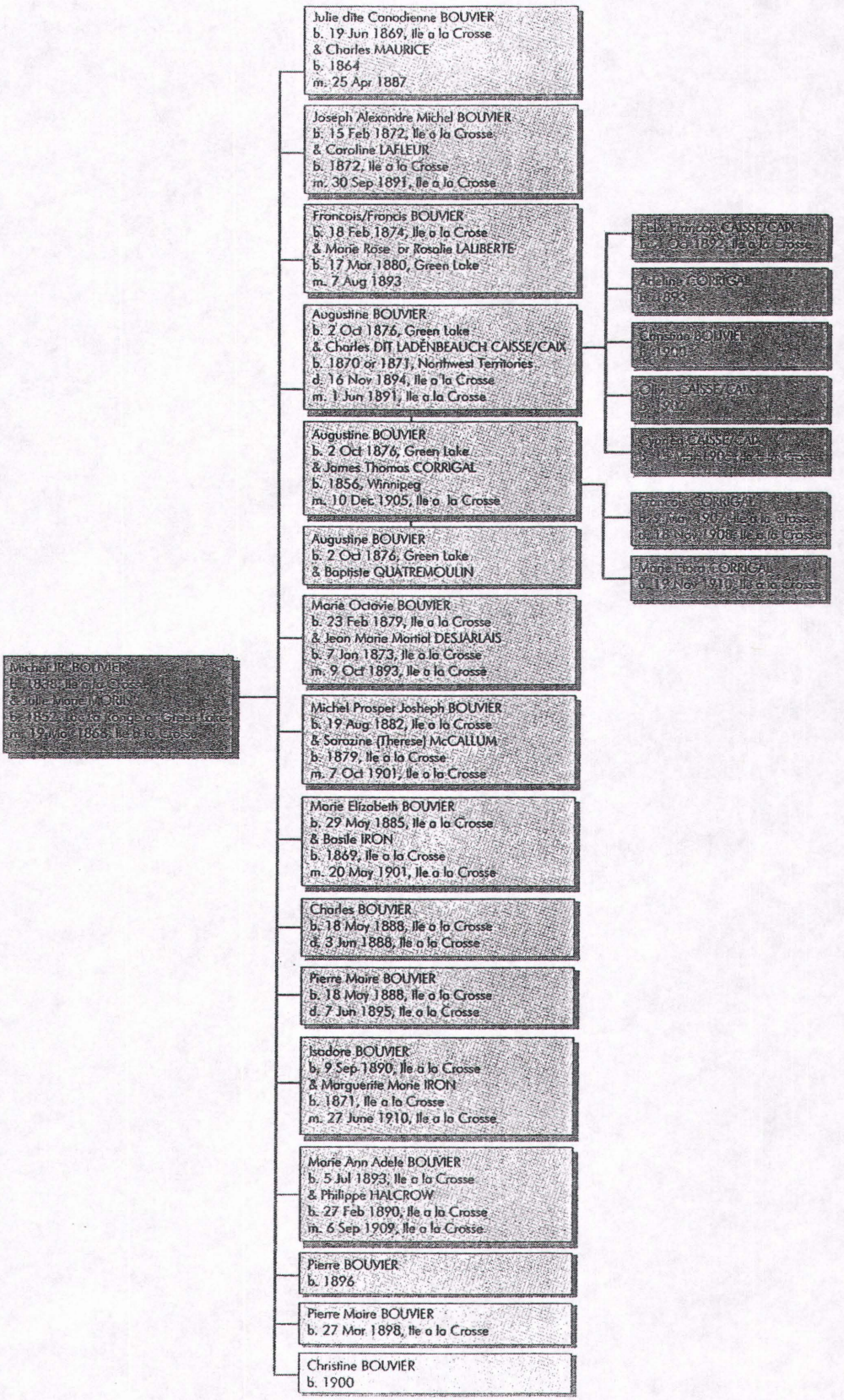
Appendix J. Bouvier Genealogy.

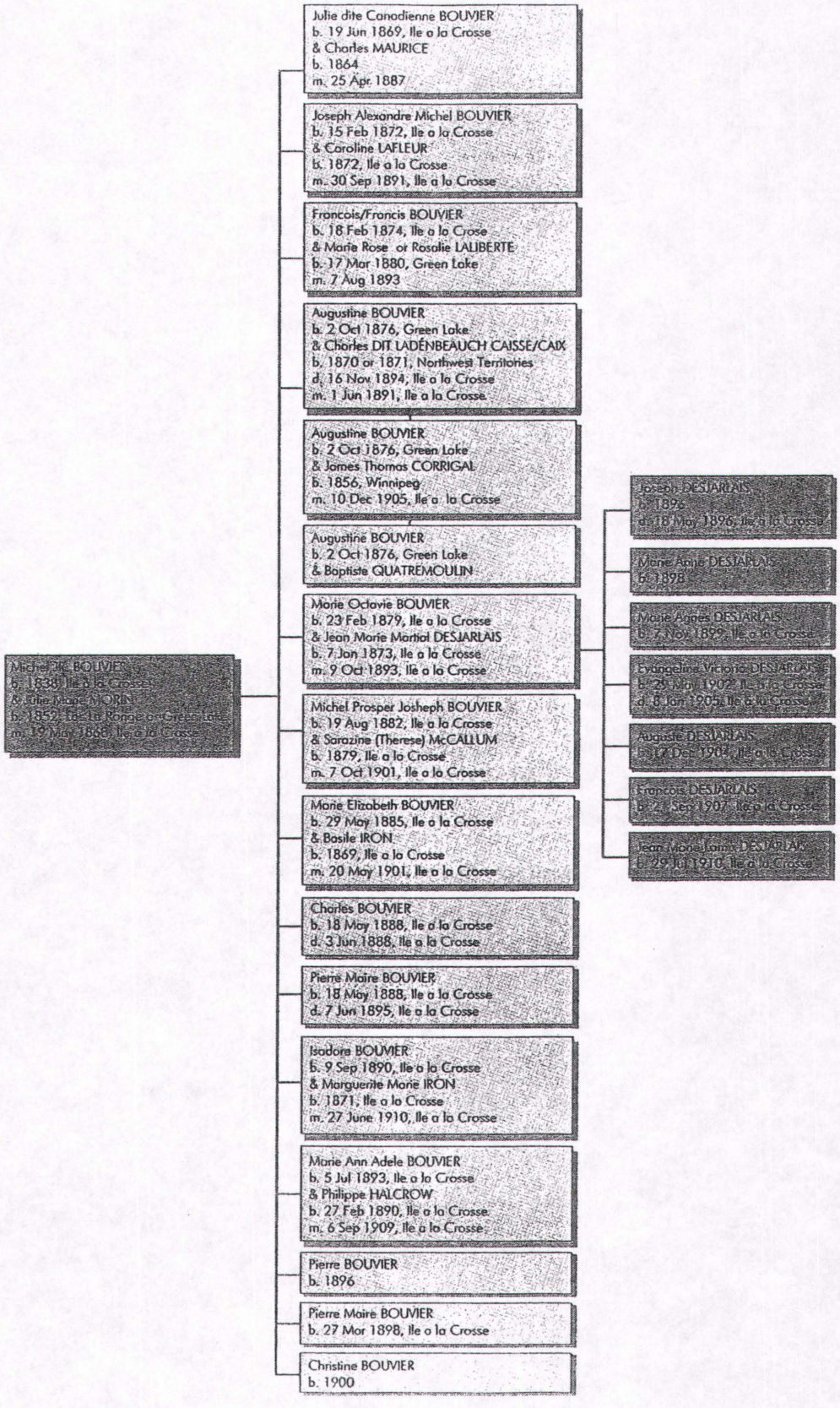


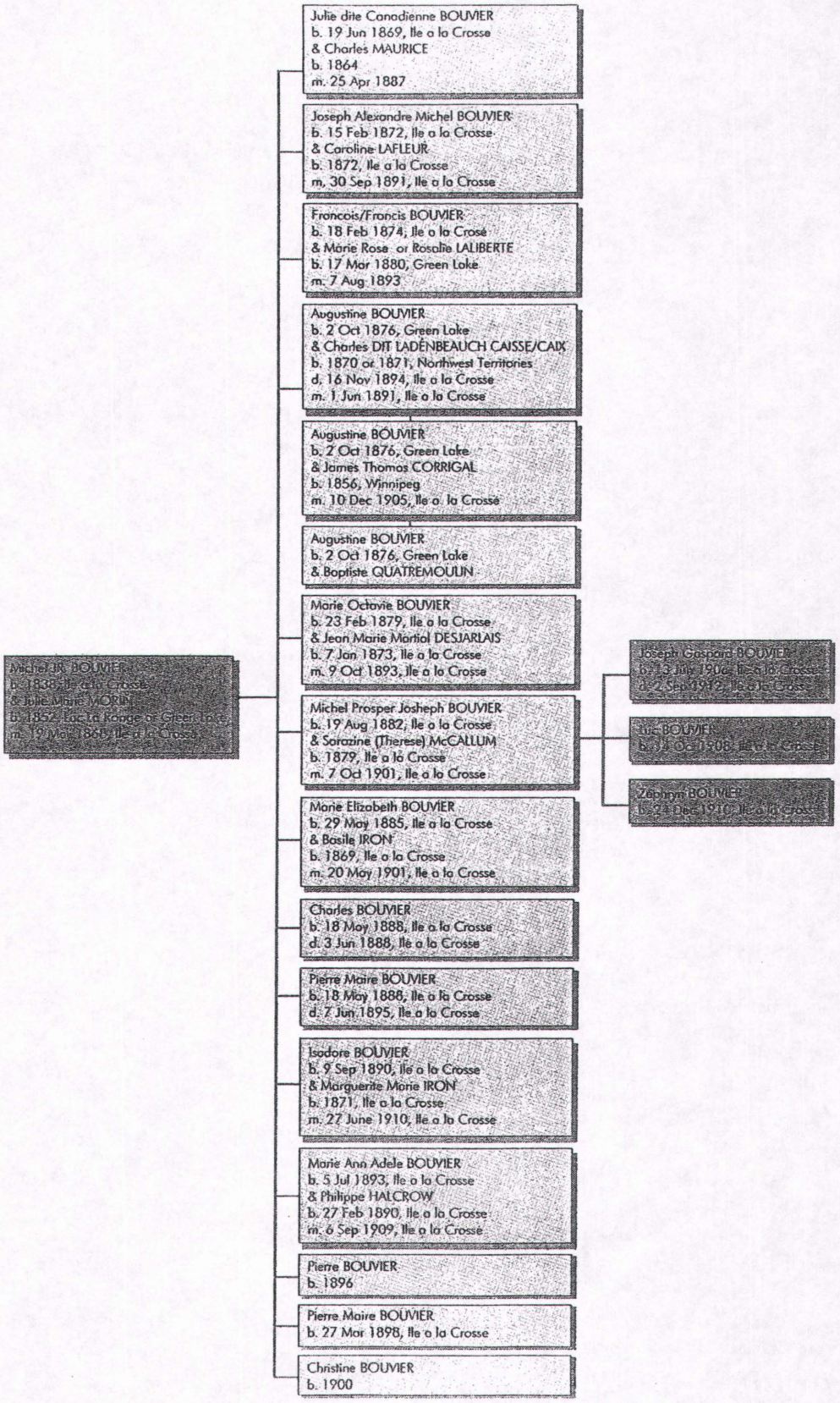

Michel Jr. BOUVIER
b. 1836, Ile a la Crosse
& Julie Marie MORIN
b. 1852, Lac La Ronge or Green Lake
m. 19 May 1868, Ile a la Crosse
Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
m. 25 Apr 1887
Marie Rose MAURICE
b. 25 Jan 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles CAISSE/CAIX
b. Oct 1883, Ile a la Crosse
m. 5 Jul 1903, Ile a la Crosse
William Alfred MAURICE
b. 16 Jul 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 28 Jan 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Adeline/Adeliane MAURICE
b. 1891, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Feb 1912, Ile a la Crosse
William Alfred MAURICE
b. 30 Oct 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Alfred MAURICE
b. Sep 1896
d. 9 Dec 1908, Ile
Honyrheim MAURICE
b. 28 Mar 1899, Ile a la Crosse
Jerome MAURICE
b. 1900, Ile a la Crosse
Mary or Marie Clementine MAURICE
b. 30 Sep 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Caroline MAURICE
b. 1906
Antoine MAURICE
b. 10 Jun 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide MAURICE
b. 23 Dec 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& George NATOMAGAN
m. 1926
William MAURICE
b. 1 Mar 191[illegible], Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Francois/Francis BOUVIER
b. 18 Feb 1874, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Rose or Rosalie LALIBERTE
b. 17 Mar 1880, Green Lake
m. 7 Aug 1893
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Charles DIT LADÉNBEAUCH CAISSE/CAIX
b. 1870 or 1871, Northwest Territories
d. 16 Nov 1894, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 10 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Baptiste QUATREMOULIN
Marie Octavie BOUVIER
b. 23 Feb 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Marie Martial DESJARLAIS
b. 7 Jan 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 9 Oct 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Michel Prosper Josheph BOUVIER
b. 19 Aug 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Sarazine (Therese) McCALLUM
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Oct 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Elizabeth BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Basile IRON
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 May 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Charles BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Jun 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Isadore BOUVIER
b. 9 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite Marie IRON
b. 1871, Ile a la Crosse
m. 27 June 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Ann Adele BOUVIER
b. 5 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philippe HALCROW
b. 27 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre BOUVIER
b. 1896
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 27 Mar 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Christine BOUVIER
b. 1900

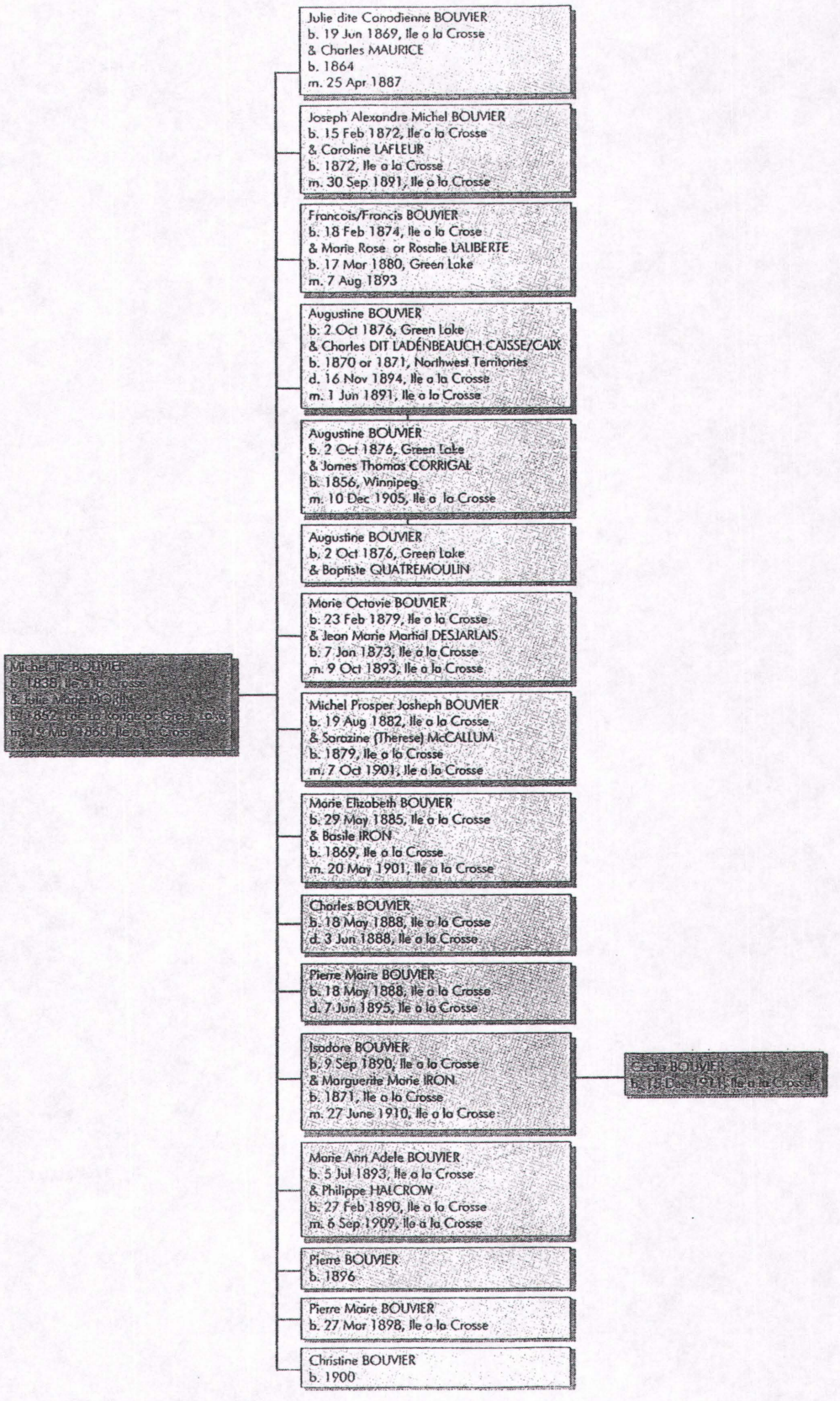

Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
m. 25 Apr 1887
Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
François/Francis BOUVIER
b. 18 Feb 1874, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Rose or Rosalie LALIBERTE
b. 17 Mar 1880, Green Lake
m. 7 Aug 1893
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Charles DIT LADENBEAUCH CAISSE/CADX
b. 1870 or 1871, Northwest Territories
d. 16 Nov 1894, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 10 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Baptiste QUATREMOULIN
Marie Octavie BOUVIER
b. 23 Feb 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Marie Mariot DESJARLAIS
b. 7 Jan 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 9 Oct 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Michel Prosper Joseph BOUVIER
b. 19 Aug 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Sorazine (Therese) McCALLUM
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Oct 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Elizabeth BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Basile IRON
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 May 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Charles BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Jun 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Moire BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Isodore BOUVIER
b. 9 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite Marie IRON
b. 1871, Ile a la Crosse
m. 27 June 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Ann Adele BOUVIER
b. 5 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philippe HALCROW
b. 27 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre BOUVIER
b. 1896
Pierre Moire BOUVIER
b. 27 Mar 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Christine BOUVIER
b. 1900
Joseph BOUVIER
b. 25 Jun 1897, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1978, Ile a la Crosse
& Elizabeth GARDINER
b. 9 Jun 1892, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1983, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Louise BOUVIER
b. 9 Feb 1912, Ile a la Crosse
d. 8 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Jules BOUVIER
b. 30 Jun 1893, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1899
Francois BOUVIER
b. 22 Apr 1895, Ile a la Crosse
d. 12 Aug 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Oliver BOUVIER
b. 18 Dec 1897, Ile a la Crosse
d. 31 Aug 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Francois Henri BOUVIER
b. 29 Jul 1899, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1900, Ile a la Crosse
Hermeline BOUVIER
b. 7 Jun 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Philomena BOUVIER
b. 16 Oct 1902, Ile a la Crosse
d. 15 Apr 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Monique Marie BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Philomena BOUVIER
b. 24 May 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Magdelaine BOUVIER
b. 6 Nov 1907, Ile a la Crosse

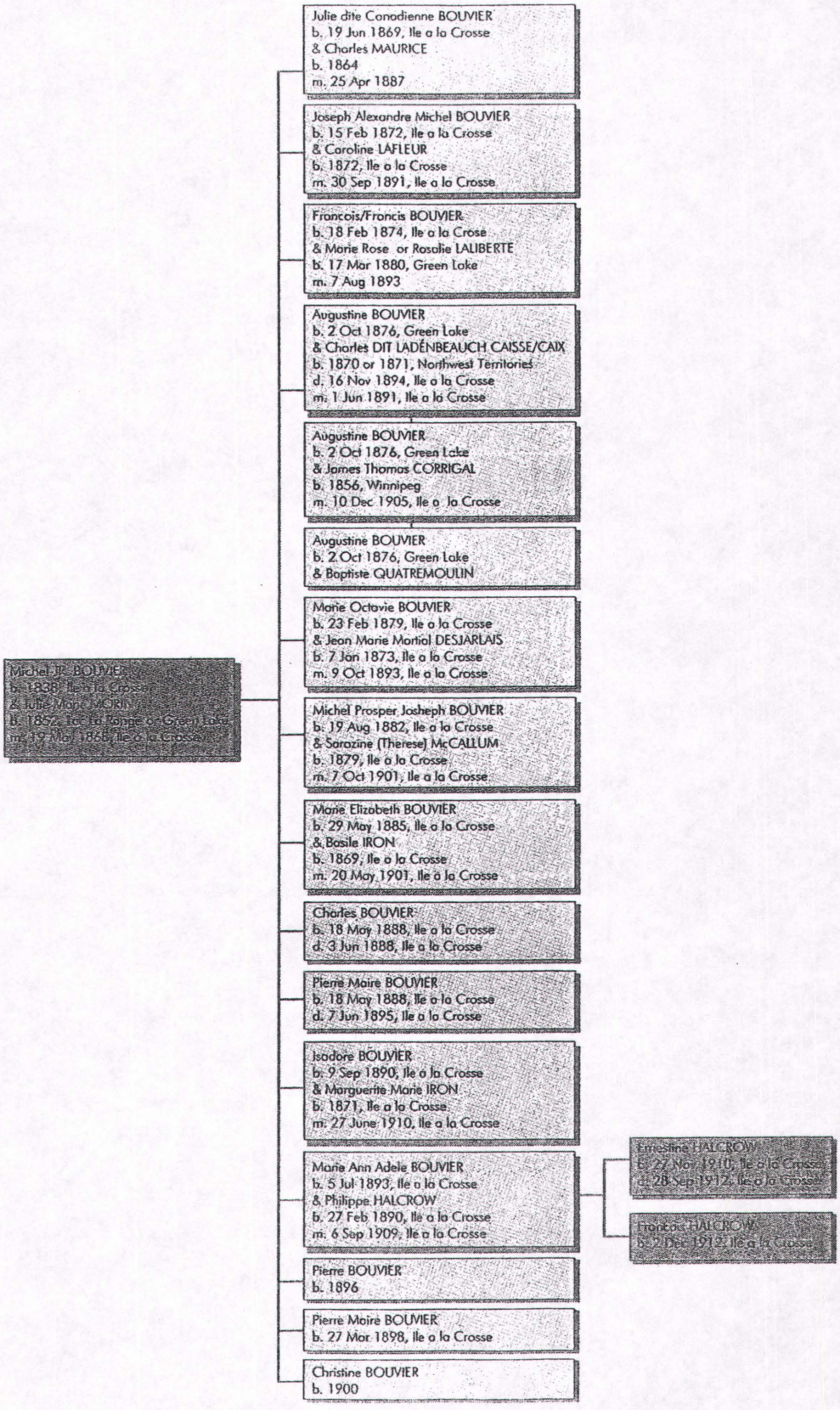

Michel JR BOUVIER
b. 1838, Ile a la Crosse
& Julie Marie MORIN
b. 1852, Lac la Ronge or Green Lake
m. 19 Mar 1869, Ile a la Crosse
Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
m. 25 Apr 1887
Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
François/Francis BOUVIER
b. 18 Feb 1874, Ile a la Crose
& Marie Rose, dit Rosalie LALIBERTE
b. 17 Mar 1880, Green Lake
m. 7 Aug 1893
Marie Sandrine BOUVIER
b. 15 Dec 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Ellen/Hélène BOUVIER
b. 17 Jun 1897, Ile a la Crosse
& Ambroise GARDINER
b. 24 Mar 1893, Ile a la Crosse
m. 26 Dec 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1900, Ile a la Crosse
[illegible] BOUVIER
b. [illegible] Nov 1901, Ile a la Crosse
d. May 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph BOUVIER
b. 4 Jan 1904, Ile a la Crosse
d. 11 Jan 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Aldine Marie BOUVIER
b. 22 Feb 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Germaine Flora BOUVIER
b. 23 Jun 1908, Ile a la Crosse
d. 27 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Albertine Emma BOUVIER
b. 16 Jul 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Evangéline Victoire BOUVIER
b. 27 Oct 1911, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Charles DIT LADENBEAUCH CAISSE/CADX
b. 1870 or 1871, Northwest Territories
d. 16 Nov 1894, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 10 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Baptiste QUATREMOULIN
Marie Octavie BOUVIER
b. 23 Feb 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Marie Martial DESJARLAIS
b. 7 Jan 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 9 Oct 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Michel Prosper Josheph BOUVIER
b. 19 Aug 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Sorazine (Therese) McCALLUM
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Oct 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Elizabeth BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Basile IRON
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 May 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Charles BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Jun 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Isadore BOUVIER
b. 9 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite Marie IRON
b. 1871, Ile a la Crosse
m. 27 June 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Ann Adele BOUVIER
b. 5 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philippe HALCROW
b. 27 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre BOUVIER
b. 1896
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 27 Mar 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Christine BOUVIER
b. 1900

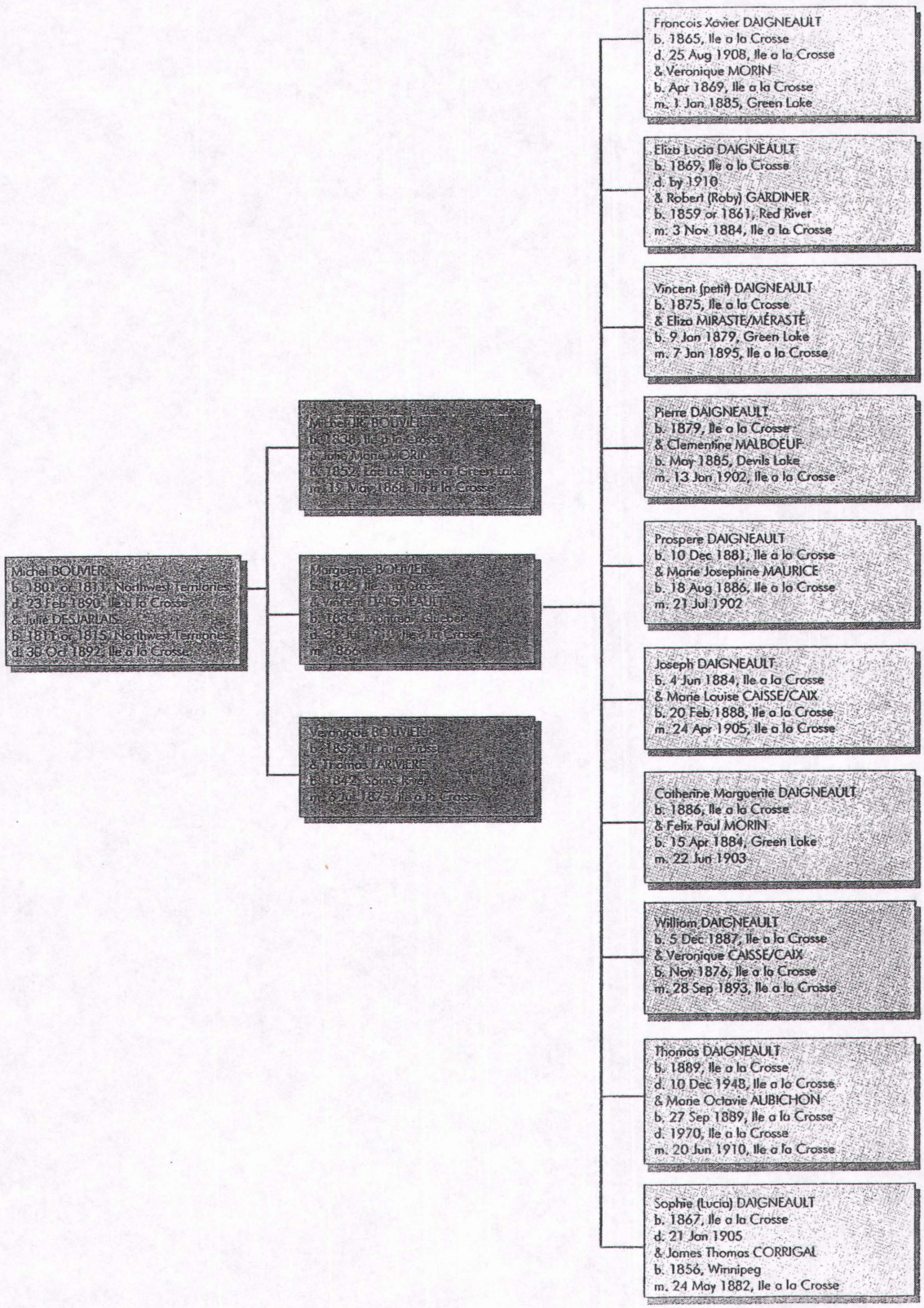

Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
m. 25 Apr 1887
Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Francois/Francis BOUVIER
b. 18 Feb 1874, Ile a la Crose
& Marie Rose or Rosalie LALIBERTE
b. 17 Mar 1880, Green Lake
m. 7 Aug 1893
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Charles DIT LADÉNBEAUCH CAISSE/CAIX
b. 1870 or 1871, Northwest Territories
d. 16 Nov 1894, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 10 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Baptiste QUATREMOULIN
Marie Octavie BOUVIER
b. 23 Feb 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Marie Martial DESJARLAIS
b. 7 Jan 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 9 Oct 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Michel Prosper Josheph BOUVIER
b. 19 Aug 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Sarazine (Therese) McCALLUM
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Oct 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Elizabeth BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Basile IRON
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 May 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Charles BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Jun 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Isadore BOUVIER
b. 9 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite Marie IRON
b. 1871, Ile a la Crosse
m. 27 June 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Ann Adele BOUVIER
b. 5 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philippe HALCROW
b. 27 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre BOUVIER
b. 1896
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 27 Mar 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Christine BOUVIER
b. 1900

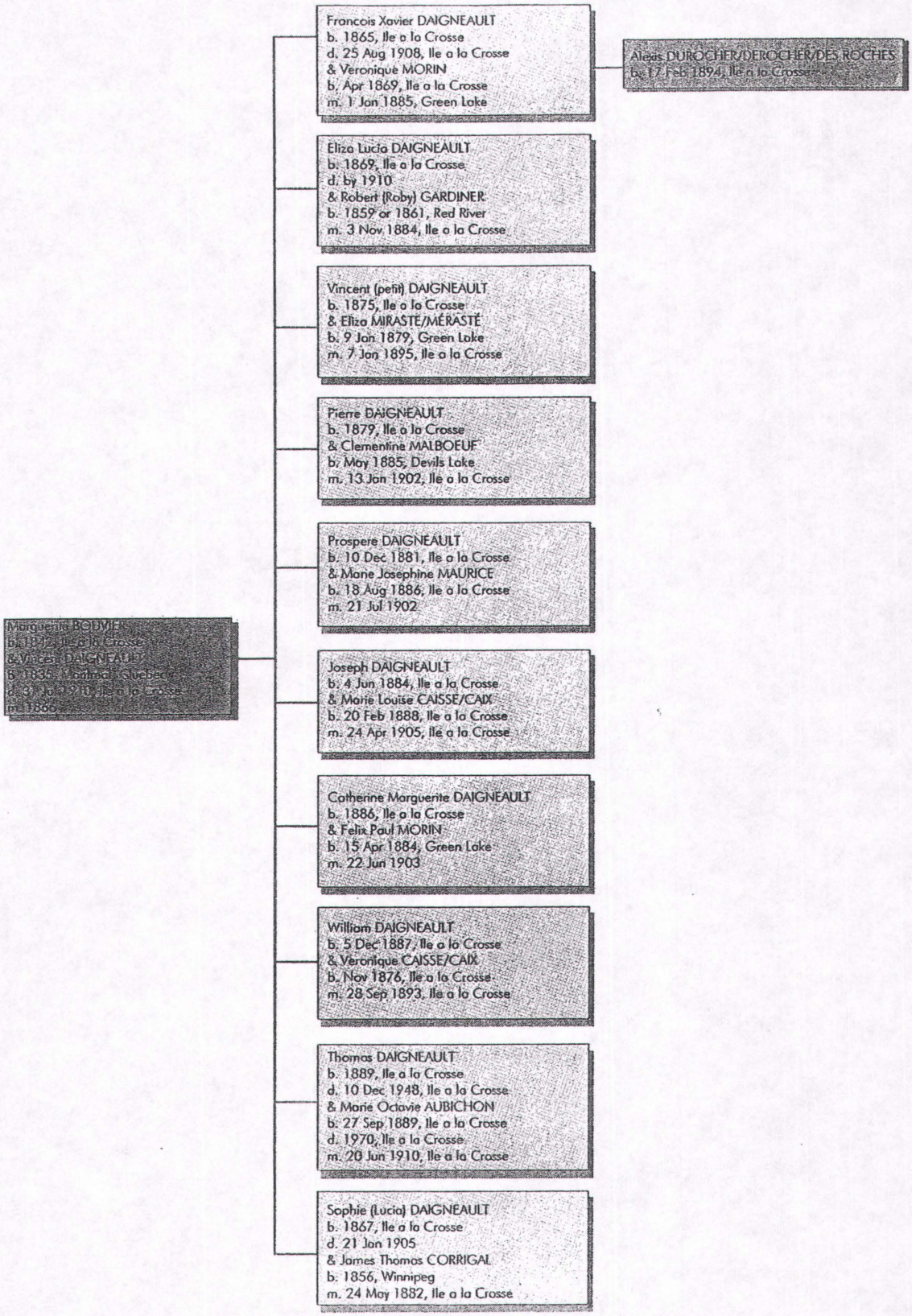

Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
m. 25 Apr 1887
Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Francois/Francis BOUVIER
b. 18 Feb 1874, Ile a la Crose
& Marie Rose or Rosalie LALIBERTE
b. 17 Mar 1880, Green Lake
m. 7 Aug 1893
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Charles DIT LADÉNBEAUCH CAISSE/CAIX
b. 1870 or 1871, Northwest Territories
d. 16 Nov 1894, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 10 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Baptiste QUATREMOULIN
Marie Octavie BOUVIER
b. 23 Feb 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Marie Martial DESJARLAIS
b. 7 Jan 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 9 Oct 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph DESJARLAIS
b. 1895
d. 18 May 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Annie DESJARLAIS
b. 1898
Marie Agnes DESJARLAIS
b. 7 Nov 1899, Ile a la Crosse
Eulogeline Victoria DESJARLAIS
b. 29 May 1902, Ile a la Crosse
d. 8 Jan 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Auguste DESJARLAIS
b. 17 Dec 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Francois DESJARLAIS
b. 21 Sep 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Jean Marie Lamy DESJARLAIS
b. 29 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Michel "R." BOUVIER
b. 1838, Ile a la Crosse
& Julie Marie MORIN
b. 1852, Ile La Ronge or Green Lake
m. 19 May 1868, Ile a la Crosse
Michel Prosper Josheph BOUVIER
b. 19 Aug 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Sarazine (Therese) McCALLUM
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Oct 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Elizabeth BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Basile IRON
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 May 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Charles BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Jun 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Isadora BOUVIER
b. 9 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite Marie IRON
b. 1871, Ile a la Crosse
m. 27 June 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Ann Adele BOUVIER
b. 5 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philippe HALCROW
b. 27 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre BOUVIER
b. 1896
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 27 Mar 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Christine BOUVIER
b. 1900

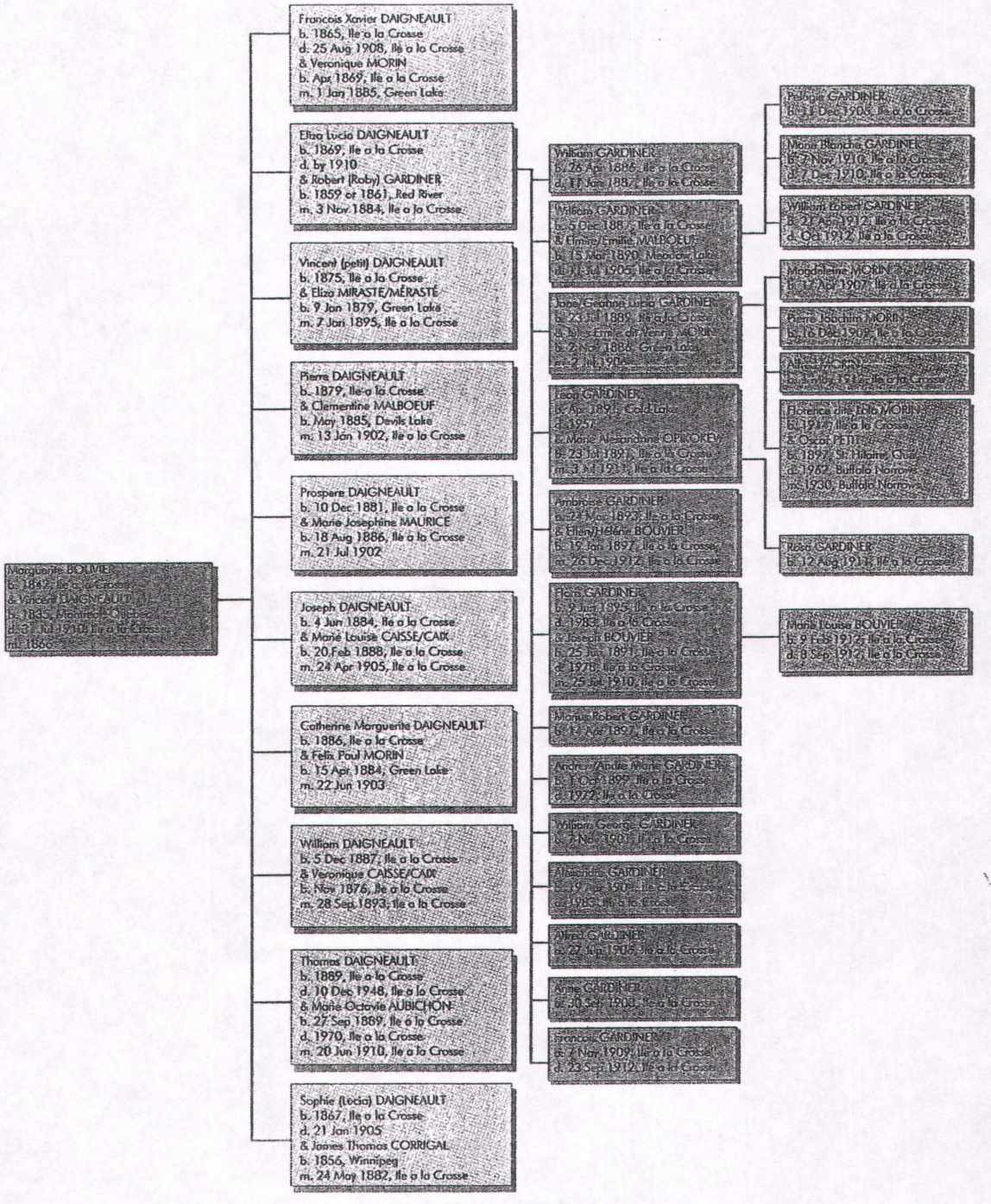

Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
m. 25 Apr 1887
Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Francois/Francis BOUVIER
b. 18 Feb 1874, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Rose or Rosalie LALIBERTE
b. 17 Mar 1880, Green Lake
m. 7 Aug 1893
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Charles DIT LADENBEAUCH CAISSE/CAIX
b. 1870 or 1871, Northwest Territories
d. 16 Nov 1894, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 10 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Baptiste QUATREMOULIN
Marie Octavie BOUVIER
b. 23 Feb 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Marie Martial DESJARLAIS
b. 7 Jan 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 9 Oct 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Michel JR. BOUVIER
b. 1838, Ile a la Crosse
& Julie Marie MORIN
b. 1852, Lac la Ronge or Green Lake
m. 19 May 1868, Ile a la Crosse
Michel Prosper Josheph BOUVIER
b. 19 Aug 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Sorazine (Therese) McCALLUM
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Oct 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Gaspard BOUVIER
b. 13 Jul 1902, Ile a la Crosse
d. 2 Sep 1992, Ile a la Crosse
Jr. BOUVIER
b. 9 Oct 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Zéphyrin BOUVIER
b. 24 Dec 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Elizabeth BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Basile IRON
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 May 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Charles BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Jun 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Isadore BOUVIER
b. 9 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite Marie IRON
b. 1871, Ile a la Crosse
m. 27 June 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Ann Adele BOUVIER
b. 5 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philippe HALCROW
b. 27 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre BOUVIER
b. 1896
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 27 Mar 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Christine BOUVIER
b. 1900

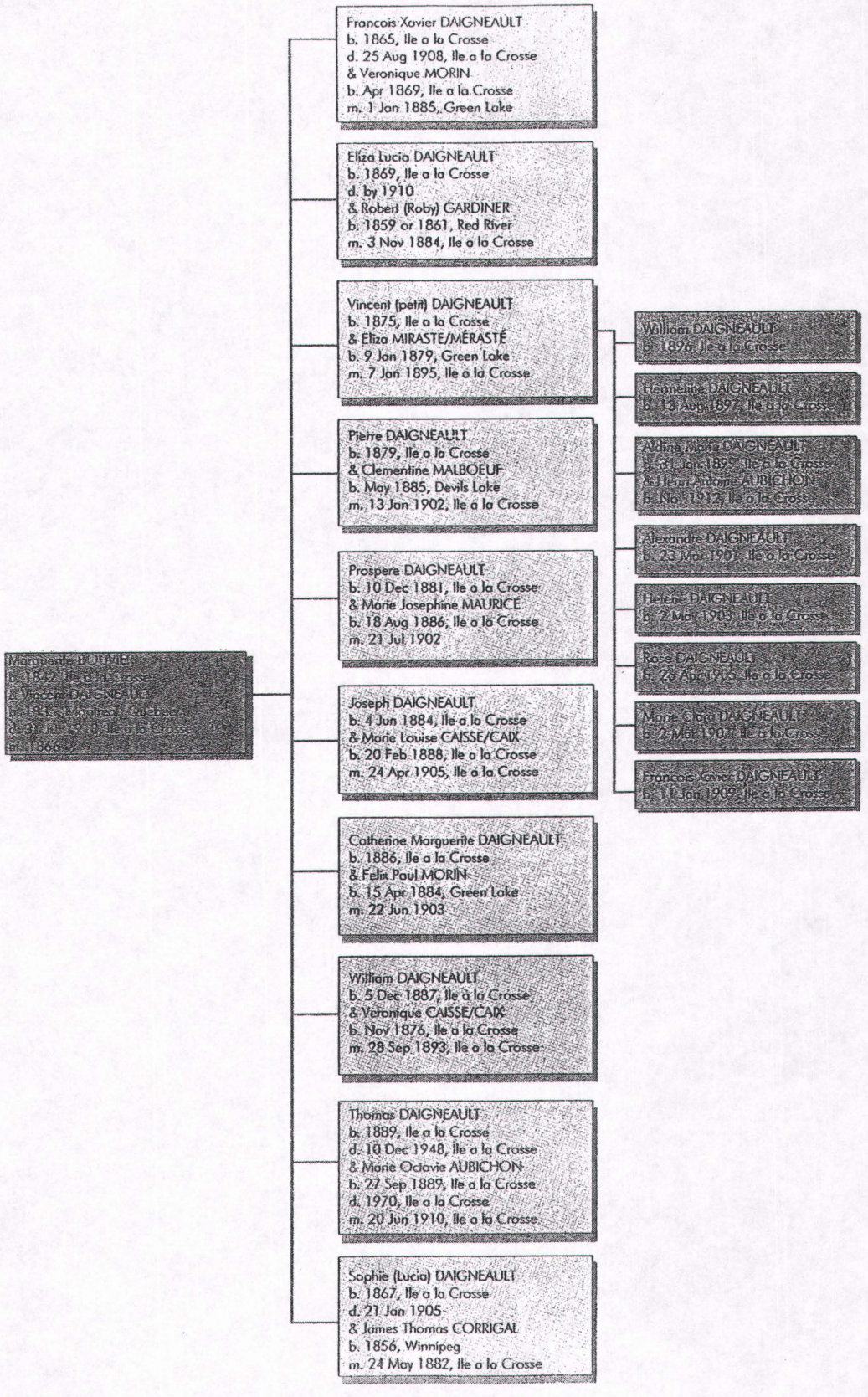

Julie dite Conodienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
m. 25 Apr 1887
Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Francois/Francis BOUVIER
b. 18 Feb 1874, Ile a la Crose
& Marie Rose or Rosalie LALIBERTE
b. 17 Mar 1880, Green Lake
m. 7 Aug 1893
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Charles DIT LADÉNBEAUCH CAISSE/CAIX
b. 1870 or 1871, Northwest Territories
d. 16 Nov 1894, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 10 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Baptiste QUATREMOULIN
Marie Octavie BOUVIER
b. 23 Feb 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Marie Martial DESJARLAIS
b. 7 Jan 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 9 Oct 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Michel Prosper Josheph BOUVIER
b. 19 Aug 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Sarazine (Therese) McCALLUM
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Oct 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Elizabeth BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Basile IRON
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 May 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Charles BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Jun 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Isadore BOUVIER
b. 9 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite Marie IRON
b. 1871, Ile a la Crosse
m. 27 June 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Ann Adele BOUVIER
b. 5 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philippe HALCROW
b. 27 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre BOUVIER
b. 1896
Pierre Maire BOUVIER
b. 27 Mar 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Christine BOUVIER
b. 1900

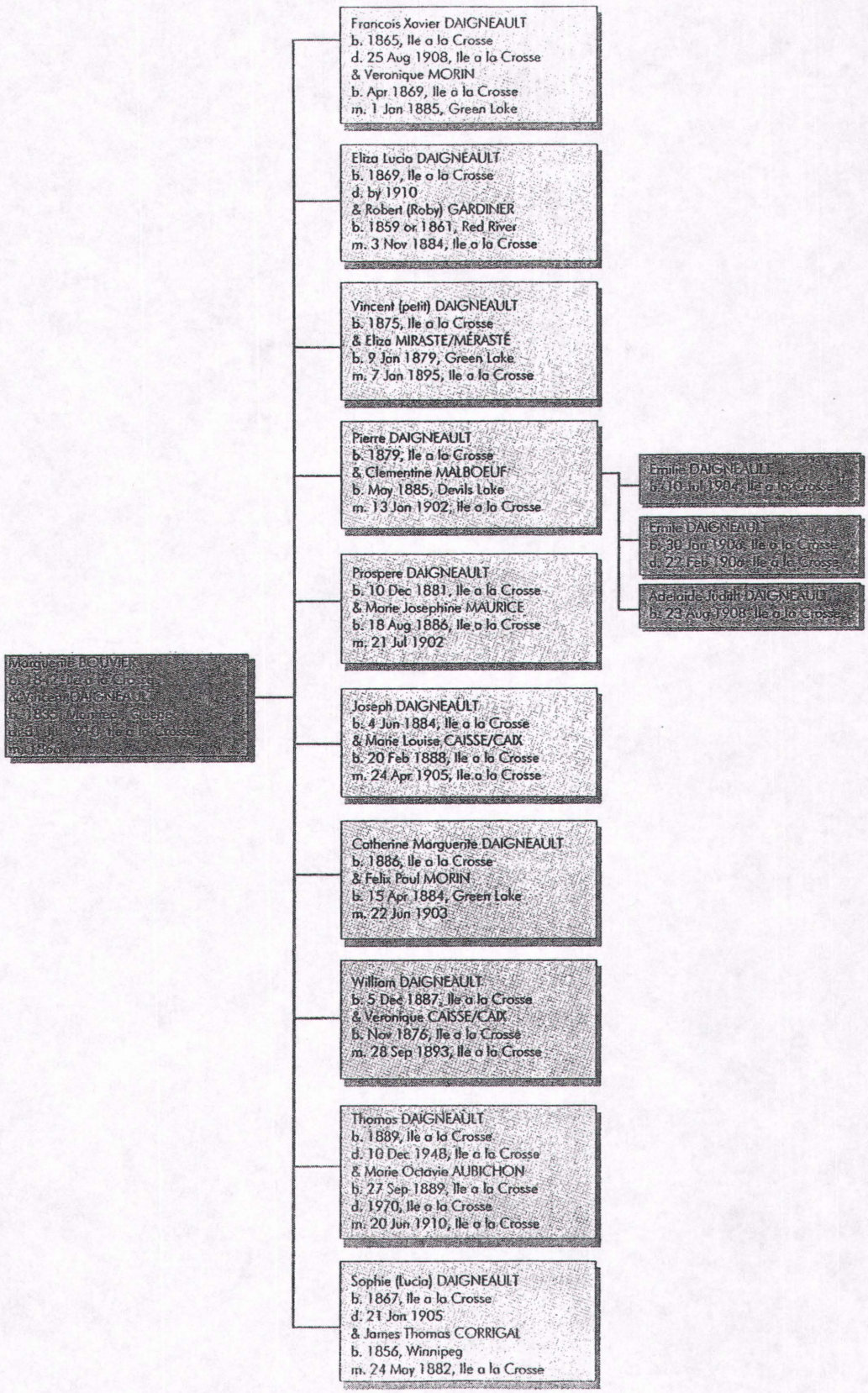

Michel Jr. BOUVIER
b. 1838, Ile a la Crosse
& Julie Marie MORIN
b. 1852, Lac La Ronge or Grand Lake
m. 19 May 1868, Ile a la Crosse
Julie dite Canadienne BOUVIER
b. 19 Jun 1869, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles MAURICE
b. 1864
m. 25 Apr 1887
Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Francois/Francis BOUVIER
b. 18 Feb 1874, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Rose or Rosalie LALIBERTE
b. 17 Mar 1880, Green Lake
m. 7 Aug 1893
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Charles DIT LADÉNBEAUCH CAISSE/CAIX
b. 1870 or 1871, Northwest Territories
d. 16 Nov 1894, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 10 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine BOUVIER
b. 2 Oct 1876, Green Lake
& Baptiste QUATREMOULIN
Marie Octavie BOUVIER
b. 23 Feb 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Jean Marie Martial DESJARLAIS
b. 7 Jan 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 9 Oct 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Michel Prosper Josheph BOUVIER
b. 19 Aug 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Sarazine (Therese) McCALLUM
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Oct 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Elizabeth BOUVIER
b. 29 May 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Basile IRON
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 May 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Charles BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Jun 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Moire BOUVIER
b. 18 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Isadore BOUVIER
b. 9 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Marguerite Marie IRON
b. 1871, Ile a la Crosse
m. 27 June 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Ann Adele BOUVIER
b. 5 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse
& Philippe HALCROW
b. 27 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Ernestine HALCROW
b. 27 Nov 1910, Ile a la Crosse
d. 28 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Francois HALCROW
b. ? Dec 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre BOUVIER
b. 1896
Pierre Moire BOUVIER
b. 27 Mar 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Christine BOUVIER
b. 1900

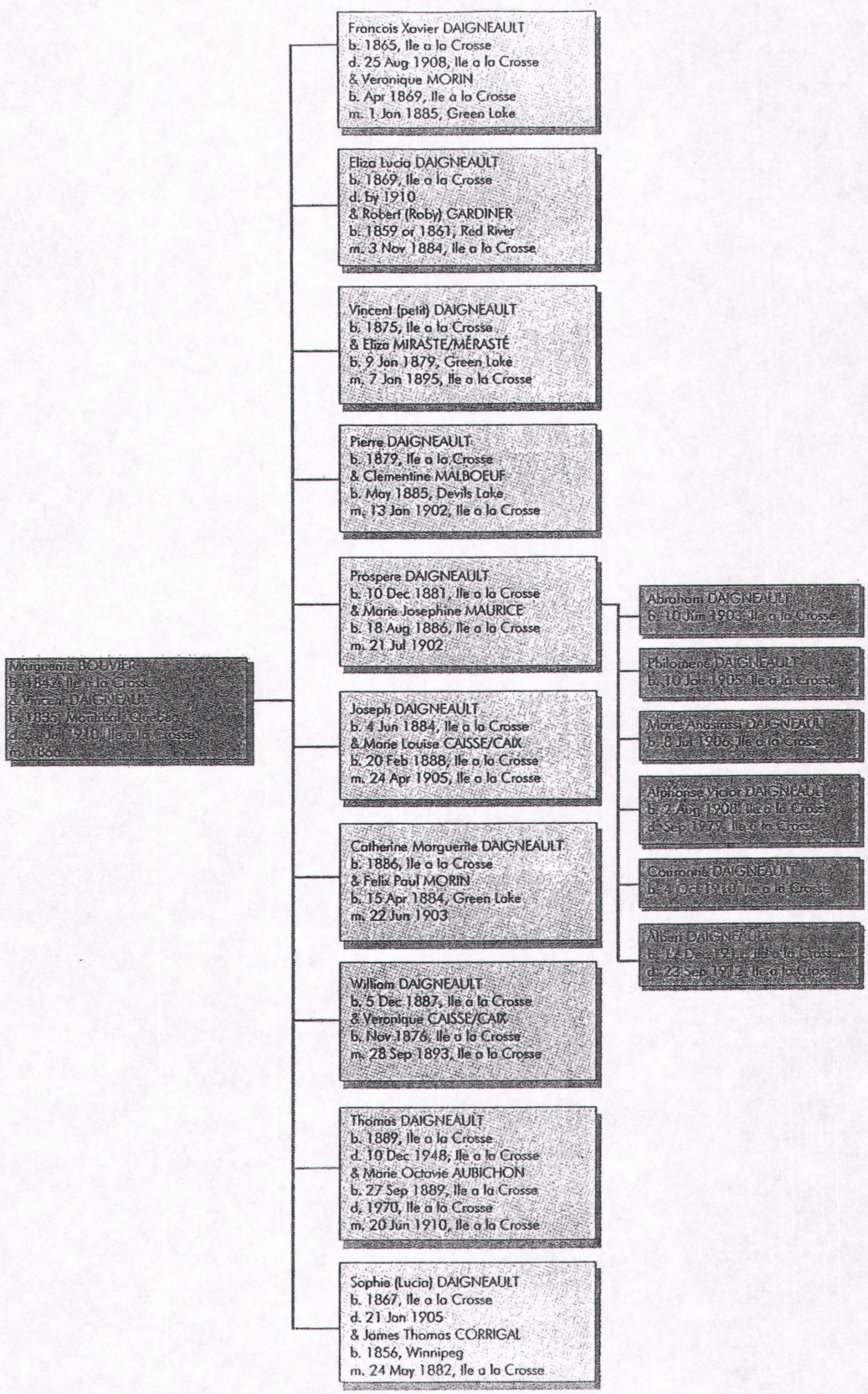

Michel BOUVIER
b. 1801 or 1811, Northwest Territories
d. 23 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Julie DESJARLAIS
b. 1811 or 1815, Northwest Territories
d. 30 Oct 1892, Ile a la Crosse
Michel JR. BOUVIER
1837-1838, Ile a la Crosse
& Jane Mona MORIN
b. 1852, Lac La Ronge or Green Lake
m. 19 May 1868, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite BOUVIER
b. 1842, Ile a la Crosse
& Vincent DAIGNEAULT
b. 1833, Montreal, Quebec
d. 28 Feb 1914, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1866
Veronique BOUVIER
b. 1853, Ile a la Crosse
& Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1842, Sorel, Quebec
m. 6 Jul 1872, Ile a la Crosse
Francois Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Eliza Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Eliza MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louise CAISSE/CAIX
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jun 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CAIX
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucia) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse

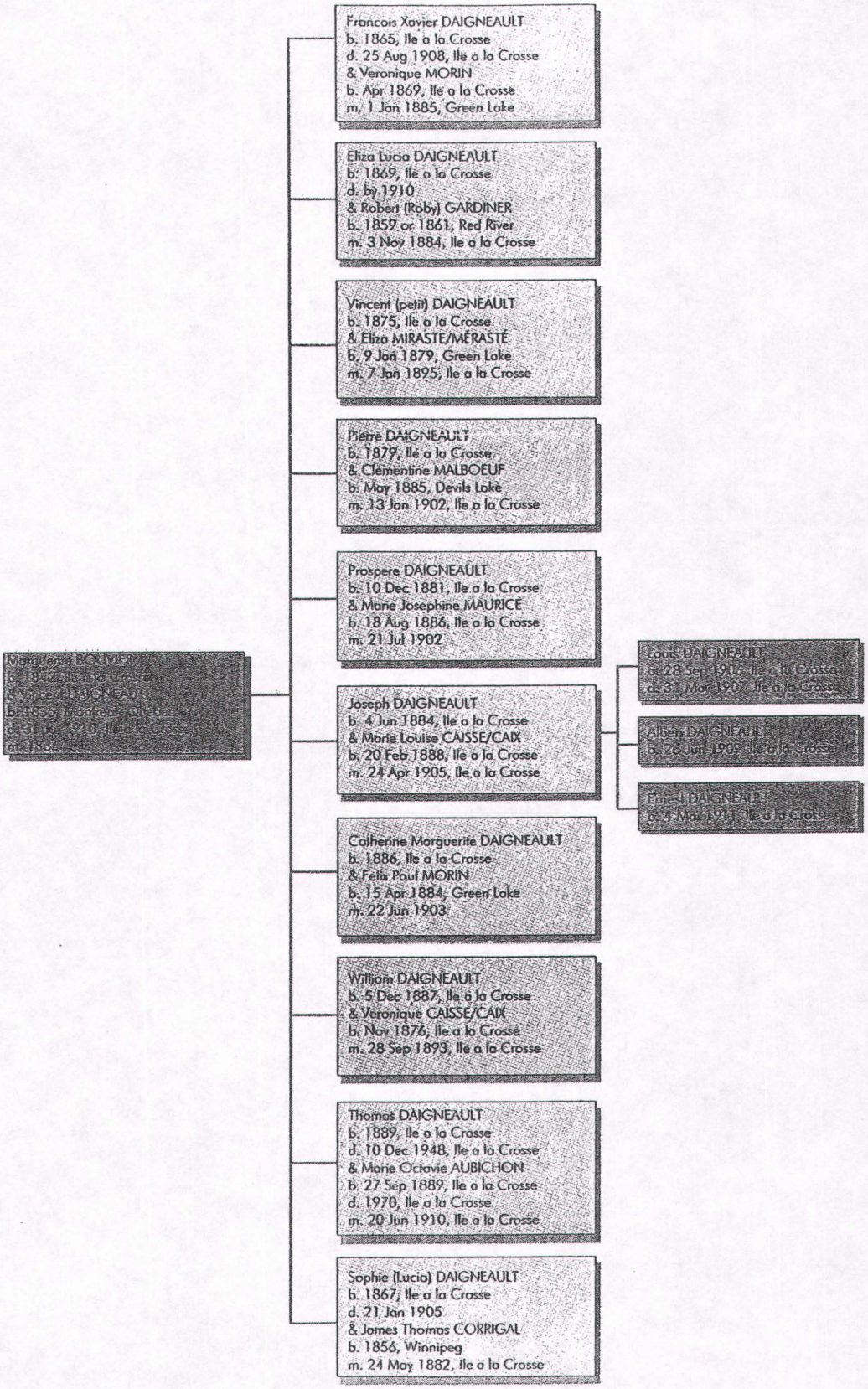

Marguerite BOUVIER
b. 1842, Ile a la Crosse
& Vincent DAIGNEAULT
b. 1835, Montreal, Quebec
d. 31 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1860
Francois Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Alexis DUROCHER/DEROCHER/DES ROCHES
b. 17 Feb 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Eliza Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Eliza MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louise CAISSE/CAIX
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jun 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CAIX
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucia) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse

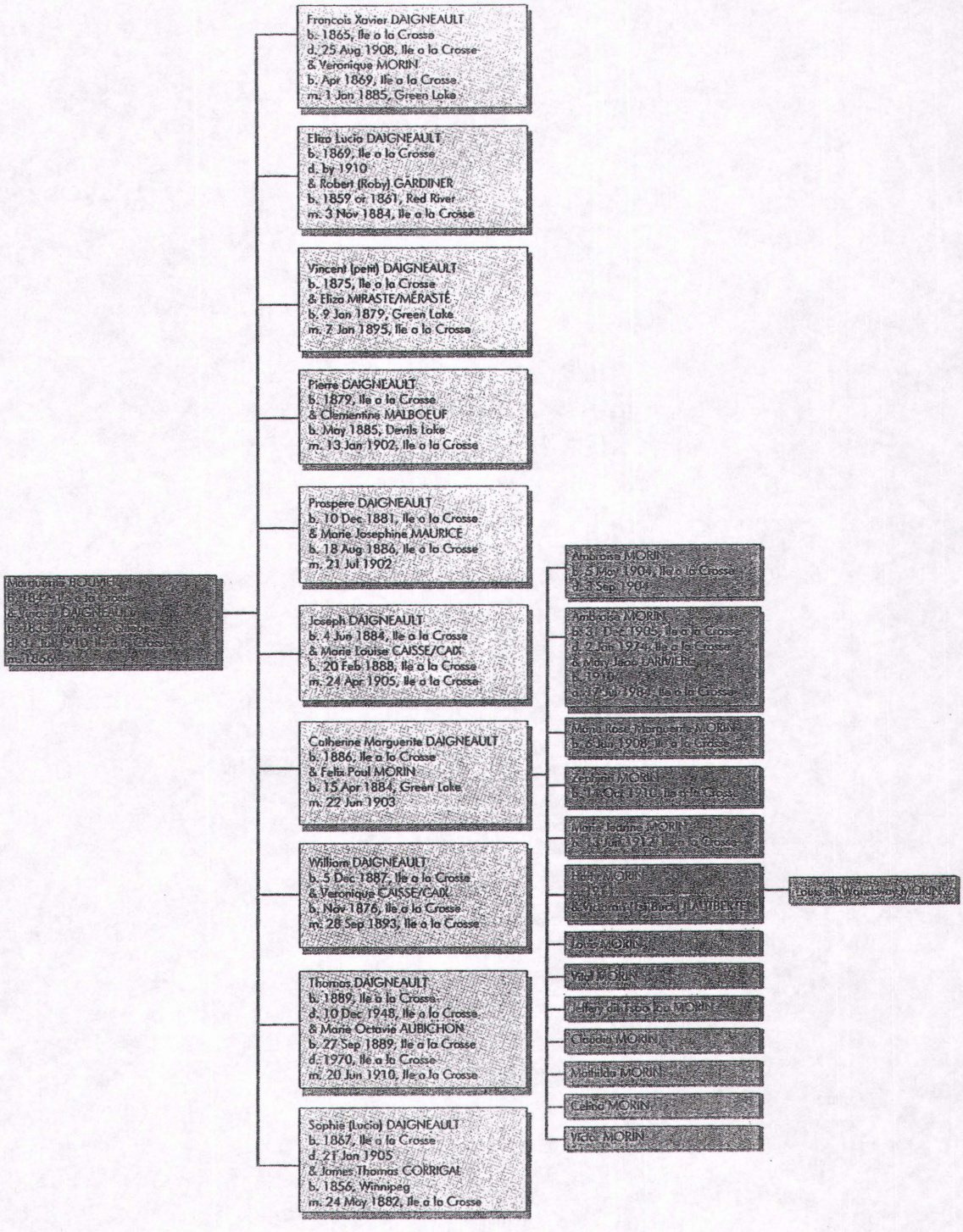

Marguerite BOUVIER
b. 1842, Ile a la Crosse
& Vincent DAIGNEAULT (I)
b. 1835, Montréal, Québec
d. 3 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1866
François Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Eliza Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Eliza MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louise CAISSE/CAIX
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jun 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CAIX
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucia) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse
William GARDINER
b. 26 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
d. 11 Jan 1887, Ile a la Crosse
William GARDINER
b. 9 Dec 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Emma/Emilie MALBOEUF
b. 15 Mar 1890, Meadow Lake
d. 31 Jul 1905, Ile a la Crosse
John/George Louis GARDINER
b. 23 Jul 1889, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Emilie dit Anne MORIN
b. 2 Nov 1886, Green Lake
m. 7 Jul 1908
Jean GARDINER
b. Apr 1891, Cold Lake
d. 1957
& Marie Alexandrine OPIKOKEW
b. 23 Jul 1892, Ile a la Crosse
m. 3 Jul 1911, Ile a la Crosse
Ambroise GARDINER
b. 24 Mar 1897, Ile a la Crosse
& Ellen/Hélène BOUVIER
b. 19 Jan 1897, Ile a la Crosse
m. 26 Dec 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Flora GARDINER
b. 9 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1983, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph BOUVIER
b. 25 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1978, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marius Robert GARDINER
b. 14 Apr 1892, Ile a la Crosse
Andrew/André Marie GARDINER
b. 1 Oct 1899, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1972, Ile a la Crosse
William George GARDINER
b. 2 Nov 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Alexandre GARDINER
b. 19 Jan 1905, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1983, Ile a la Crosse
Alfred GARDINER
b. 27 Jun 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Anne GARDINER
b. 30 Sep 1908, Ile a la Crosse
François GARDINER
b. 7 Nov 1909, Ile a la Crosse
d. 23 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Pelagie GARDINER
b. 11 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Blanche GARDINER
b. 7 Nov 1910, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Dec 1910, Ile a la Crosse
William Robert GARDINER
b. 21 Aug 1912, Ile a la Crosse
d. Oct 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Magdeleine MORIN
b. 12 Apr 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Joachim MORIN
b. 16 Dec 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Alfred MORIN
b. May 1911, Ile a la Crosse
Florence dite Lilo MORIN
b. 1912, Ile a la Crosse
& Oscar PETIT
b. 1892, St. Hilaire, Que.
d. 1962, Buffalo Narrows
m. 1930, Buffalo Narrows
Rose GARDINER
b. 12 Aug 1914, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Louise BOUVIER
b. 9 Feb 1912, Ile a la Crosse
d. 8 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse

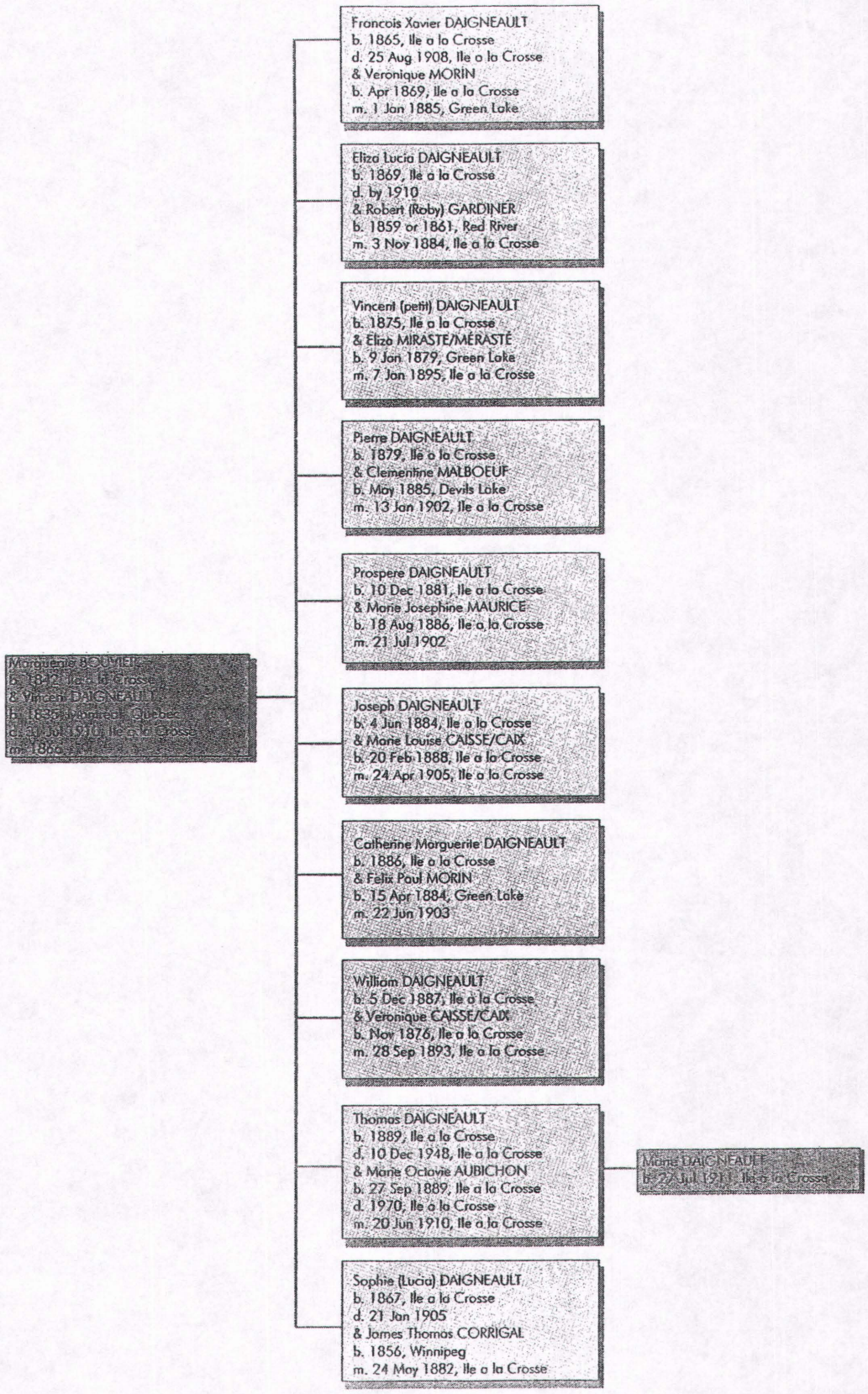

Marguerite BOUVIER
b. 1842, Ile a la Crosse
& Vincent DAIGNEAULT
b. 1835, Montreal, Quebec
d. 31 Jul 1878, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1866
Francois Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Eliza Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Eliza MIRASTE/MÉRASTÉ
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Hermeline DAIGNEAULT
b. 13 Aug 1897, Ile a la Crosse
Adine Marie DAIGNEAULT
b. 31 Jan 1899, Ile a la Crosse
& Henri Antoine AUBICHON
b. Nov 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Alexandre DAIGNEAULT
b. 23 Mar 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Helene DAIGNEAULT
b. 2 Mar 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Rose DAIGNEAULT
b. 26 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Clara DAIGNEAULT
b. 2 Mai 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Francois Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1 Jan 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louise CAISSE/CAIX
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jun 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CAIX
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucia) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse

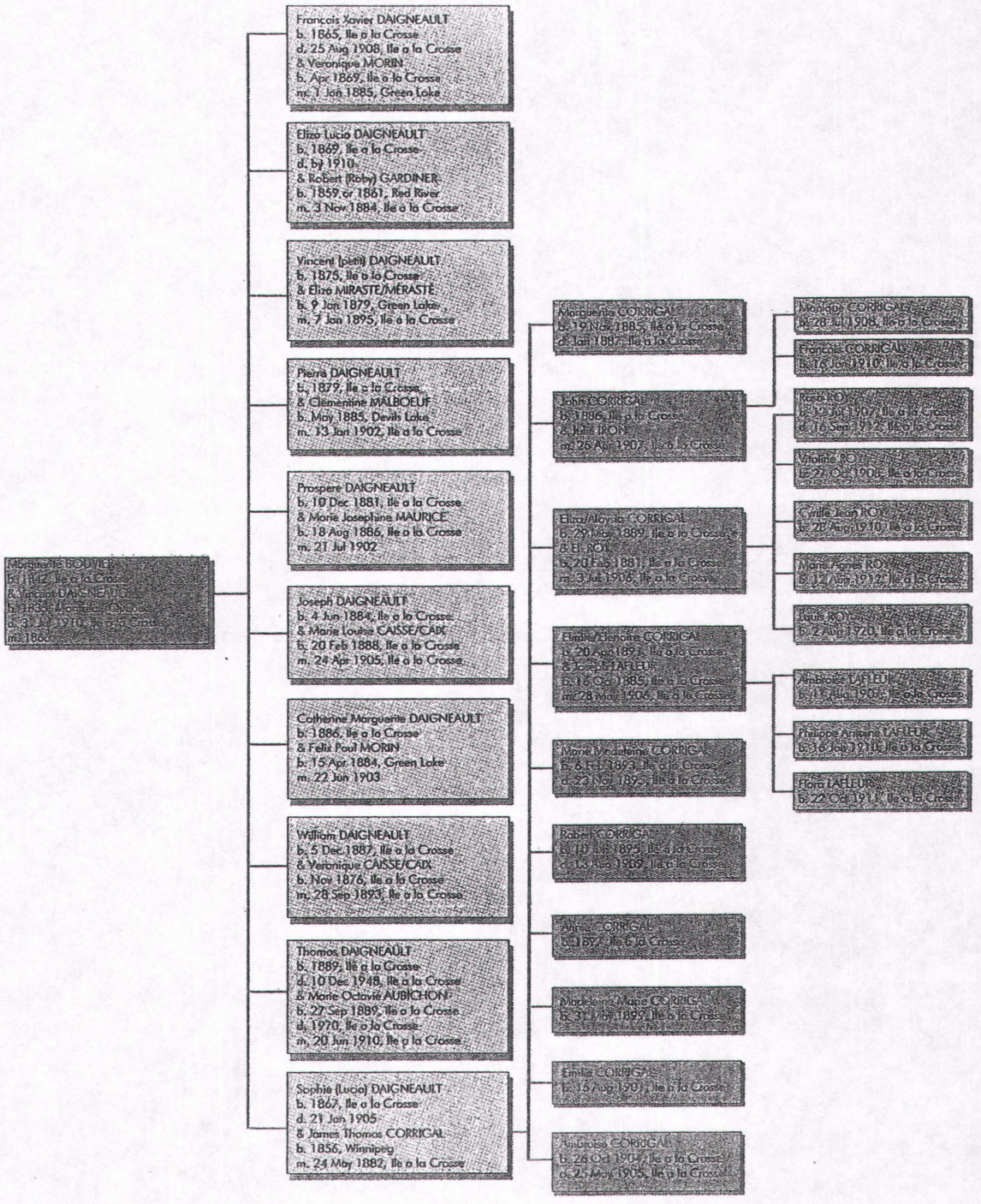

Marguerite BOUVIER
b. 15 Aug 1842, Ile a la Crosse
& Vincent DAIGNEAULT
b. 1835, Montreal, Quebec
d. 31 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1860
Francois Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Eliza Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Eliza MIRASTE/MÉRASTÉ
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Emile DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Jul 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Emile DAIGNEAULT
b. 30 Jan 1906, Ile a la Crosse
d. 22 Feb 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide Judith DAIGNEAULT
b. 23 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louise CAISSE/CAIX
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jun 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CAIX
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucia) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse

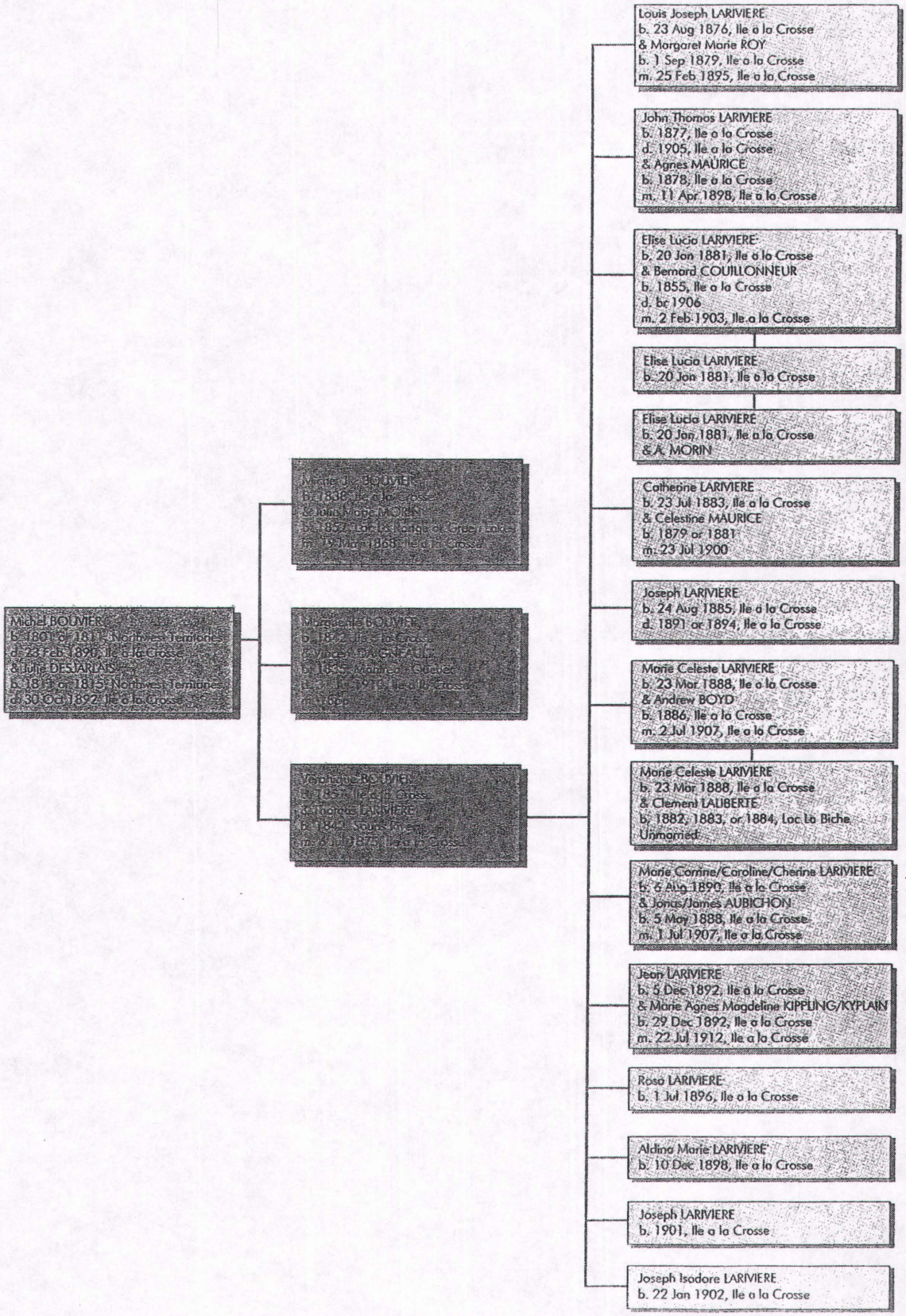

Marguerite BOUVIER
b. 1842, Ile a la Crosse
& Vincent DAIGNEAULT
b. 1835, Montreal, Quebec
d. 23 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
m. Bodo
François Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Eliza Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Eliza MIRASTE/MÉRASTÉ
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Abraham DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Jun 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Jan 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Anastasie DAIGNEAULT
b. 8 Jul 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Alphonse Victor DAIGNEAULT
b. 2 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
d. Sep 1979, Ile a la Crosse
Couronne DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Oct 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Albert DAIGNEAULT
b. 24 Dec 191_, Ile a la Crosse
d. 23 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louise CAISSE/CAIX
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jun 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CAIX
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucia) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse

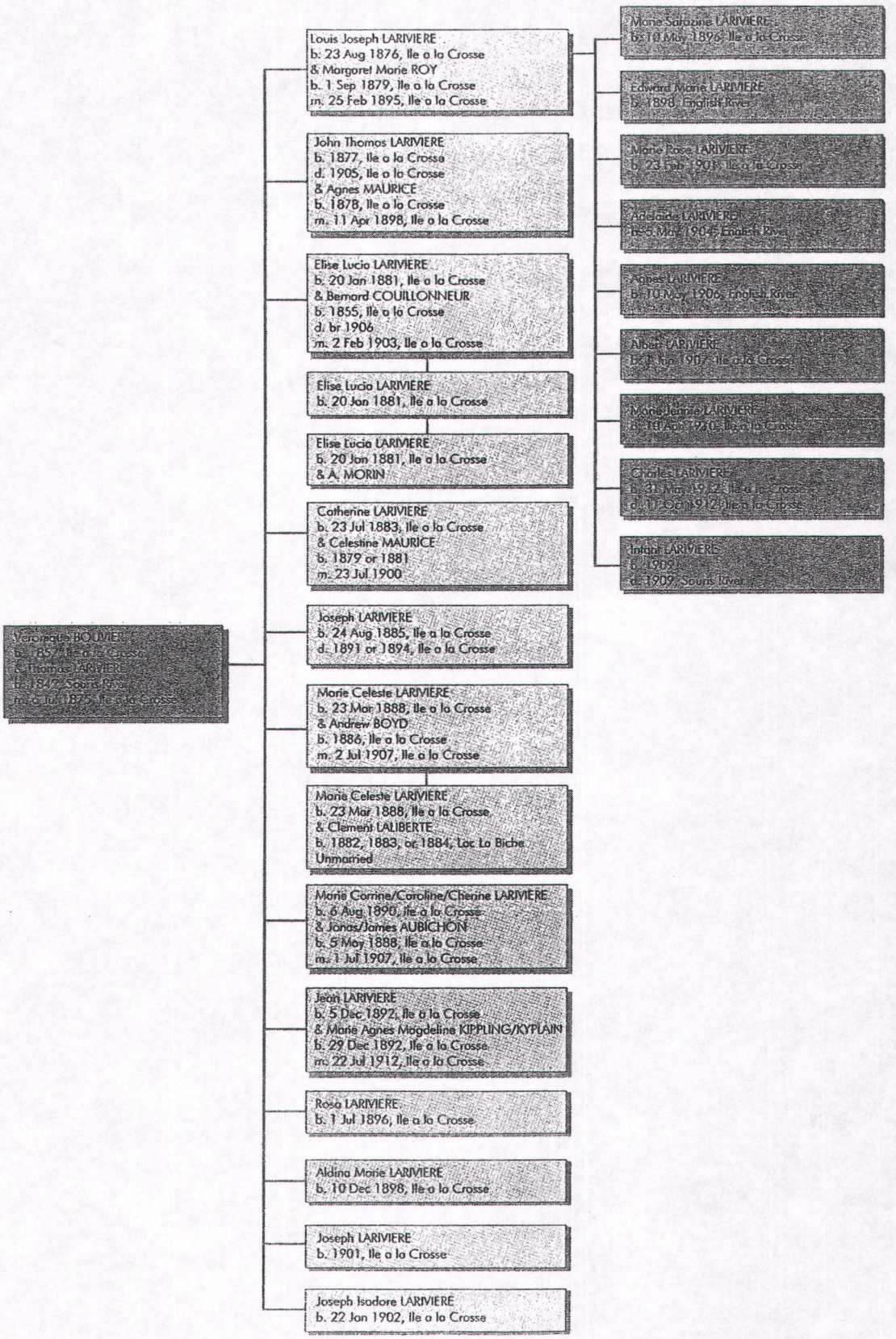

Marguerite BOUVIER
b. 1847, Ile a la Crosse
& Vincent DAIGNEAULT
b. 1835, Montreal, Quebec
d. 31 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1864
Francois Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Eliza Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Eliza MIRASTE/MÉRASTÉ
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louise CAISSE/CAIX
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Louis DAIGNEAULT
b. 28 Sep 1906, Ile a la Crosse
d. 31 May 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Albert DAIGNEAULT
b. 26 Jun 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Ernest DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Mar 1911, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jun 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CAIX
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucie) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse

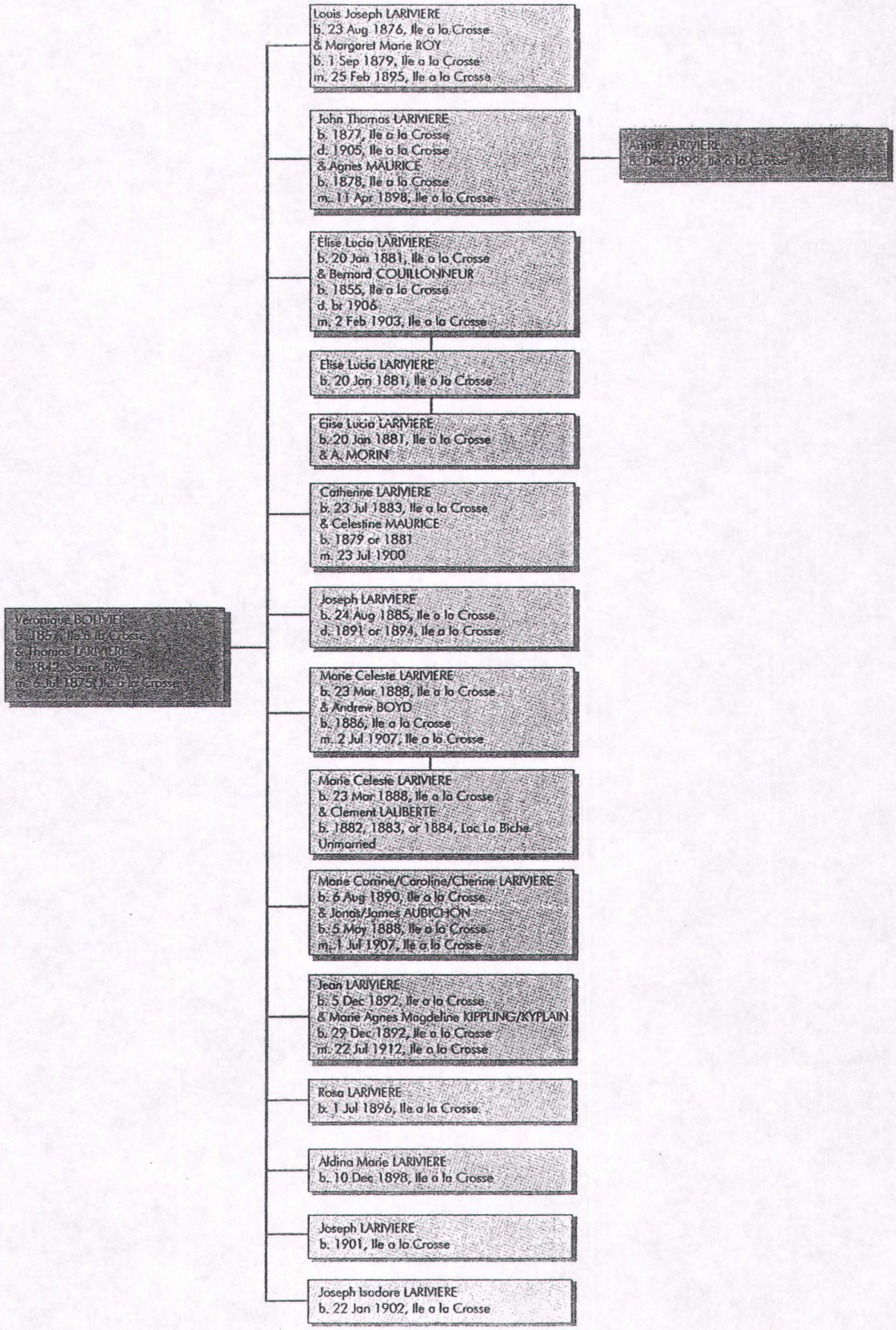

François Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Eliza Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Eliza MIRASTE/MÉRASTÉ
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louise CAISSE/CADI
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jun 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CADI
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucie) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse
Ambroise MORIN
b. 5 May 1904, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Sep 1904
Ambroise MORIN
b. 31 Dec 1905, Ile a la Crosse
d. 2 Jan 1974, Ile a la Crosse
& Mary Jane LARIVIERE
b. 1910
d. 17 Jul 1984, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Rose Marguerite MORIN
b. 6 Jan 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Zephirin MORIN
b. 14 Oct 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Jeanne MORIN
b. 14 Jul 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Louis Ulysse MORIN
b. 1914
& Victoria (Tabuck) ALTIBERTE
Louis William Wilson MORIN
Louis MORIN
Paul MORIN
Jeffery Gabriel MORIN
Claudia MORIN
Mathilda MORIN
Celina MORIN
Vicki MORIN

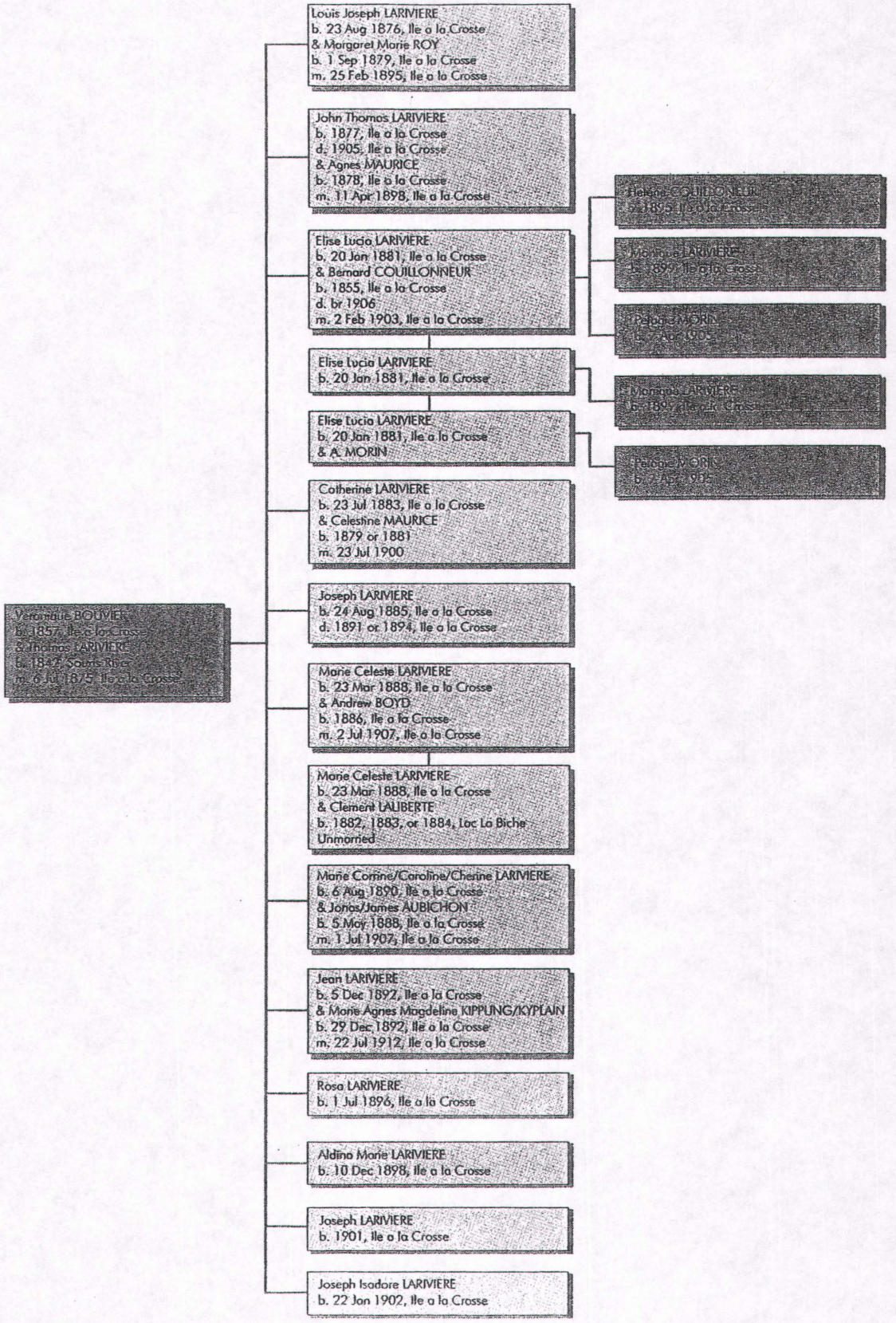

Francois Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Eliza Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Elize MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Marguerite BOUVIER
b. 1842, Ile a la Crosse
& Vincent DAIGNEAULT
b. 1835, Montreal, Quebec
d. 30 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1866, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louise CAISSE/CADX
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jun 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CADX
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie DAIGNEAULT
b. 27 Jul 1911, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucia) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse

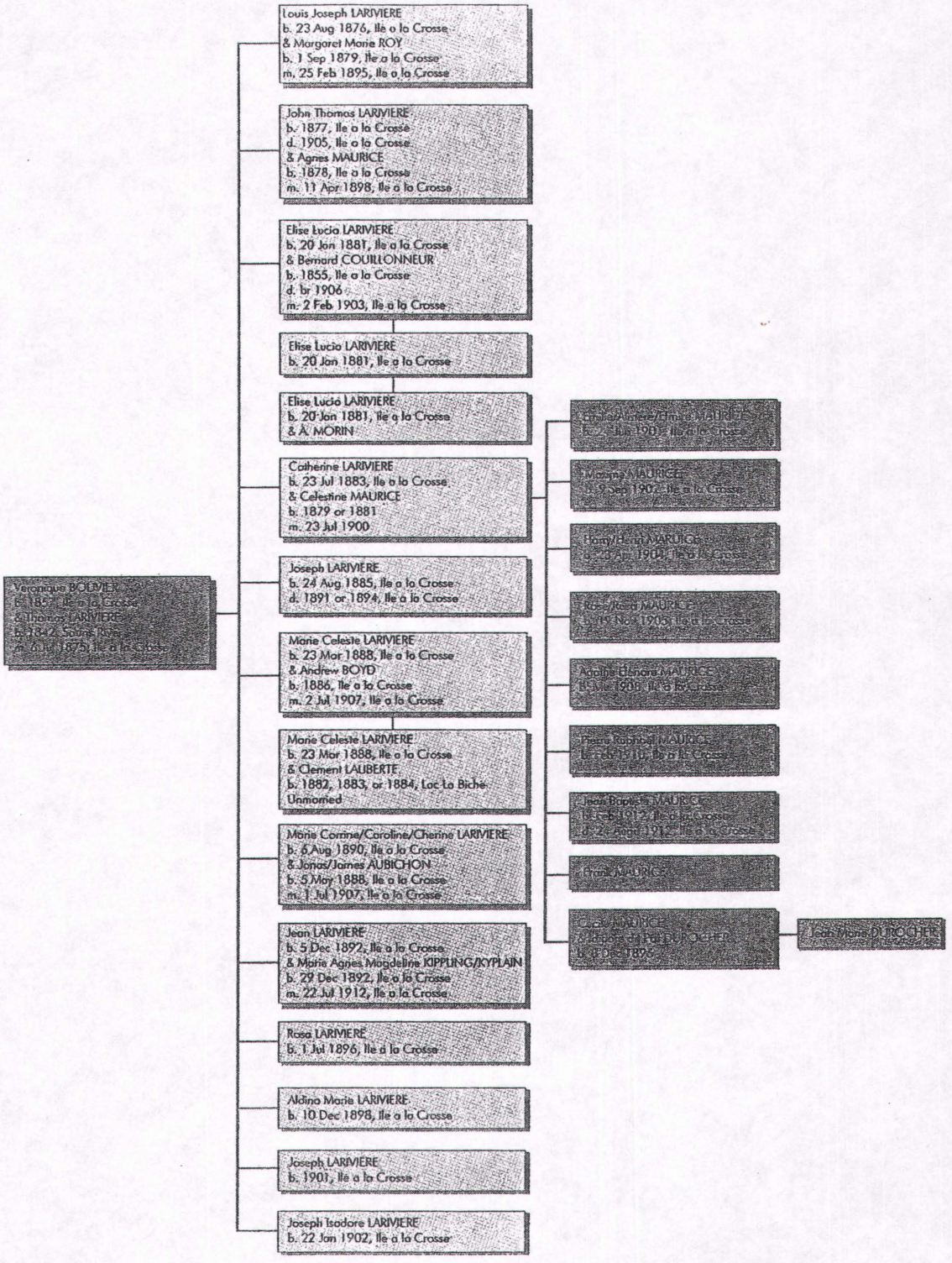

Marguerite BOUVET
b. 1842, Ile a la Crosse
& James DAIGNEAULT
b. 1834, Montreal (Quebec)
d. 31 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1860
François Xavier DAIGNEAULT
b. 1865, Ile a la Crosse
d. 25 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique MORIN
b. Apr 1869, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jan 1885, Green Lake
Elize Lucia DAIGNEAULT
b. 1869, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1910
& Robert (Roby) GARDINER
b. 1859 or 1861, Red River
m. 3 Nov 1884, Ile a la Crosse
Vincent (petit) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
& Elize MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 9 Jan 1879, Green Lake
m. 7 Jan 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
& Clémentine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Prospere DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Dec 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Josephine MAURICE
b. 18 Aug 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 Jul 1902
Joseph DAIGNEAULT
b. 4 Jun 1884, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Louisa CAISSE/CADE
b. 20 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Catherine Marguerite DAIGNEAULT
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
& Felix Paul MORIN
b. 15 Apr 1884, Green Lake
m. 22 Jan 1903
William DAIGNEAULT
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Veronique CAISSE/CADE
b. Nov 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas DAIGNEAULT
b. 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Dec 1948, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Octavie AUBICHON
b. 27 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1970, Ile a la Crosse
m. 20 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Sophie (Lucie) DAIGNEAULT
b. 1867, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Jan 1905
& James Thomas CORRIGAL
b. 1856, Winnipeg
m. 24 May 1882, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite CORRIGAL
b. 19 Nov 1885, Ile a la Crosse
d. Jan 1887, Ile a la Crosse
John CORRIGAL
b. 1906, Ile a la Crosse
& Julie IRON
m. 26 Apr 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Eliza/Aloysia CORRIGAL
b. 29 May 1889, Ile a la Crosse
& Eli ROY
b. 20 Feb 1881, Ile a la Crosse
m. 3 Jul 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Emilie/Eleonore CORRIGAL
b. 20 Aug 1897, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph LAFLEUR
b. 15 Oct 1885, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 May 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Magdalene CORRIGAL
b. 6 Feb 1893, Ile a la Crosse
d. 23 Nov 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Robert CORRIGAL
b. 10 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
d. 19 Aug 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Agnes CORRIGAL
b. 1897, Ile a la Crosse
Magdalene Marie CORRIGAL
b. 31 Oct 1899, Ile a la Crosse
Emilie CORRIGAL
b. 15 Aug 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Ambroise CORRIGAL
b. 28 Oct 1904, Ile a la Crosse
d. 2 May 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Marcelle CORRIGAL
b. 28 Jul 1908, Ile a la Crosse
François CORRIGAL
b. 16 Jun 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Rose ROY
b. 7 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
d. 16 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Violette ROY
b. 27 Oct 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Cyrille Jean ROY
b. 20 Aug 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Agnes ROY
b. 12 Aug 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Louis ROY
b. 2 Aug 1920, Ile a la Crosse
Ambroise LAFLEUR
b. 19 Aug 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Philippe Antoine LAFLEUR
b. 16 Jan 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Flora LAFLEUR
b. 22 Oct 1911, Ile a la Crosse

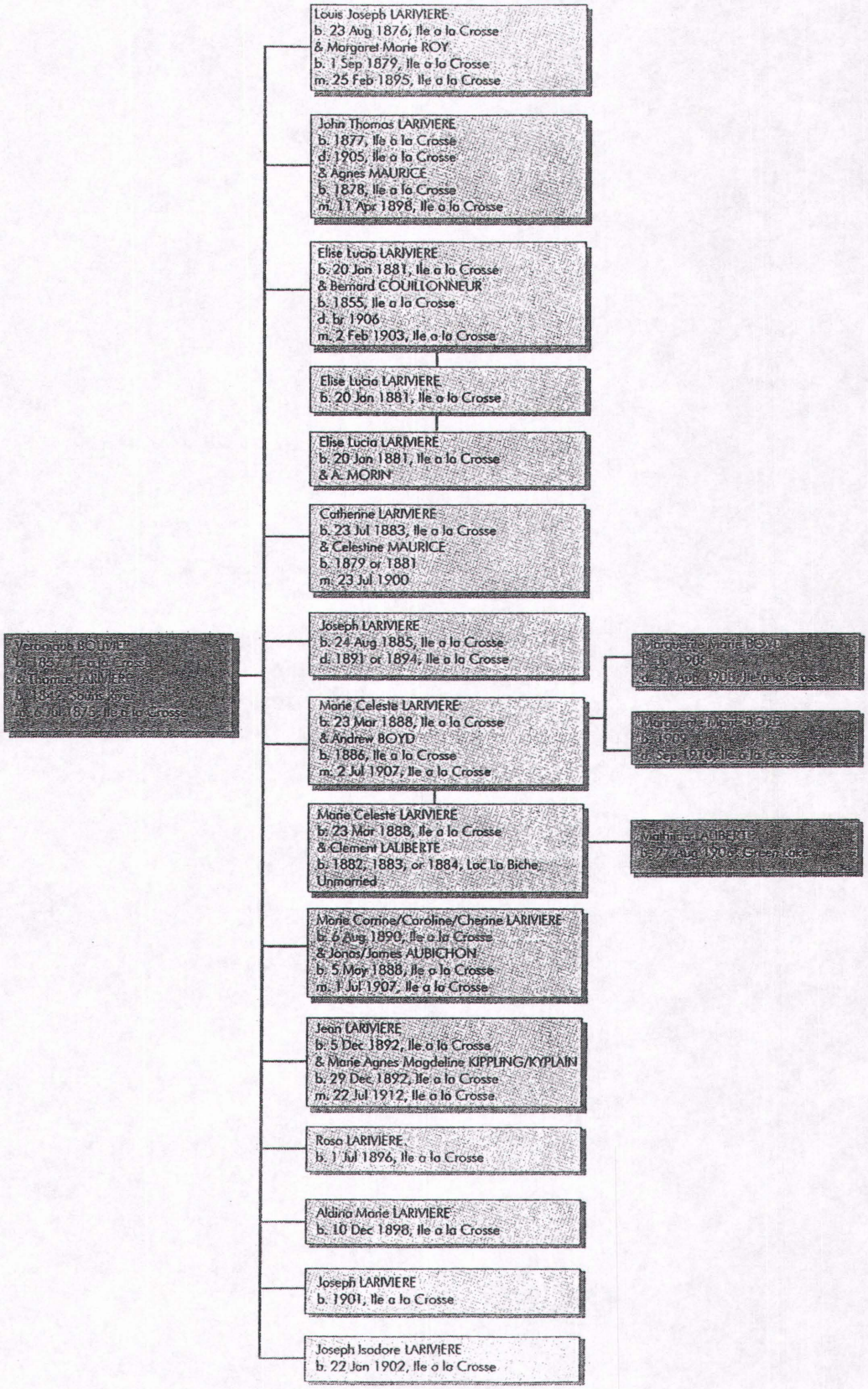

Louis Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 23 Aug 1876, Ile a la Crosse
& Margaret Marie ROY
b. 1 Sep 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Feb 1895, Ile a la Crosse
John Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Bernard COUILLONNEUR
b. 1855, Ile a la Crosse
d. bc 1906
m. 2 Feb 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& A. MORIN
Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
m. 23 Jul 1900
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 24 Aug 1885, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1891 or 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Andrew BOYD
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 2 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Clement LALIBERTE
b. 1882, 1883, or 1884, Lac La Biche
Unmarried
Marie Corinne/Caroline/Cherine LARIVIERE
b. 6 Aug 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Jonas/James AUBICHON
b. 5 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Jean LARIVIERE
b. 5 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Agnes Magdeline KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jul 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Rosa LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jul 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Aldina Marie LARIVIERE
b. 10 Dec 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Isadore LARIVIERE
b. 22 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse

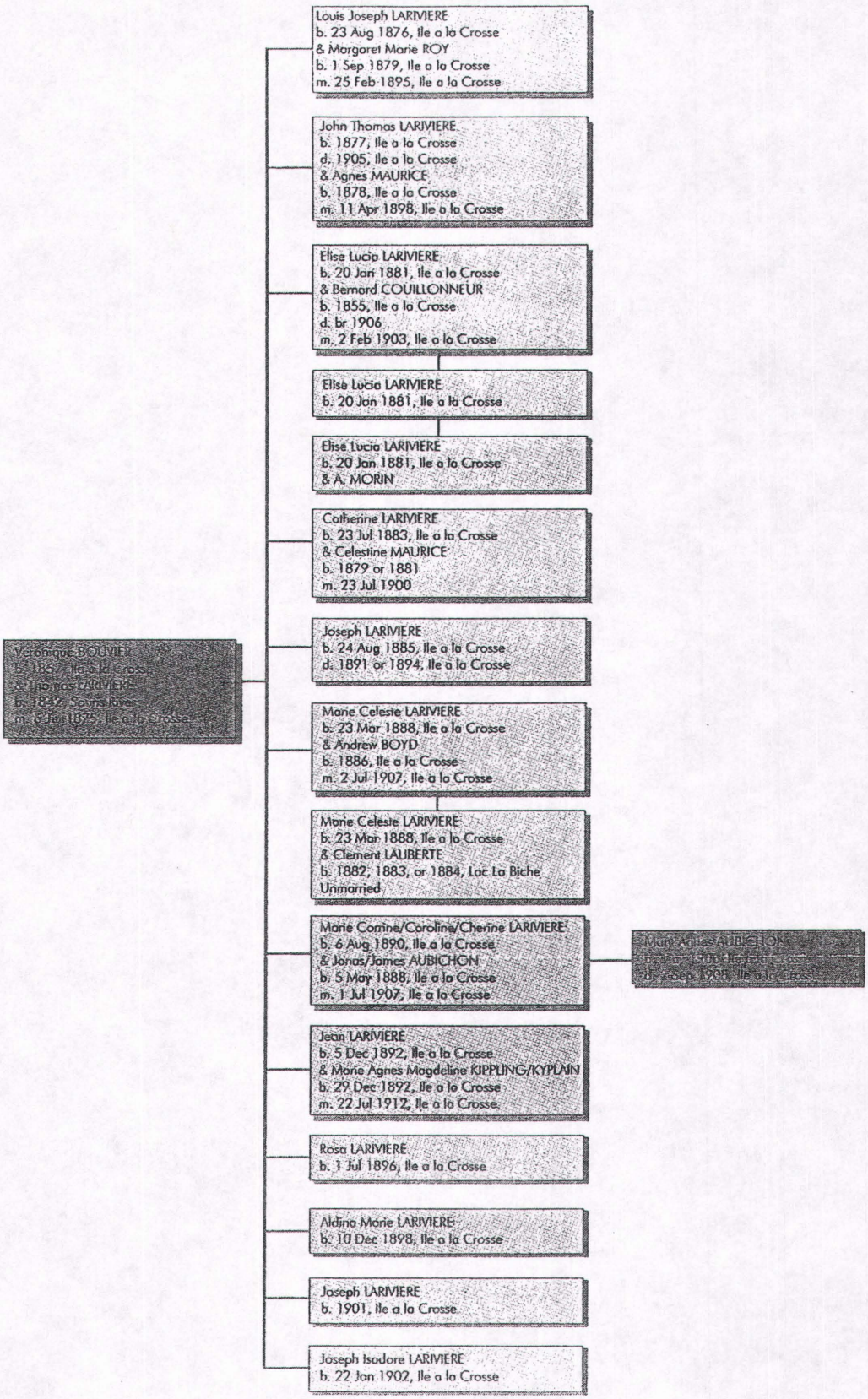

Louis Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 23 Aug 1876, Ile a la Crosse
& Margaret Marie ROY
b. 1 Sep 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Feb 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Salazine LARIVIERE
b. 18 May 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Edward Marie LARIVIERE
b. 1898, English River
Marie Rose LARIVIERE
b. 23 Feb 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide LARIVIERE
b. 5 May 1904, English River
Agnes LARIVIERE
b. 10 May 1906, English River
Albert LARIVIERE
b. 8 Mar 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Jeanne LARIVIERE
b. 18 Apr 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Charles LARIVIERE
b. 31 Mar 1912, Ile a la Crosse
d. 11 Oct 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Infant LARIVIERE
b. 1909
d. 1909, Souris River
John Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Bernard COUILLONNEUR
b. 1855, Ile a la Crosse
d. bf 1906
m. 2 Feb 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& A. MORIN
Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
m. 23 Jul 1900
Veronique BOUVIER
b. 1847, Ile a la Crosse
& Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1842, Souris River
m. c. Jul 1875, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 24 Aug 1885, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1891 or 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Andrew BOYD
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 2 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Clement LALIBERTE
b. 1882, 1883, or 1884, Lac La Biche
Unmarried
Marie Corrine/Caroline/Cherine LARIVIERE
b. 6 Aug 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Jonas/James AUBICHON
b. 5 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Jean LARIVIERE
b. 5 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Agnes Magdeline KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jul 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Rosa LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jul 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Aldina Marie LARIVIERE
b. 10 Dec 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Isodore LARIVIERE
b. 22 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse


Louis Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 23 Aug 1876, Ile a la Crosse
& Margaret Marie ROY
b. 1 Sep 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Feb 1895, Ile a la Crosse
John Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Bernard COUILLONNEUR
b. 1855, Ile a la Crosse
d. bf 1906
m. 2 Feb 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& A. MORIN
Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
m. 23 Jul 1900
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 24 Aug 1885, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1891 or 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Andrew BOYD
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 2 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Clement LALIBERTE
b. 1882, 1883, or 1884, Lac La Biche
Unmarried
Marie Corinne/Caroline/Cherine LARIVIERE
b. 6 Aug 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Jonas/James AUBICHON
b. 5 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Jean LARIVIERE
b. 5 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Agnes Magdeline KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jul 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Rosa LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jul 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Aldina Marie LARIVIERE
b. 10 Dec 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Isadore LARIVIERE
b. 22 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse

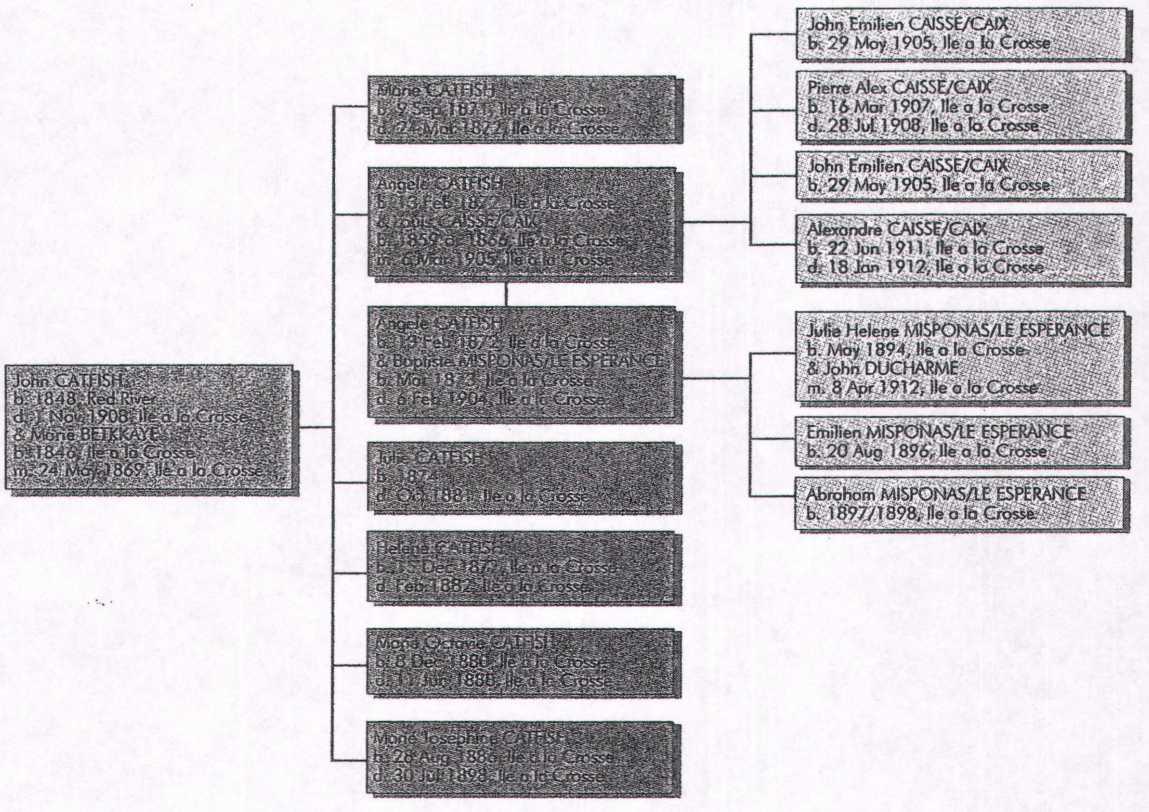

Louis Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 23 Aug 1876, Ile a la Crosse
& Margaret Marie ROY
b. 1 Sep 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Feb 1895, Ile a la Crosse
John Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Bernard COUILLONNEUR
b. 1855, Ile a la Crosse
d. bf 1906
m. 2 Feb 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& A. MORIN
Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
m. 23 Jul 1900
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 24 Aug 1885, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1891 or 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Andrew BOYD
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 2 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Clement LAUBERTE
b. 1882, 1883, or 1884, Loc La Biche
Unmarried
Marie Corrine/Caroline/Cherine LARIVIERE
b. 6 Aug 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Jonas/James AUBICHON
b. 5 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Jean LARIVIERE
b. 5 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Agnes Magdeline KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jul 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Rosa LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jul 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Aldina Marie LARIVIERE
b. 10 Dec 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Isadore LARIVIERE
b. 22 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Veronique BOUVIER
b. 1857, Ile a la Crosse
& Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1847, Souris River
m. 6 Jul 1875, Ile a la Crosse


Louis Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 23 Aug 1876, Ile a la Crosse
& Margaret Marie ROY
b. 1 Sep 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Feb 1895, Ile a la Crosse
John Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Bernard COUILLONNEUR
b. 1855, Ile a la Crosse
d. bf 1906
m. 2 Feb 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& A. MORIN
Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
m. 23 Jul 1900
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 24 Aug 1885, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1891 or 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Andrew BOYD
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 2 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Clement LAUBERTE
b. 1882, 1883, or 1884, Lac La Biche
Unmarried
Marie Corinne/Caroline/Cherine LARIVIERE
b. 6 Aug 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Jonas/James AUBICHON
b. 5 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Jean LARIVIERE
b. 5 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Agnes Magdeline KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jul 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Rosa LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jul 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Aldina Marie LARIVIERE
b. 10 Dec 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Isadore LARIVIERE
b. 22 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Veronique BOUVIER
b. 1857, Ile a la Crosse
& Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1842, Sorel, Riviere
m. 6 Jul 1875, Ile a la Crosse
Emilie/Aimee/Elmire MAURICE
b. 2 Jul 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Marie MAURICE
b. 9 Sep 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Henry/Henri MAURICE
b. 3 Apr 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Rose/Josephine MAURICE
b. 19 Nov 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Agatha Eleanor MAURICE
b. 4 Jul 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre Raphael MAURICE
b. 24 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Jean Baptiste MAURICE
b. 1 Feb 1912, Ile a la Crosse
d. 2 Aug 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Frank MAURICE
Cecile MAURICE
& Alphonse Paul DUROCHER
b. 8 Dec 1896
Jean Marie DUROCHER

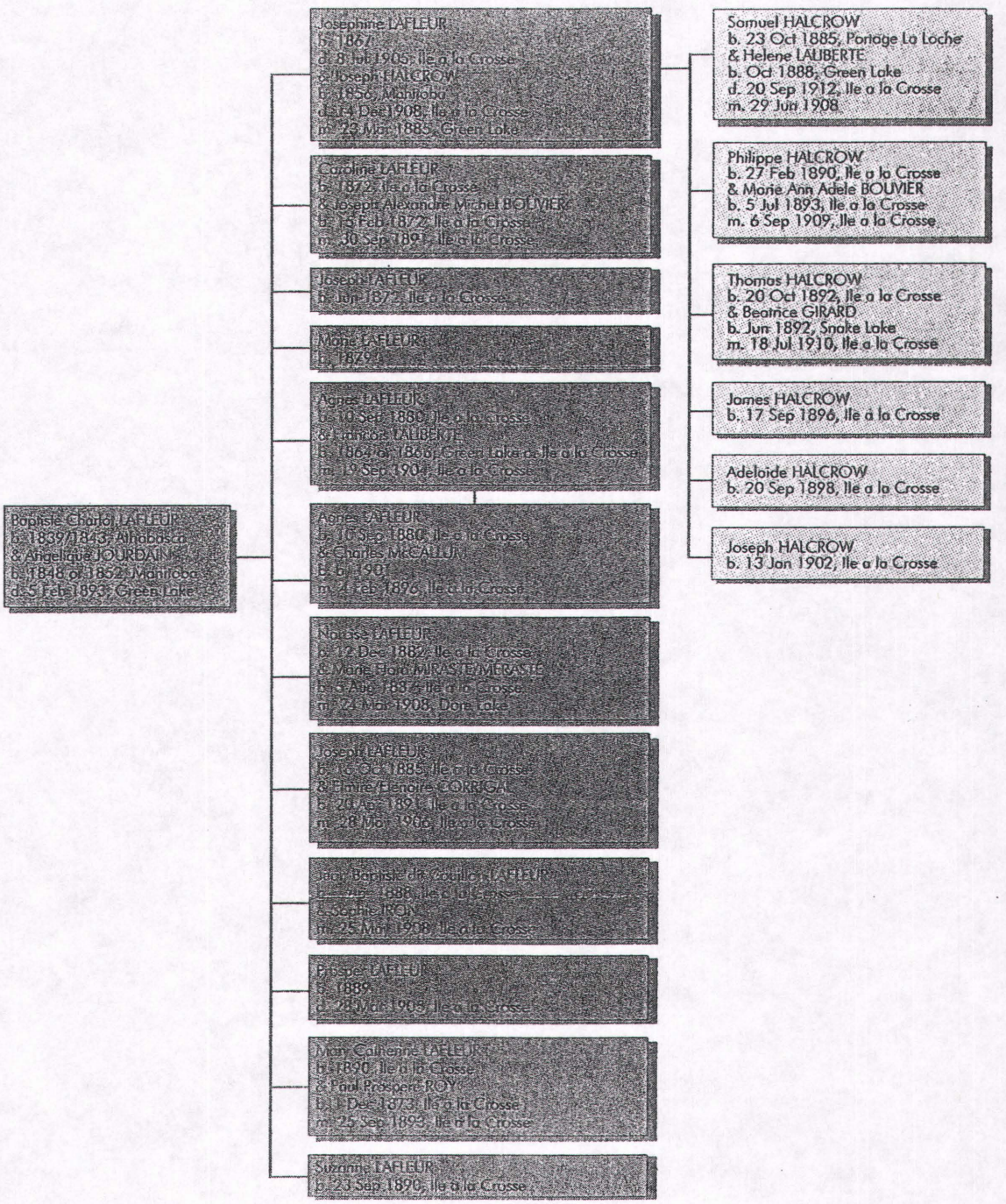

Louis Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 23 Aug 1876, Ile a la Crosse
& Margaret Marie ROY
b. 1 Sep 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Feb 1895, Ile a la Crosse
John Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Bernard COUILLONNEUR
b. 1855, Ile a la Crosse
d. by 1906
m. 2 Feb 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& A. MORIN
Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
m. 23 Jul 1900
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 24 Aug 1885, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1891 or 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Andrew BOYD
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 2 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Clement LALIBERTE
b. 1882, 1883, or 1884, Loc La Biche
Unmarried
Marie Corine/Caroline/Cherine LARIVIERE
b. 6 Aug 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Jonas/James AUBICHON
b. 5 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Jean LARIVIERE
b. 5 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Agnes Magdeline KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jul 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Rosa LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jul 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Aldina Marie LARIVIERE
b. 10 Dec 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Isadore LARIVIERE
b. 22 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse

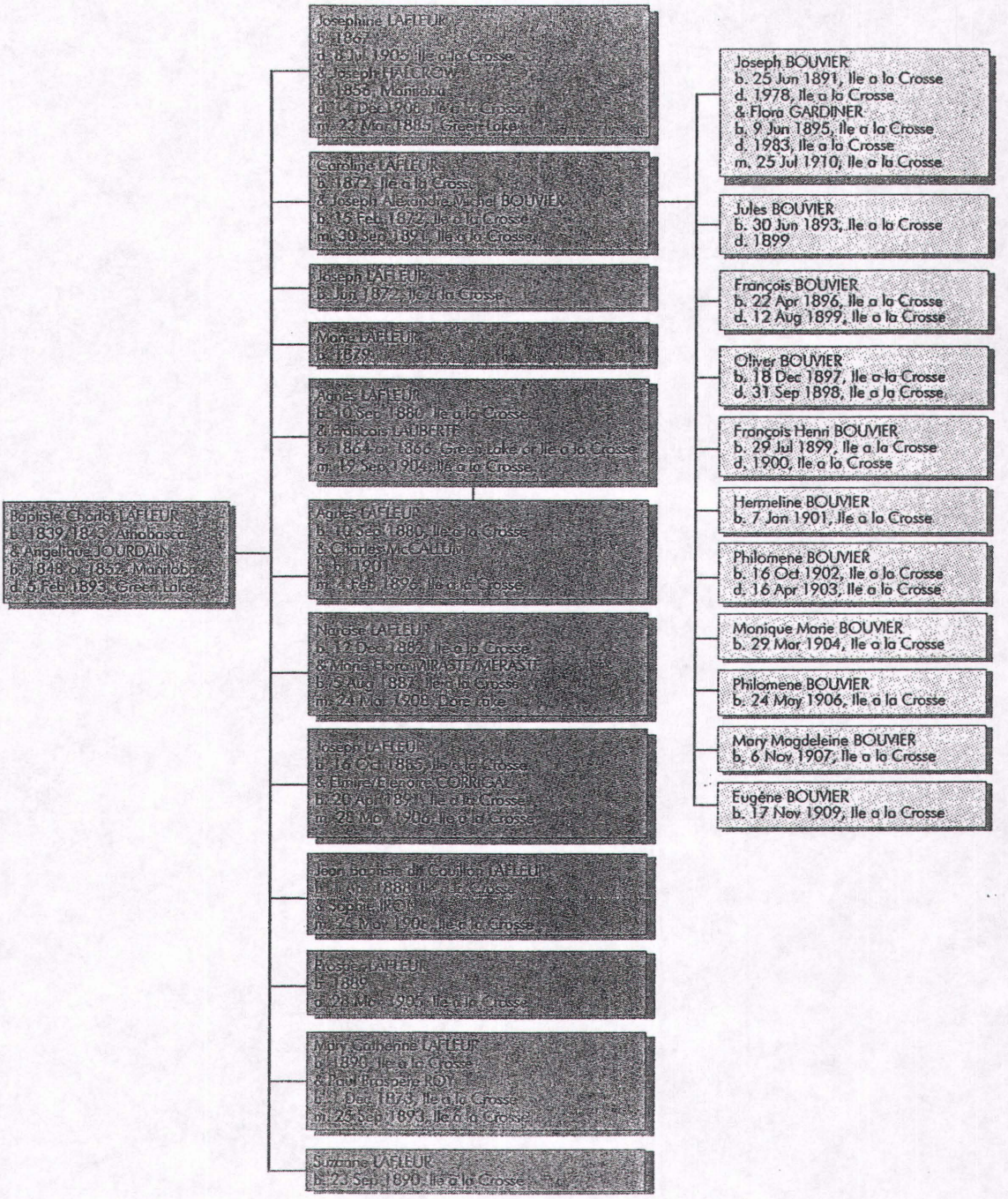

Louis Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 23 Aug 1876, Ile a la Crosse
& Margaret Marie ROY
b. 1 Sep 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Feb 1895, Ile a la Crosse
John Thomas LARIVIERE
b. 1877, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Agnes MAURICE
b. 1878, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Apr 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& Bernard COUILLONNEUR
b. 1855, Ile a la Crosse
d. bf 1906
m. 2 Feb 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Elise Lucia LARIVIERE
b. 20 Jan 1881, Ile a la Crosse
& A. MORIN
Catherine LARIVIERE
b. 23 Jul 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Celestine MAURICE
b. 1879 or 1881
m. 23 Jul 1900
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 24 Aug 1885, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1891 or 1894, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Andrew BOYD
b. 1886, Ile a la Crosse
m. 2 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Celeste LARIVIERE
b. 23 Mar 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Clement LAUBERTE
b. 1882, 1883, or 1884, Lac La Biche
Unmarried
Marie Comne/Caroline/Cherine LARIVIERE
b. 6 Aug 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Jonas/James AUBICHON
b. 5 May 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Jul 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Jean LARIVIERE
b. 5 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Agnes Magdeline KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Dec 1892, Ile a la Crosse
m. 22 Jul 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Rosa LARIVIERE
b. 1 Jul 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Aldina Marie LARIVIERE
b. 10 Dec 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LARIVIERE
b. 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Isadore LARIVIERE
b. 22 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse

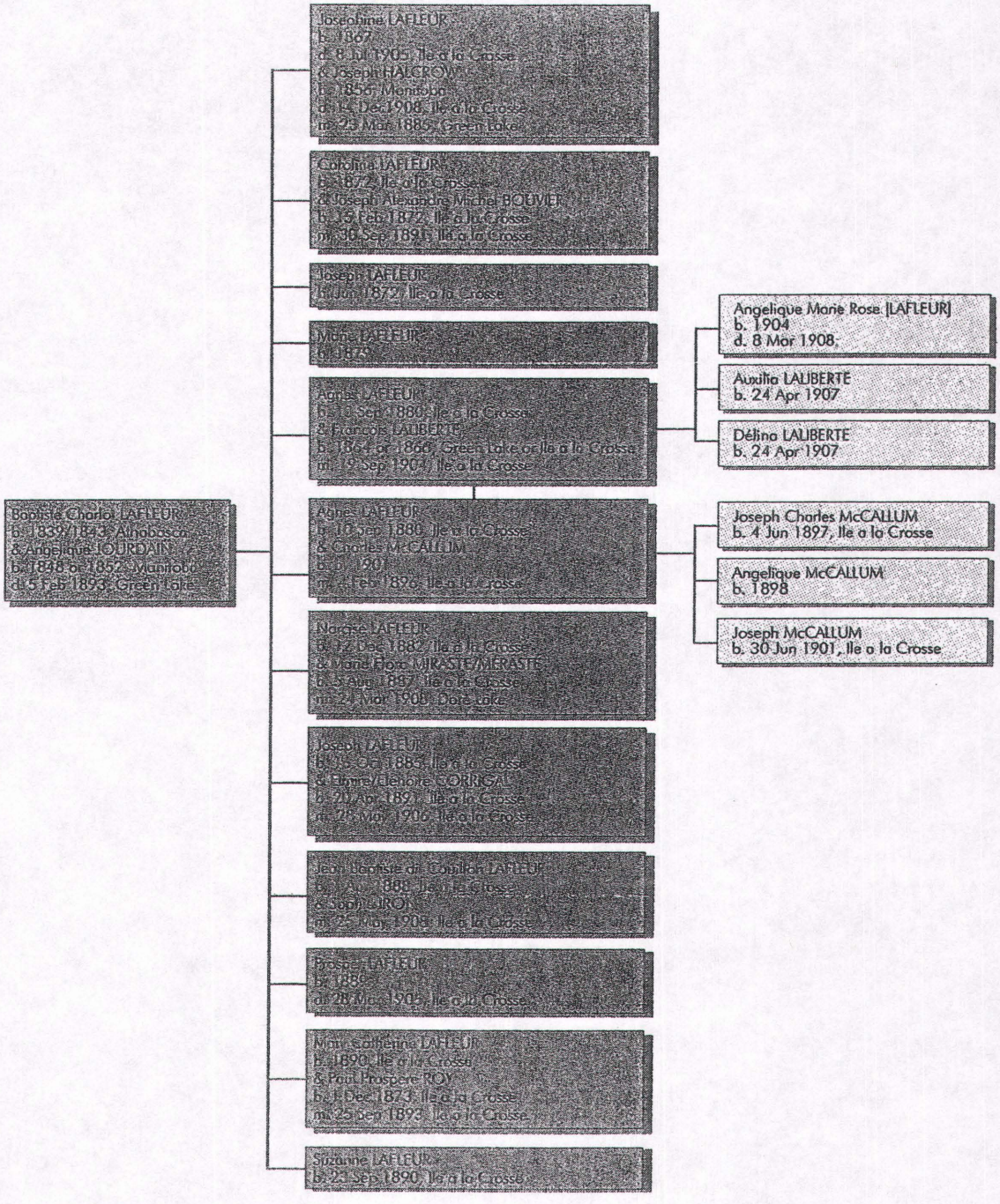
Appendix K. Catfish Genealogy.

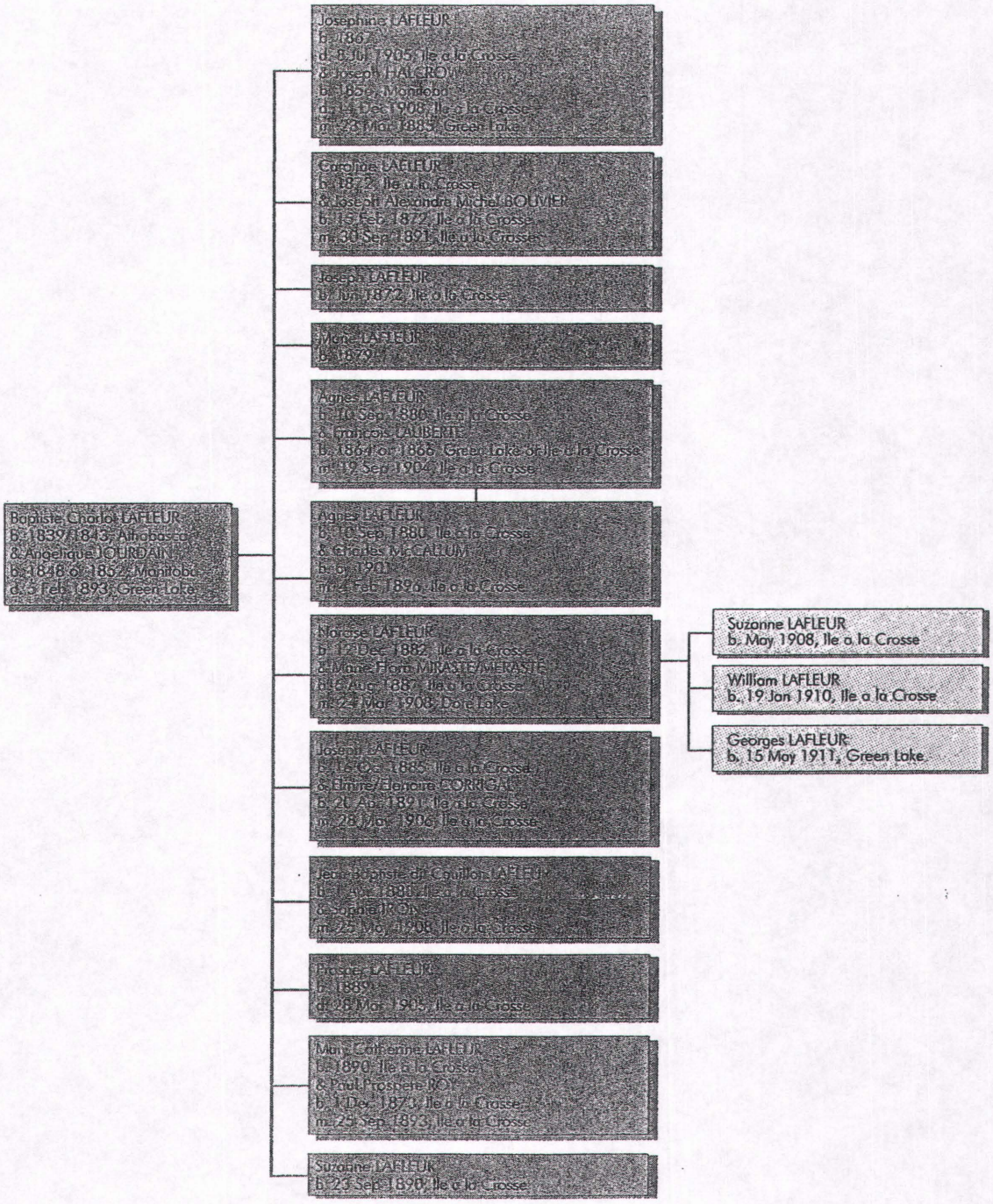


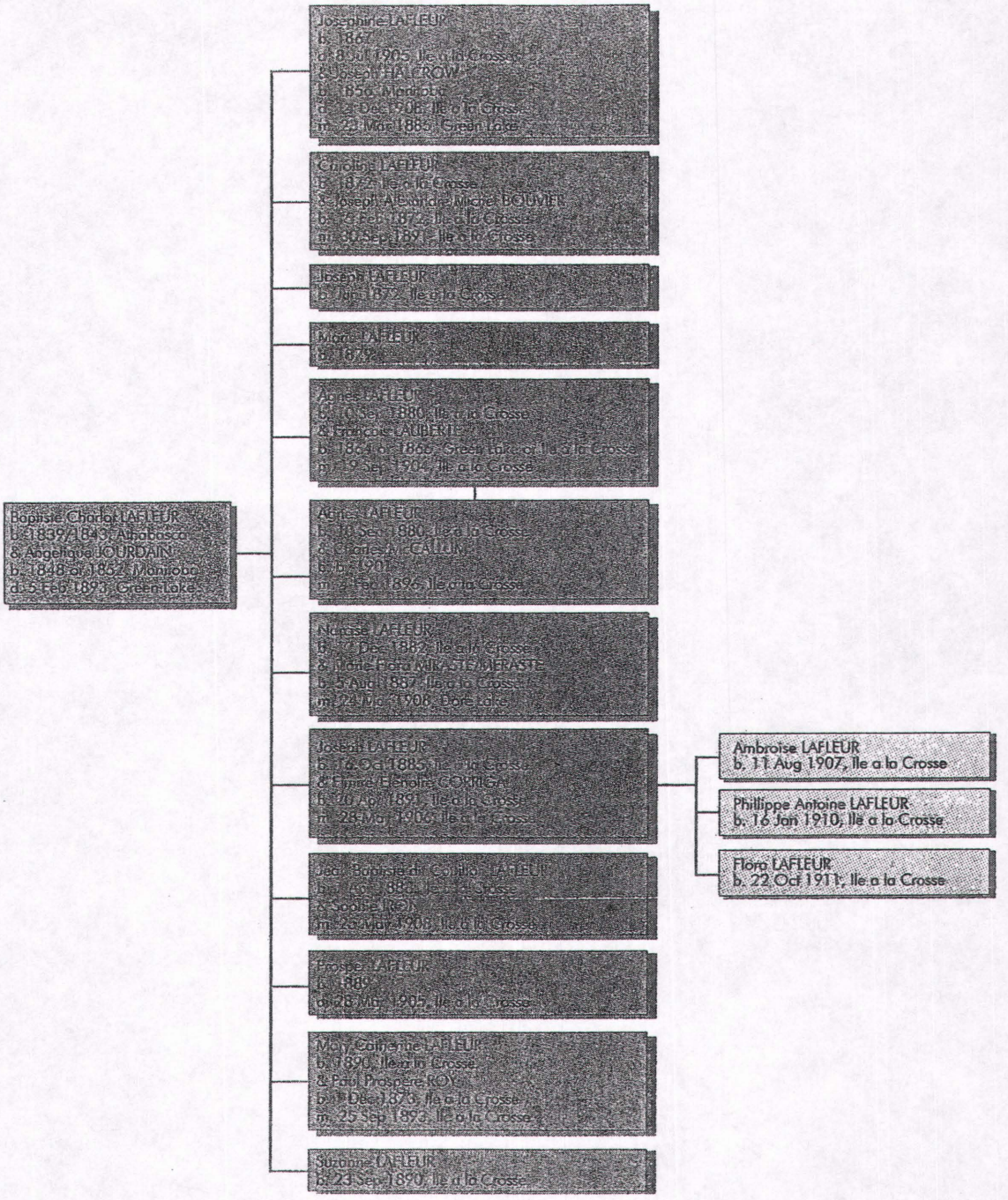
Appendix L. B.C. Lafleur Genealogy.

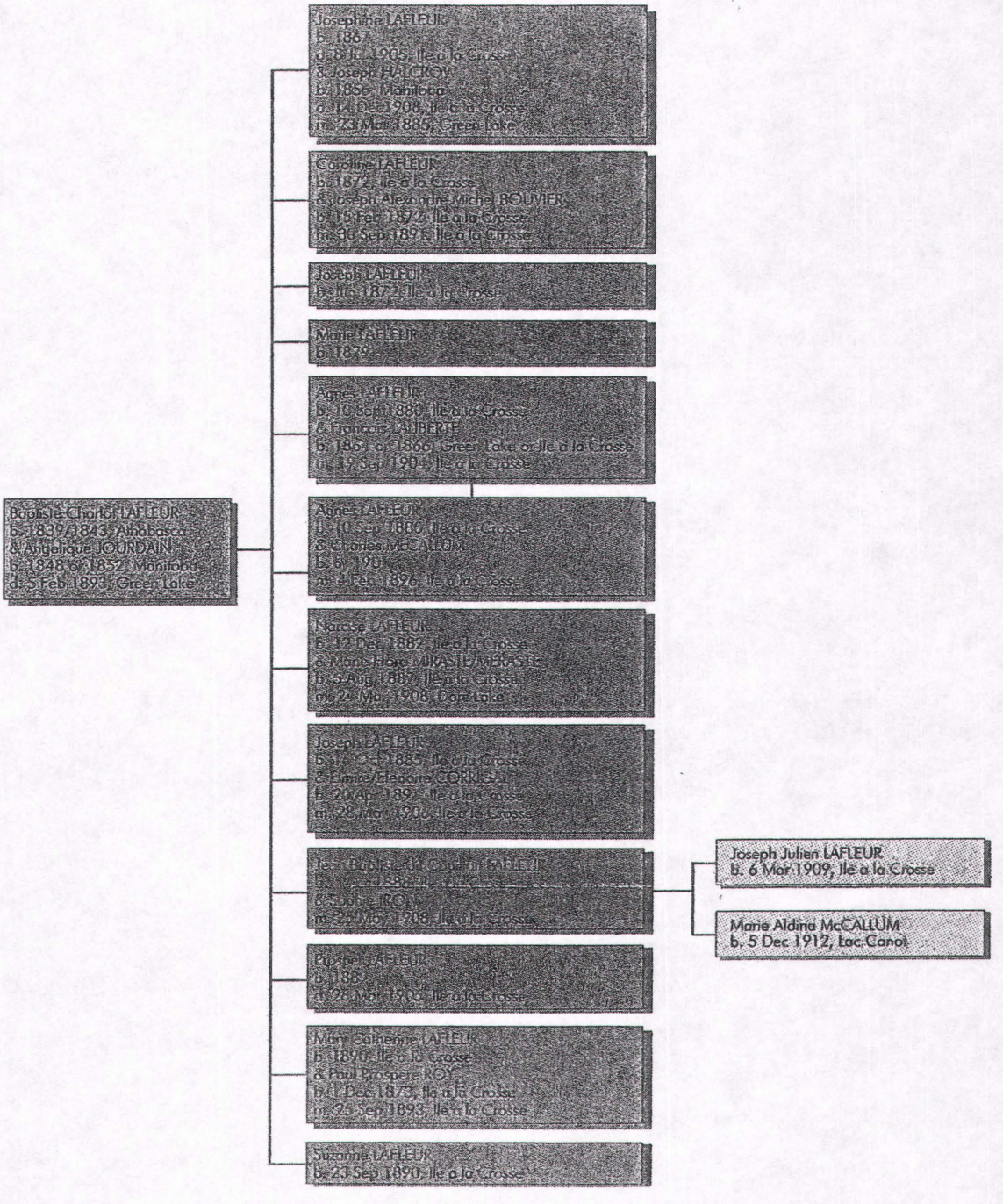


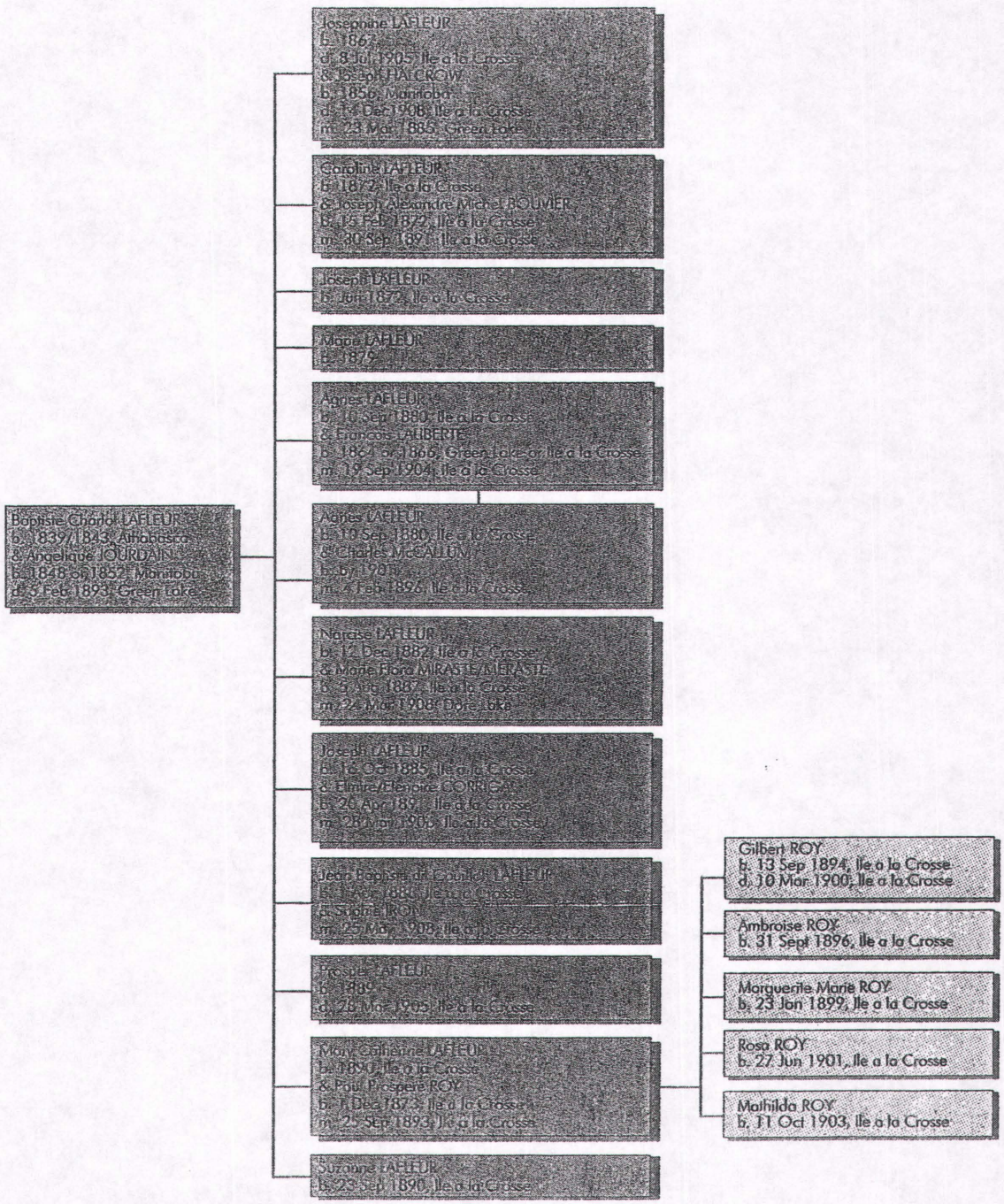

Baptiste Charles LAFLEUR
b. 1839/1843, Athabasca
& Angelique TOURDAIN
b. 1848 or 1852, Manitoba
d. 5 Feb 1893, Green Lake
Josephine LAFLEUR
b. 1867
d. 8 Jul 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph HALCROW
b. 1858, Manitoba
d. 14 Dec 1906, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Mar 1885, Green Lake
Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
Marie LAFLEUR
b. 1879
Agnès LAFLEUR
b. 10 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& François LAUBERTE
b. 1864 or 1866, Green Lake or Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Sep 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 10 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles McCALLUM
b. bf 1901
m. 4 Feb 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Narcisse LAFLEUR
b. 12 Dec 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Flora MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 5 Aug 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Mar 1908, Dore Lake
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. 16 Oct 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Elmire/Eleonore CORRIGAL
b. 20 Apr 1891, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 May 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Jean Baptiste dit Coulon LAFLEUR
b. 1 Apr 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie IRON
m. 22 May 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Rosalie LAFLEUR
b. 1886
d. 28 Mar 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Mary Catherine LAFLEUR
b. 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Paul Prosper ROY
b. 7 Dec 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Suzanne LAFLEUR
b. 23 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph BOUVIER
b. 25 Jun 1891, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1978, Ile a la Crosse
& Flora GARDINER
b. 9 Jun 1895, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1983, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Jules BOUVIER
b. 30 Jun 1893, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1899
François BOUVIER
b. 22 Apr 1896, Ile a la Crosse
d. 12 Aug 1899, Ile a la Crosse
Oliver BOUVIER
b. 18 Dec 1897, Ile a la Crosse
d. 31 Sep 1898, Ile a la Crosse
François Henri BOUVIER
b. 29 Jul 1899, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1900, Ile a la Crosse
Hermeline BOUVIER
b. 7 Jan 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene BOUVIER
b. 16 Oct 1902, Ile a la Crosse
d. 16 Apr 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Monique Marie BOUVIER
b. 29 Mar 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene BOUVIER
b. 24 May 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Mary Magdeleine BOUVIER
b. 6 Nov 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Eugène BOUVIER
b. 17 Nov 1909, Ile a la Crosse

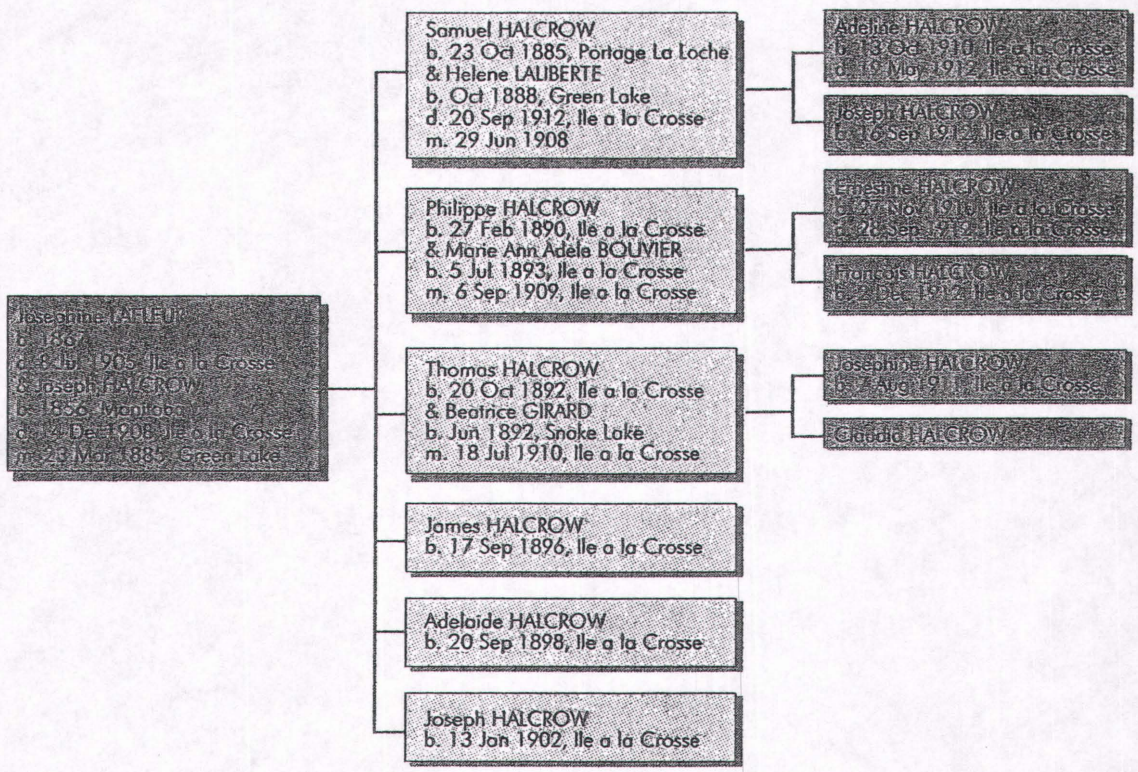

Baptiste Charlot LAFLEUR
b. 1839/1843, Athabasca
& Angelique LOURDAIN
b. 1848 or 1852, Manitoba
d. 5 Feb 1893, Green Lake
Josephine LAFLEUR
b. 1867
d. 8 Jul 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph HALCROW
b. 1856, Manitoba
d. 14 Dec 1908, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Mar 1885, Green Lake
Catherine LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
Marie LAFLEUR
d. 1879
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 18 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& François LALIBERTE
b. 1864 or 1868, Green Lake or Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Sep 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Angelique Marie Rose [LAFLEUR]
b. 1904
d. 8 Mar 1908
Auxilia LALIBERTE
b. 24 Apr 1907
Délina LALIBERTE
b. 24 Apr 1907
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 16 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles McCALLUM
b. [illegible] 90[illegible]
m. 4 Feb 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Charles McCALLUM
b. 4 Jun 1897, Ile a la Crosse
Angelique McCALLUM
b. 1898
Joseph McCALLUM
b. 30 Jun 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Norbert LAFLEUR
b. 12 Dec 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Flore MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 5 Aug 1897, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Mar 1908, Dore Lake
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. 15 Oct 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Emma Léhonie CORRIGAL
b. 21 Apr 1891, Ile a la Crosse
m. 21 May 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Jean Baptiste dit Coquillon LAFLEUR
b. [illegible] 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie IRON
m. 25 May 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Prosper LAFLEUR
b. 1880
d. 28 Mar 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Catherine LAFLEUR
b. 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Paul Prospère ROY
b. 1 Dec 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Suzanne LAFLEUR
b. 23 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse


Baptiste Charlot LAFLEUR
b. 1839/1843, Athabasca
& Angelique TOURDAIN
b. 1848 ó 1852, Manitoba
d. 5 Feb. 1893, Green Lake
Josephine LAFLEUR
b. 1867
d. 8 Jul 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph HALCROW
b. 1856, Manitoba
d. 14 Dec. 1908, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Mar. 1885, Green Lake
Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep. 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. Jun. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
Marie LAFLEUR
b. 1879
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 10 Sep. 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& François LAUBERTE
b. 1864 or 1866, Green Lake ó Ile a la Crosse
m. 12 Sep. 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 10 Sep. 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles M. CALLUM
b. by 1901
m. 4 Feb. 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Narcisse LAFLEUR
b. 12 Dec. 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Flora MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 16 Aug. 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Mar. 1908, Dore Lake
Suzanne LAFLEUR
b. May 1908, Ile a la Crosse
William LAFLEUR
b. 19 Jan 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Georges LAFLEUR
b. 15 May 1911, Green Lake
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. 16 Oct. 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Elmire/Eleonore CORRIGAL
b. 26 Aug. 1891, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 May 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Jean Baptiste dit Caillou LAFLEUR
b. 1 Aug. 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie R. ROY
m. 22 May 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Prosper LAFLEUR
b. 1889
d. 28 Mar. 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Catherine LAFLEUR
b. 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Paul Prosper ROY
b. 1 Dec. 1871, Ile a la Crosse
m. 29 Sep. 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Suzanne LAFLEUR
b. 23 Sep. 1870, Ile a la Crosse

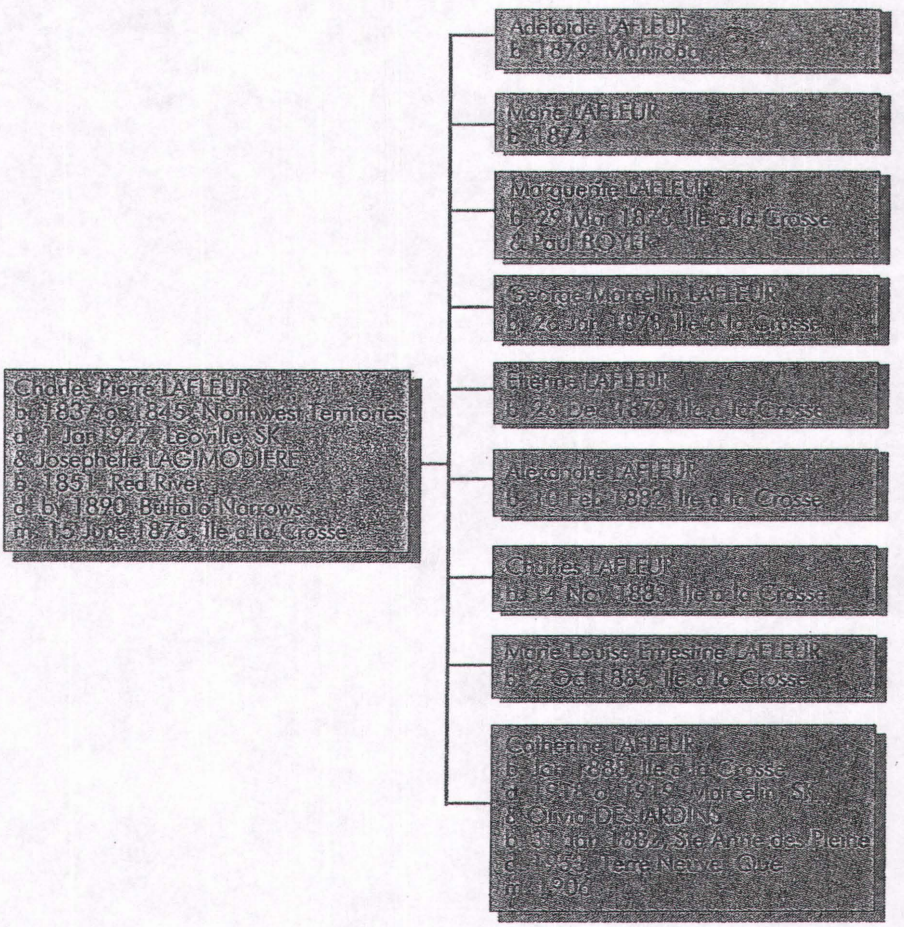

Baptiste Charlot LAFLEUR
b. 1839/1843, Athabasca
& Angelique TOURDAIN
b. 1848 or 1857, Manitoba
d. 5 Feb 1893, Green Lake
Josephine LAFLEUR
b. 1867
d. 8 Jul 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph HALCROW
b. 1856, Manitoba
d. 2 Dec 1908, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Mar 1885, Green Lake
Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 2 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
Marie LAFLEUR
b. 1879?
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 10 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& Francois LAUBERTE
b. 1864 or 1866, Green Lake or Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Sep 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 10 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles Ayi CALLIOU
b. circa 1901
m. 2 Feb 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Narcisse LAFLEUR
b. 7 Dec 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Flora MIRASTIMERASTE
b. 5 Aug 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Jun 1906, Dore Lake
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. 16 Oct 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Emma Eleonore COMTOIS
b. 20 Apr 1891, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 May 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Ambroise LAFLEUR
b. 11 Aug 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Phillippe Antoine LAFLEUR
b. 16 Jan 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Flora LAFLEUR
b. 22 Oct 1911, Ile a la Crosse
Jean Baptiste di Camille LAFLEUR
b. Apr 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Sophie IRE?
m. 25 May 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Prosper LAFLEUR
b. 1889?
d. 26 Mar 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Mary Catherine LAFLEUR
b. 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Paul Prospere ROY
b. 1 Dec 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Susanne LAFLEUR
b. 23 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse


Baptiste Charlot LAFLEUR
b. 1839/1843, Athabasca
& Angelique JOURDAIN
b. 1848 or 1852, Manitoba
d. 5 Feb 1893, Green Lake
Josephine LAFLEUR
b. 1867
d. 8 Jan 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph HATCHOW
b. 1856, Manitoba
d. 14 Dec 1908, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Mar 1885, Green Lake
Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph Alexandre Michel ROUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
Marie LAFLEUR
b. 1879
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 10 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& Francois LAUBERTE
b. 1864 or 1866, Green Lake or Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Sep 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 10 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles McCALLUM
b. 6 Jan 1876, Ile a la Crosse
m. 4 Feb 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Narcise LAFLEUR
b. 12 Dec 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Elise MIRASTEAMERASES
b. 5 Aug 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 May 1908, Dore Lake
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. 16 Feb 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Elmire/Eleonore CORRIGAL
b. 20 Apr 1891, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Mar 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Ile - Baptiste Jr Goulin LAFLEUR
b. 12 Jan 1888, Ile a la Crosse
& Jane IRON
m. 25 May 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Julien LAFLEUR
b. 6 Mar 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Aldina McCALLUM
b. 5 Dec 1912, Lac Canot
Prosper LAFLEUR
b. 1883
m. 28 Mar 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Mary Catherine LAFLEUR
b. 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Paul Prospere ROY
b. 1 Dec 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Suzanne LAFLEUR
b. 23 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse


Baptiste Charlot LAFLEUR
b. 1839/1843, Athabasca
& Angelique JOURDAIN
b. 1848 or 1852, Manitoba
d. 5 Feb 1893, Green Lake
Josephine LAFLEUR
b. 1867
d. 8 Jul 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph HALCROW
b. 1856, Manitoba
d. 14 Dec 1908, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Mar 1885, Green Lake
Caroline LAFLEUR
b. 1872, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph Alexandre Michel BOUVIER
b. 15 Feb 1872, Ile a la Crosse
m. 30 Sep 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. Jun 1872, Ile a la Crosse
Marie LAFLEUR
b. 1875
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 10 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& Francois LALIBERTE
b. 1864 or 1866, Green Lake or Ile a la Crosse
m. 19 Sep 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Agnes LAFLEUR
b. 19 Sep 1880, Ile a la Crosse
& Charles McCALLUM
b. by 1901
m. 4 Feb 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Narcisse LAFLEUR
b. 12 Dec 1882, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Flora MIRASTE/MERASTE
b. 5 Nov 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 24 Mar 1908, Dore Lake
Joseph LAFLEUR
b. 16 Oct 1885, Ile a la Crosse
& Elmire/Eleonore CORRIGAL
b. 26 Apr 1891, Ile a la Crosse
m. 28 Nov 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Jean Baptiste de Coulon LAFLEUR
b. 14 Nov 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Suzanne IRON
m. 25 May 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Prosper LAFLEUR
b. 1889
d. 26 Mar 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Mary Catherine LAFLEUR
b. 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Paul Prospere ROY
b. 7 Dec 1873, Ile a la Crosse
m. 25 Sep 1893, Ile a la Crosse
Suzanne LAFLEUR
b. 23 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
Gilbert ROY
b. 13 Sep 1894, Ile a la Crosse
d. 10 Mar 1900, Ile a la Crosse
Ambroise ROY
b. 31 Sept 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite Marie ROY
b. 23 Jan 1899, Ile a la Crosse
Rosa ROY
b. 27 Jun 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Mathilda ROY
b. 11 Oct 1903, Ile a la Crosse


Josephine LAFLEUR
b. 1867
d. 8 Jul 1905, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph HALCROW
b. 1856, Manitoba
d. 14 Dec 1908, Ile a la Crosse
m. 23 Mar 1885, Green Lake
Samuel HALCROW
b. 23 Oct 1885, Portage La Loche
& Helene LALIBERTE
b. Oct 1888, Green Lake
d. 20 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
m. 29 Jun 1908
Adeline HALCROW
b. 13 Oct 1910, Ile a la Crosse
d. 19 May 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph HALCROW
b. 16 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Philippe HALCROW
b. 27 Feb 1890, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Ann Adele BOUVIER
b. 5 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Ernestine HALCROW
b. 27 Nov 1910, Ile a la Crosse
d. 26 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Francois HALCROW
b. 2 Dec 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Thomas HALCROW
b. 20 Oct 1892, Ile a la Crosse
& Beatrice GIRARD
b. Jun 1892, Snake Lake
m. 18 Jul 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Josephine HALCROW
b. 7 Aug 1911, Ile a la Crosse
Claudia HALCROW
James HALCROW
b. 17 Sep 1896, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide HALCROW
b. 20 Sep 1898, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph HALCROW
b. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse

Appendix M. C.P. Lafleur Genealogy.



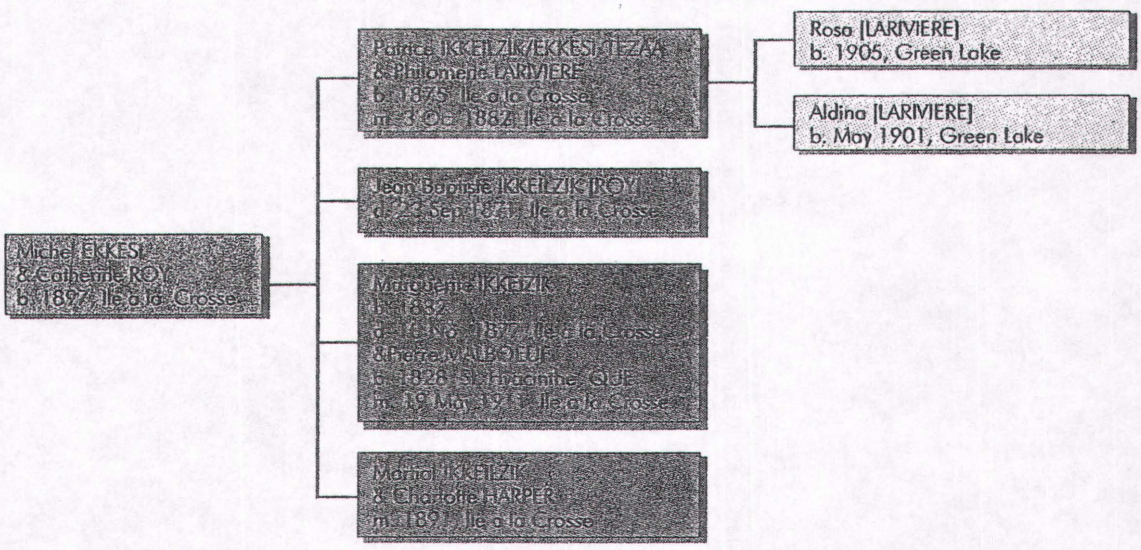
Appendix N. List of Fishermen, 1826-1891.

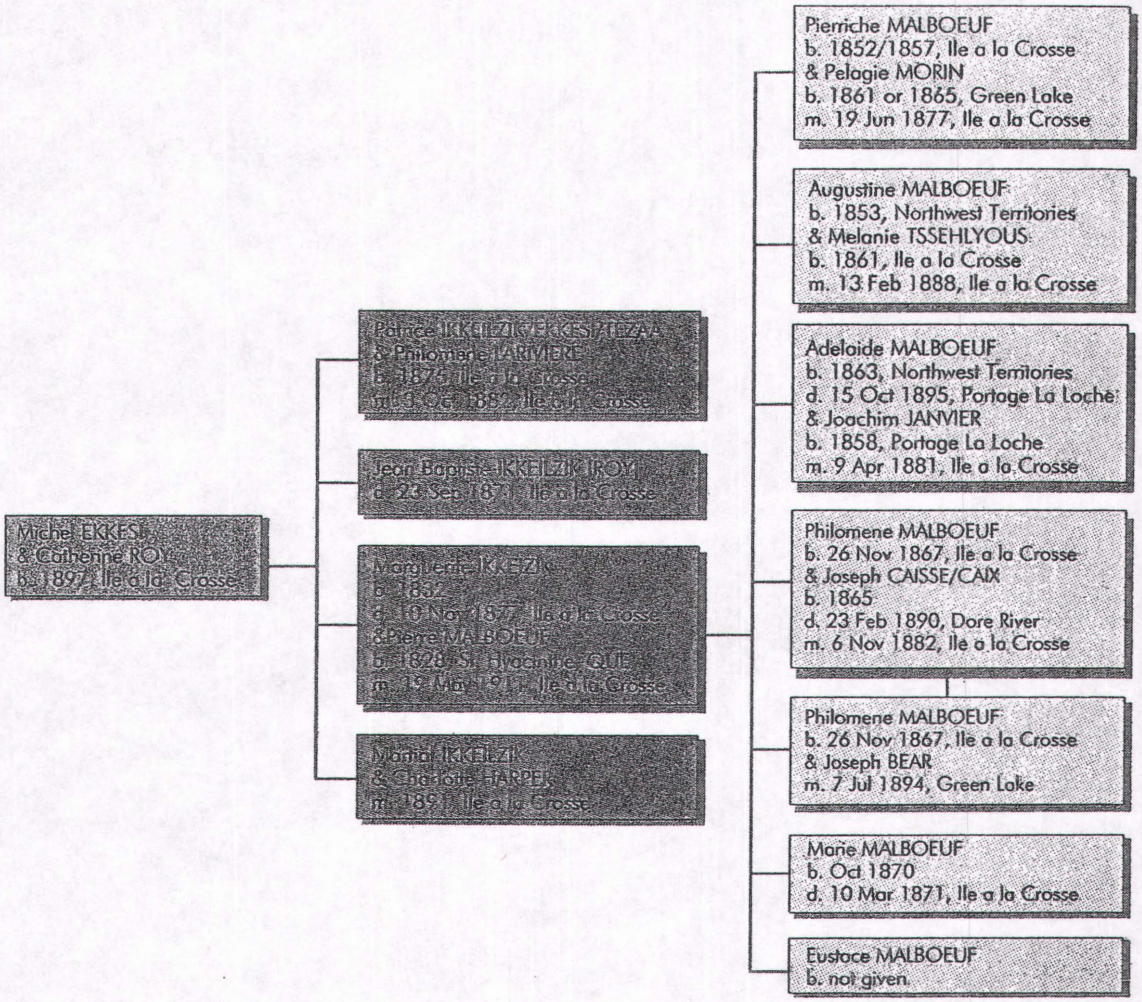
	Name	Additional Information
English River, 1826-27	Bouvier, Jean Baptiste	Maska
	Paul, Paul	Sorell
English River, 1841	Lachance, Charles	
English River, 1851	Lachance, Charles	70 yrs., Riv. De Coup
	Laferté, Pierre	
	Lafleur, Pierre	47 yrs., Maska
	McKinnon, Robert	28 yrs., Lachine
	Sylvestre, Jean Bapt.	Native
English River, 1852	Lachance, Charles	71 yrs., Riv. du Tous
	Laferté, Pierre	Native
	Lafleur, Pierre	Maska
English River, 1859	Laferté, Pierre	Native
English River, 1863	Charbouneau, David	Native
	Flett, John	Native
	Hope, John	Native
	Lafleur, Pierre	Maska
	Lariviere, Abraham	Native
	McKinnon, Robert	Lachine
	McLeod, John	Native, labourer & fisherman
	McLeod, John	interpreter & fisherman
	Morin, Raphael	Native
	Tourangeau, Antoine	Native
	Wilson, James	Bersay
English River, 1865	Charbonneau [free], David	Native
	Flett, John	Native, fisherman & bowsman
	Hope, John	Native
	Lafleur, Pierre	Maska
	McKinnon, Robert	Lachine
	Mercredi, Abraham	Native
	Morin, Catholique	Native
	Morin, Raphael	
	Tourangeau, Antoine	Native
English River, 1866	Charbonneau, David	Red River
	Girard, Joseph	St. Rosas
	Hope, John	Red River
	Lafleur, Pierre	Native
	McLeod, John	interpreter & fisherman
	Mercredi, Abraham	Native
	Morin, Catholique	Native
	Tourangeau, Antoine	Red River

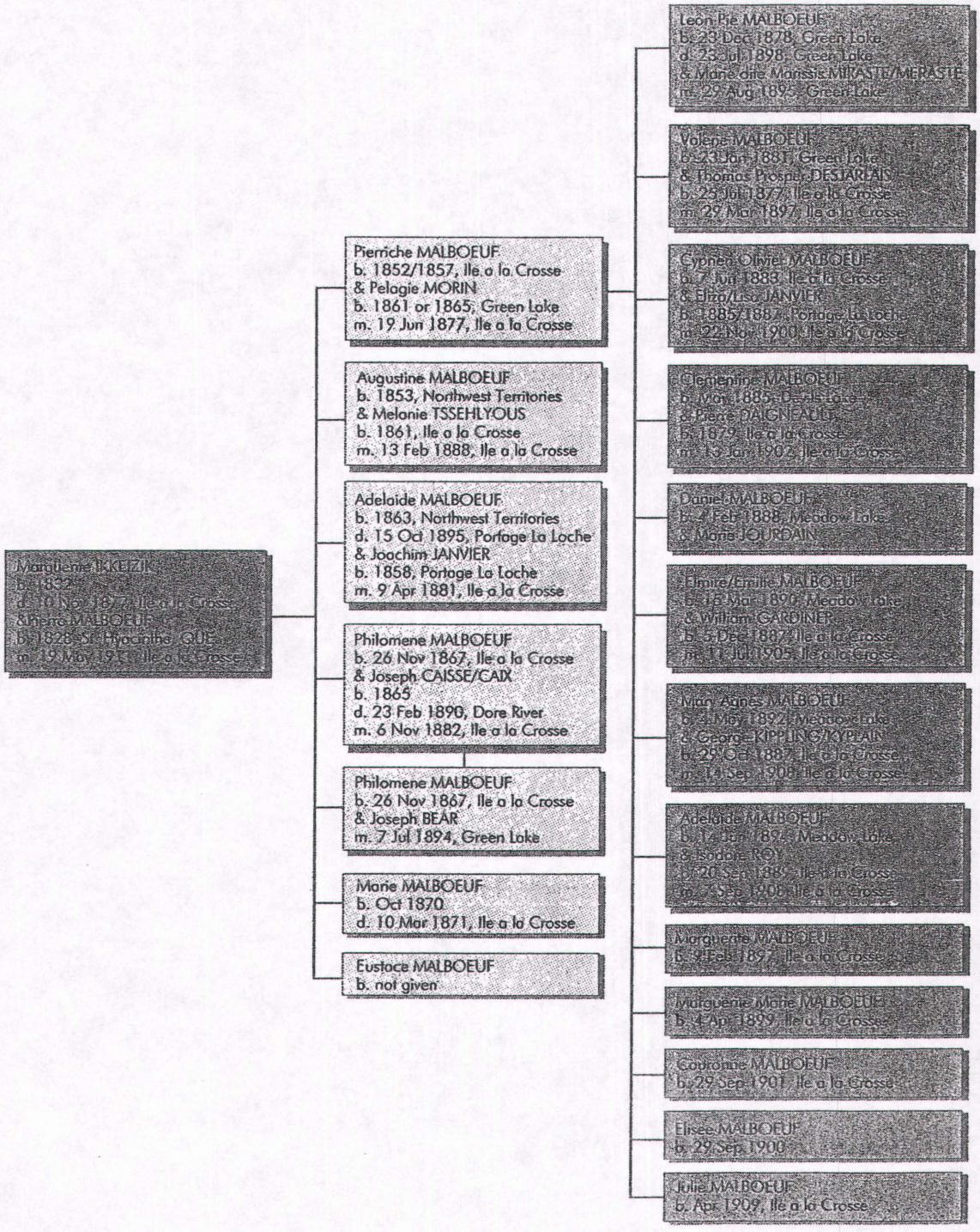
English River, 1867	Chipewyan, Michel	
	Girard, Joseph	
	Hope, John	
	Mercredi, Abraham	fisherman& cattle keeper
	Mirasty, Bazil	fisherman & steersman
	Mirasty, David	fisherman & steersman
	Mirasty, Philip	fisherman & bowsman
	Tapicappo, Louison	fisherman & bowsman
	Tawcperim Michel	
English River, 1868	Chipewyan, Michel	free
	Desjardins, Baptiste	
	Girard, Joseph	
	Hope, John	free
	Mercredi, Abraham	free
	Morin, Catholique	free
	Necanicappo, Louison	free
	Tapecappo, Louison	free
	Tawepesim, Michel	free
English River, 1869	Bissonnette, Francois	
	Canada, Louison	
	Catfish, John	
	Chipewyan, Michel	
	Desjardins, Baptiste	
	Girard, Joseph	
	Hope, John	fisherman & bowsman
	Lafleur, Pierre	fisherman & labourer
	Lariviere, Thomas	
	Morin, Catholique	
	Necanicappo, Louison	
	Rat, William	
English River, 1871	Bissonnette, Francois	ILX
	Chipewyan, Michel	ILX
	Desjarlais, Baptiste	Green Lake
	Hope, John	ILX, fisherman & bowsman
	Lameman	Green Lake
	Lariviere, Thomas	ILX, fisherman & bowsman
	Louison	fisherman
	McCallum, Magnus	Lac Du Brochet
	Mirasty, Bazile	Green Lake, interpreter
	Morin, Catholique	Riviere La Loche
	Rat, William	Rapid River
	Tapeappo/Nicamecappo	Deers Lake, bowsman & fisherman
	Thomas, Daniel	Deers Lake
	Vadnoit, Joseph	PLL

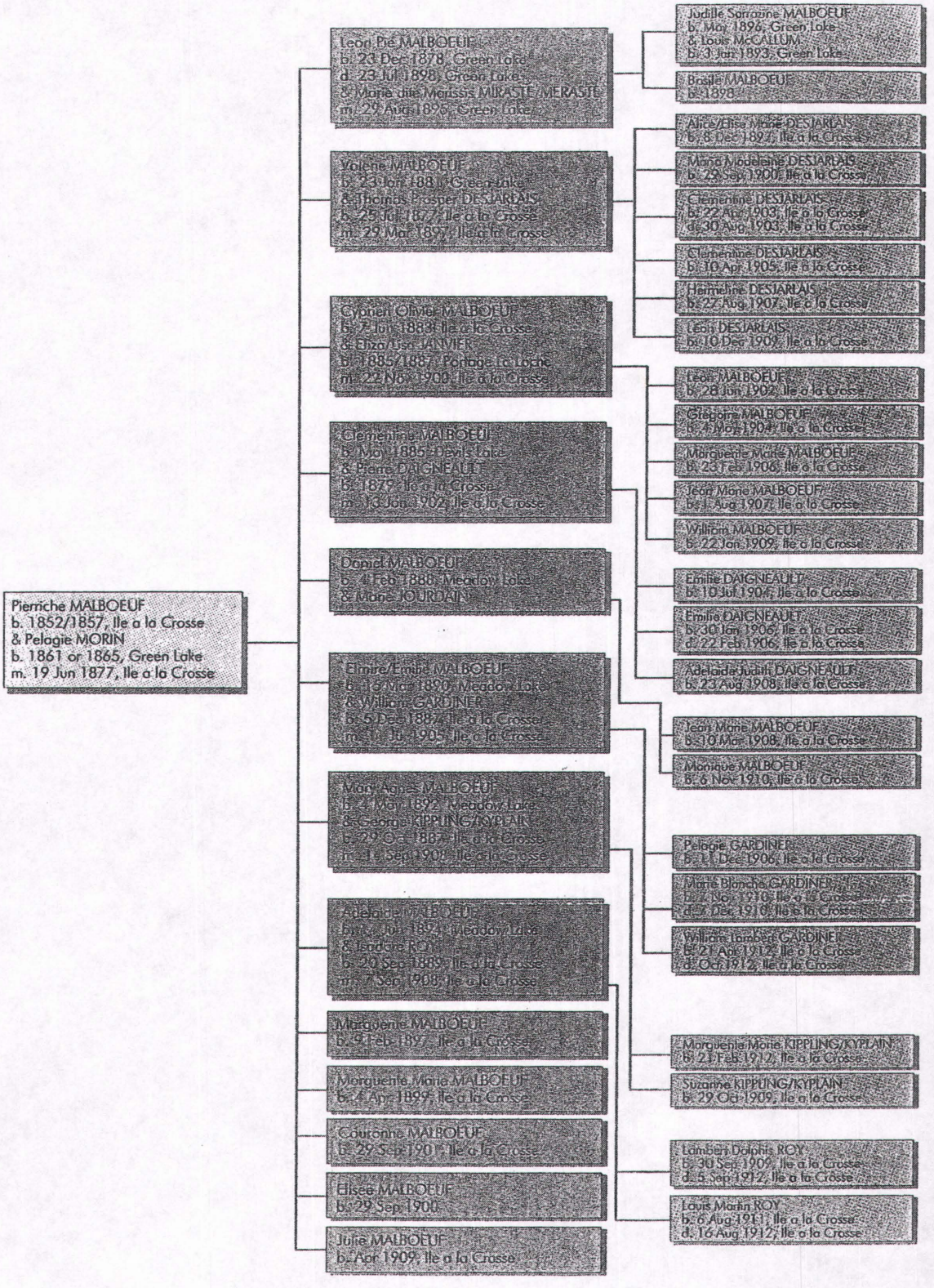
English River, 1881	Jourdain, Jean Baptiste	
English River, 1882	Roy, Louison	
English River, 1890-91	Lariviere, Thomas	

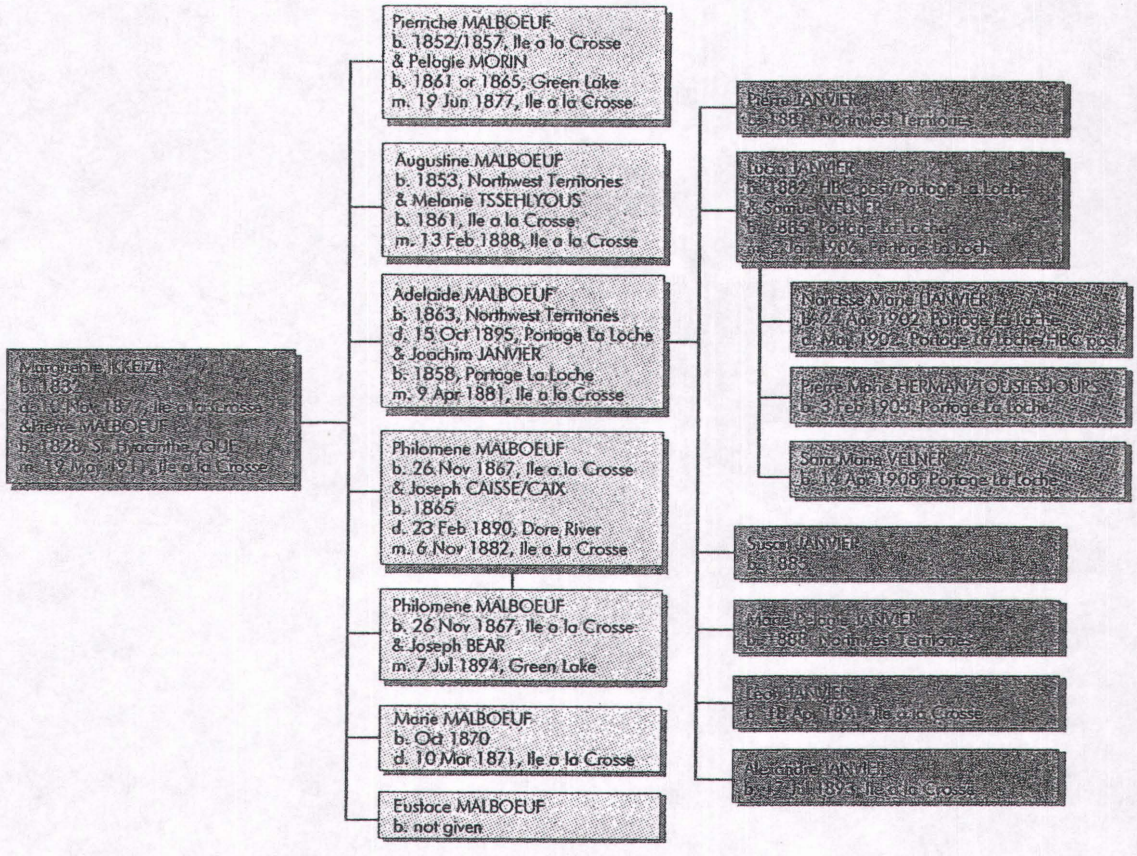
Appendix O. Malboeuf Genealogy.

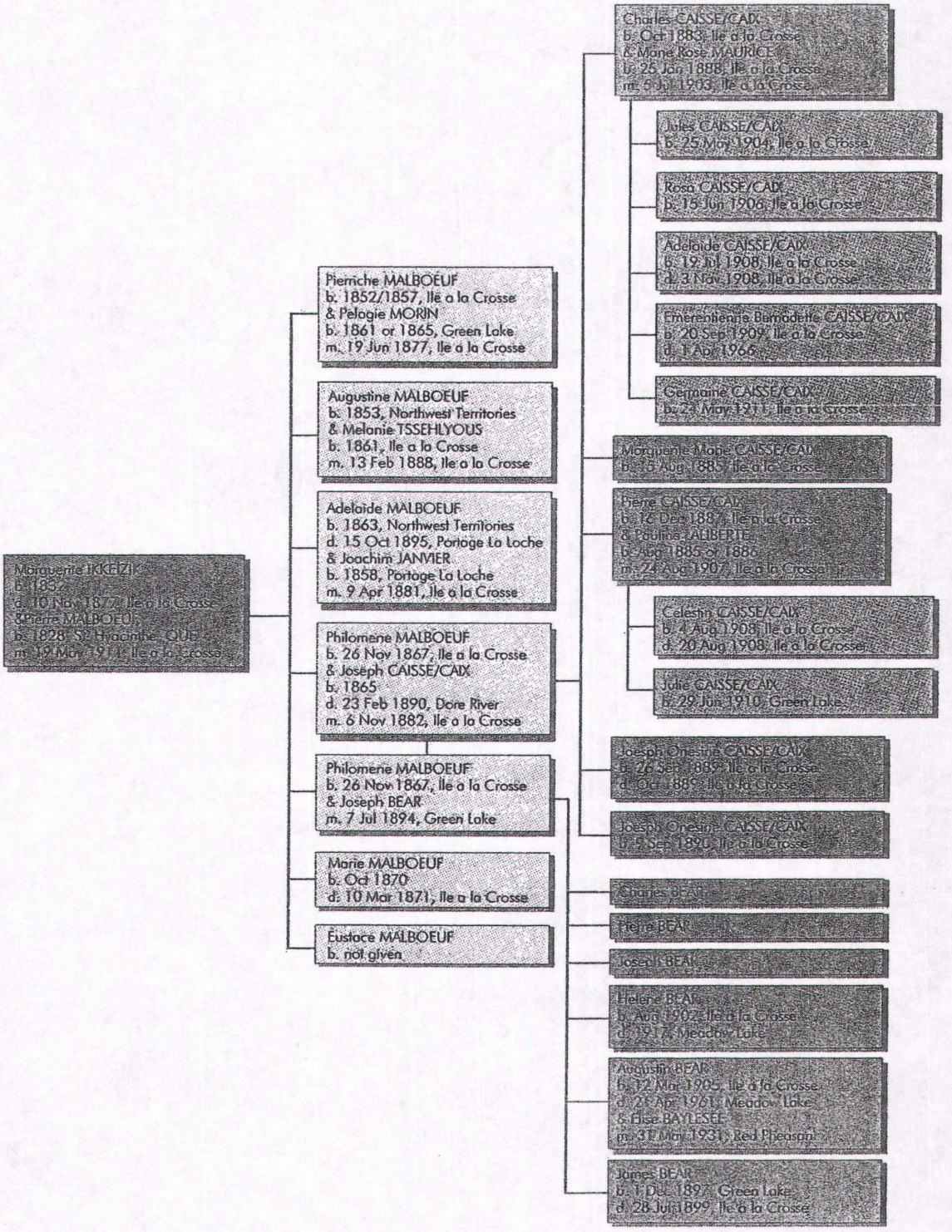



Pierriche MALBOEUF
b. 1852/1857, Ile a la Crosse
& Pelagie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
m. 19 Jun 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine MALBOEUF
b. 1853, Northwest Territories
& Melanie TSSEHLYOUS
b. 1861, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide MALBOEUF
b. 1863, Northwest Territories
d. 15 Oct 1895, Portage La Loche
& Joachim JANVIER
b. 1858, Portage La Loche
m. 9 Apr 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene MALBOEUF
b. 26 Nov 1867, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph CAISSE/CAIX
b. 1865
d. 23 Feb 1890, Dore River
m. 6 Nov 1882, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene MALBOEUF
b. 26 Nov 1867, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph BEAR
m. 7 Jul 1894, Green Lake
Marie MALBOEUF
b. Oct 1870
d. 10 Mar 1871, Ile a la Crosse
Eustace MALBOEUF
b. not given
Patrice IKKELZIK/ECKESPEZAA
& Philomene LARIVIERE
b. 1875, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Oct 1895, Ile a la Crosse
Jean Baptiste IKKELZIK ROY
d. 23 Sep 1871, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite IKKEZIK
b. 1832
d. 10 Nov 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& Pierre MALBOEUF
b. 1828, St. Hyacinthe, QUE
m. 19 May 1851, Ile a la Crosse
Michel EKKESI
& Catherine ROY
b. 1897, Ile a la Crosse


Marguerite IKKEIZIK
b. 1832
d. 10 Nov 1874, Ile a la Crosse
& Pierre MALBOEUF
b. 1828, St. Hyacinthe, QUE
m. 19 May 1851, Ile a la Crosse
Pierriche MALBOEUF
b. 1852/1857, Ile a la Crosse
& Pelagie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
m. 19 Jun 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine MALBOEUF
b. 1853, Northwest Territories
& Melanie TSSEHLYOUS
b. 1861, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide MALBOEUF
b. 1863, Northwest Territories
d. 15 Oct 1895, Portage La Loche
& Joachim JANVIER
b. 1858, Portage La Loche
m. 9 Apr 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene MALBOEUF
b. 26 Nov 1867, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph CAISSE/CAIX
b. 1865
d. 23 Feb 1890, Dore River
m. 6 Nov 1882, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene MALBOEUF
b. 26 Nov 1867, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph BEAR
m. 7 Jul 1894, Green Lake
Marie MALBOEUF
b. Oct 1870
d. 10 Mar 1871, Ile a la Crosse
Eustace MALBOEUF
b. not given
Leon Pie MALBOEUF
b. 23 Dec 1878, Green Lake
d. 23 Jul 1898, Green Lake
& Marie dite Manssie MIRASTE/MERASTE
m. 29 Aug 189-, Green Lake
Volene MALBOEUF
b. 23 Jun 1881, Green Lake
& Thomas Prosper DESJARLAIS
b. 25 Jul 1877, Ile a la Crosse
m. 29 Mar 1897, Ile a la Crosse
Cyprien Olivier MALBOEUF
b. 7 Jun 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Elize/Lise JANVIER
b. 1885/1887, Portage La Loche
m. 22 Nov 1900, Ile a la Crosse
Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Denare Lake
& Pierre ?AIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Daniel MALBOEUF
b. 2 Feb 1888, Meadow Lake
& Marie TOURDAIN
Elmire/Emilie MALBOEUF
b. 15 Mar 1890, Meadow Lake
& William GARDINER
b. 5 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Jul 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Mary Agnes MALBOEUF
b. 3 May 1892, Meadow Lake
& George KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Oct 1887, Ile a la Crosse
m. 14 Sep 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide MALBOEUF
b. 14 Jun 1894, Meadow Lake
& Isodore ROY
b. 20 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
m. 4 Sep 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite MALBOEUF
b. 9 Feb 1897, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite Marie MALBOEUF
b. 4 Apr 1899, Ile a la Crosse
Cuthbert MALBOEUF
b. 29 Sep 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Elisee MALBOEUF
b. 29 Sep 1900
Julie MALBOEUF
b. Apr 1909, Ile a la Crosse


Pierriche MALBOEUF
b. 1852/1857, Ile a la Crosse
& Pelagie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
m. 19 Jun 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Leon Pie MALBOEUF
b. 23 Dec 1878, Green Lake
d. 23 Jul 1898, Green Lake
& Marie dite Marissis MIRASTE/MERASTE
m. 29 Aug 1896, Green Lake
Judille Sarrazine MALBOEUF
b. May 1896, Green Lake
& Louis McCALLUM
b. 3 Jun 1893, Green Lake
Basile MALBOEUF
b. 1898
Volene MALBOEUF
b. 23 Jan 1881, Green Lake
& Thomas Prosper DESJARLAIS
b. 25 Jul 1877, Ile a la Crosse
m. 29 May 1897, Ile a la Crosse
Alice/Elise Marie DESJARLAIS
b. 8 Dec 1897, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Madeleine DESJARLAIS
b. 23 Sep 1900, Ile a la Crosse
Clementine DESJARLAIS
b. 22 Apr 1903, Ile a la Crosse
d. 30 Aug 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Clementine DESJARLAIS
b. 10 Apr 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Hermeline DESJARLAIS
b. 27 Aug 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Leon DESJARLAIS
b. 10 Dec 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Cyprien Olivier MALBOEUF
b. 7 Jun 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Eliza/Lisa JANVIER
b. 1885/1887, Portage la Loche
m. 22 Nov 1900, Ile a la Crosse
Leon MALBOEUF
b. 28 Jun 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Gregoire MALBOEUF
b. 4 May 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite Marie MALBOEUF
b. 23 Feb 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Jean Marie MALBOEUF
b. 1 Aug 1907, Ile a la Crosse
William MALBOEUF
b. 22 Jan 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Clementine MALBOEUF
b. May 1885, Devils Lake
& Pierre DAIGNEAULT
b. 1879, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Jan 1902, Ile a la Crosse
Emilie DAIGNEAULT
b. 10 Jul 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Emilie DAIGNEAULT
b. 30 Jan 1906, Ile a la Crosse
d. 22 Feb 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide Judith DAIGNEAULT
b. 23 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Daniel MALBOEUF
b. 4 Feb 1886, Meadow Lake
& Marie TOURDAIN
Jean Marie MALBOEUF
b. 10 Mar 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Monique MALBOEUF
b. 6 Nov 1910, Ile a la Crosse
Elmire/Emilie MALBOEUF
b. 13 Mar 1890, Meadow Lake
& William GARDINER
b. 5 Dec 1884, Ile a la Crosse
m. 11 Jul 1905, Ile a la Crosse
Pelagie GARDINER
b. 11 Dec 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Marie Blanche GARDINER
b. 2 Nov 1910, Ile a la Crosse
d. 7 Dec 1910, Ile a la Crosse
William Lambert GARDINER
b. 21 Apr 1912, Ile a la Crosse
d. Oct 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Mary Agnes MALBOEUF
b. 2 May 1892, Meadow Lake
& Georges KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Oct 1882, Ile a la Crosse
m. 1 Sep 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite Marie KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 21 Feb 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Suzanne KIPPLING/KYPLAIN
b. 29 Oct 1909, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide MALBOEUF
b. abt. Jul 1892, Meadow Lake
& Isadore ROY
b. 29 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
m. 7 Sep 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Lambert Dolphis ROY
b. 30 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
d. 5 Sep 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Louis Martin ROY
b. 6 Aug 1911, Ile a la Crosse
d. 16 Aug 1912, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite MALBOEUF
b. 9 Feb 1897, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite Marie MALBOEUF
b. 4 Apr 1899, Ile a la Crosse
Couronne MALBOEUF
b. 29 Sep 1901, Ile a la Crosse
Elisee MALBOEUF
b. 29 Sep 1900
Julie MALBOEUF
b. Apr 1909, Ile a la Crosse


Marguerite KREIZE
b. 1837
d. 10 Nov 187_, Ile a la Crosse
&Pierre MALBOEUF
b. 1828, St. Hyacinthe, QUE
m. 12 May 1911, Ile a la Crosse
Pierriche MALBOEUF
b. 1852/1857, Ile a la Crosse
& Pelagie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
m. 19 Jun 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine MALBOEUF
b. 1853, Northwest Territories
& Melonie TSSEHLYOUS
b. 1861, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide MALBOEUF
b. 1863, Northwest Territories
d. 15 Oct 1895, Portage La Loche
& Joachim JANVIER
b. 1858, Portage La Loche
m. 9 Apr 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene MALBOEUF
b. 26 Nov 1867, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph CAISSE/CAIX
b. 1865
d. 23 Feb 1890, Dore River
m. 6 Nov 1882, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene MALBOEUF
b. 26 Nov 1867, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph BEAR
m. 7 Jul 1894, Green Lake
Marie MALBOEUF
b. Oct 1870
d. 10 Mar 1871, Ile a la Crosse
Eustace MALBOEUF
b. not given
Pierre JANVIER
b. 1881, Northwest Territories
Luba JANVIER
b. 1882, HBC post/Portage La Loche
& Samuel VELLNER
b. 1885, Portage La Loche
m. 2 Jan 1904, Portage la Loche
Narcisse Marie JANVIER
b. 24 Apr 1902, Portage La Loche
d. May 1902, Portage La Loche/HBC post
Pierre Marie HERMANTOUSLESJOUPS
b. 3 Feb 1904, Portage La Loche
Sara Marie VELLNER
b. 14 Apr 1908, Portage La Loche
Susan JANVIER
b. 1885
Marie Delonie JANVIER
b. 1888, Northwest Territories
Louis JANVIER
b. 18 Apr 1891, Ile a la Crosse
Alexandre JANVIER
b. 17 Jul 1893, Ile a la Crosse


Marguerite IKKEIZI
b. 1832
d. 10 Nov 1877, Ile a la Crosse
& Pierre MALBOEUF
b. 1828, St. Hyacinthe, QUE
m. 19 May 1914, Ile a la Crosse
Pierriche MALBOEUF
b. 1852/1857, Ile a la Crosse
& Pelogie MORIN
b. 1861 or 1865, Green Lake
m. 19 Jun 1877, Ile a la Crosse
Augustine MALBOEUF
b. 1853, Northwest Territories
& Melanie TSSEHLYOUS
b. 1861, Ile a la Crosse
m. 13 Feb 1888, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide MALBOEUF
b. 1863, Northwest Territories
d. 15 Oct 1895, Portage La Loche
& Joachim JANVIER
b. 1858, Portage La Loche
m. 9 Apr 1881, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene MALBOEUF
b. 26 Nov 1867, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph CAISSE/CADX
b. 1865
d. 23 Feb 1890, Dore River
m. 6 Nov 1882, Ile a la Crosse
Philomene MALBOEUF
b. 26 Nov 1867, Ile a la Crosse
& Joseph BEAR
m. 7 Jul 1894, Green Lake
Marie MALBOEUF
b. Oct 1870
d. 10 Mar 1871, Ile a la Crosse
Eustace MALBOEUF
b. not given
Charles CAISSE/CADX
b. Oct 1883, Ile a la Crosse
& Marie Rose MAURICE
b. 25 Jan 1888, Ile a la Crosse
m. 6 Jul 1903, Ile a la Crosse
Jules CAISSE/CADX
b. 25 May 1904, Ile a la Crosse
Rosa CAISSE/CADX
b. 15 Jun 1906, Ile a la Crosse
Adelaide CAISSE/CADX
b. 19 Jul 1908, Ile a la Crosse
d. 3 Nov 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Emerentienne Bernadette CAISSE/CADX
b. 20 Sep 1909, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1 Apr 1966
Germaine CAISSE/CADX
b. 24 May 1911, Ile a la Crosse
Marguerite Marie CAISSE/CADX
b. 15 Aug 1885, Ile a la Crosse
Pierre CAISSE/CADX
b. 12 Dec 1887, Ile a la Crosse
& Pauline LALIBERTE
b. Aug 1885 or 1886
m. 24 Aug 1907, Ile a la Crosse
Celestin CAISSE/CADX
b. 4 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
d. 20 Aug 1908, Ile a la Crosse
Julie CAISSE/CADX
b. 29 Jun 1910, Green Lake
Joseph Onesime CAISSE/CADX
b. 26 Sep 1889, Ile a la Crosse
d. Oct 1889, Ile a la Crosse
Joseph Onesime CAISSE/CADX
b. 2 Sep 1890, Ile a la Crosse
Charles BEAR
Pierre BEAR
Joseph BEAR
Helene BEAR
b. Aug 1902, Ile a la Crosse
d. 1914, Meadow Lake
Augustin BEAR
b. 12 Mar 1905, Ile a la Crosse
d. 21 Apr 1961, Meadow Lake
& Elise BAYLESEE
m. 31 May 1931, Red Pheasant
James BEAR
b. 1 Dec 1897, Green Lake
d. 28 Jun 1899, Ile a la Crosse

Appendix P. Chronology of Roman Catholic Events & Mission in Île à la Crosse, 1738-1844[1]

1738 Marie Marguerite Dufrost or Madame D'Youville founds the Grey Nuns, the Sisters of Charity, in Montreal to treat the sick. The Sister's wore grey habits to represent charity and humility.

1816 Congregation of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate is founded by Charles Joseph Eugene de Mazenod, Bishop of Marseilles.

1818 Father Norbert Provencher of the Jesuit order is sent to Red River to establish the first Roman Catholic mission in the Canadian West.

1841 Six Oblates are sent to Montreal.

1842 James Evans, superintendent of Wesleyan Missions visits Île à la Crosse, and plans to return in 1844 to establish a Methodist mission.

1844 Ten Oblates are sent to Western Canada at the request of Bishop Norbert Provencher in St. Bonafice.

Three Grey Nuns—Sisters Valade, Lagrave, Couttee, and Lafrance—are also sent west from Montreal.

James Evans departs for Île à la Crosse but returns to Norway House after accidentally shooting his interpreter, Thomas Hassall.

1845 Father Thibault is invited to Île à la Crosse by Chief Factor Roderick Mckenzie, feeling that the people need a religious outlet and because he feels that it will encourage the Cree and Dene to trade in the English River District. During his visit, Thibeault baptizes 164 Dene at Portage La Loche.

1846 Fathers Alexandre Antoin Taché and Louis-François Richer-Laflèche found the St. John the Baptiste mission at Île à la Crosse on 10 September after Bishop Provencher receives reports of the Dene's positive response to Thibeault's teachings of the previous year. The mission is the first Roman Catholic mission established west of the Red River settlement.

1846/ 1847 Throughout the winter, Father Tache visits Green Lake and Reindeer Lake.

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) reachs La Ronge, opens a school, and begins baptizing local people.

Laflèche becomes quickly crippled by rheumatism and cannot travel, leaving full establishment of the northern missions to Tache.

1847 In August, Tache visits Portage La Loche. In October, Tache founds the Priests' Residence, Chateau St. Jean, which has been built for them by the HBC. Tache journeys to Green Lake and baptizes a Cree chief there.

1848 Priests from Île à la Crosse begin yearly visits to Portage La Loche.

Father Henri Faraud arrives in Île à la Crosse.

1849 Brother Louis Dube, a lay brother, is sent to Île à la Crosse.

1850 Father Faraud is sent to establish a mission at Fort Chipewyan.

1851 Father Tache is appointed coadjutor to Bishop Provencher in St. Bonafice.

1852 Bishop Tache returns to Île à la Crosse with Father Henri Grollier.

1853 Bishop Provencher dies in St. Bonafice on 7 June. Tache becomes Bishop of St. Bonafice.

1854 Bishop Tache escorts Father Vital-Justin Grandin to Île à la Crosse. Tache returns to St. Bonafice to live permanently.

1859 During a visit to Marseille, Grandin is made Bishop of Satala and Coadjutor of St. Bonafice. Grandin works out of Île à la Crosse.

1860 Three Sisters of Charity (or the Grey Nuns) named Sisters Marie Anne Pépin and Philomène Boucher, and Agnes (Rose Caron) arrive in Île à la Crosse and open a hospital and home for the infirmed named Hôpital St. Bruno. Their first patient is

Philip Bekattla, who dies several days later. The Sisters also open a school, Ecole Sainte Famille, taking in fifteen students (eight boys and seven girls) who board with the Nuns.

Bishop Grandin returns to Île à la Crosse.

1864 Grandin leaves Île à la Crosse.

1866 In March, Sara Riel, Louis Riel's younger sister, becomes a nun at St. Bonafice.

1867 In March,a fire breaks out at the Île à la Crosse mission, destroying the two-story residence that houses the school and the nuns' living quarters. The church itself, however, is not lost.

Tache divides the Dioscese of St. Bonafice, creating the Vicariate Apostic of Saskatchewan, which includes Île à la Crosse, Lac Caribou, St. Albert, Ste. Anne, St. Joachim, Edmonton, St. Paul de Cris, and Lac La Biche. This new entity is placed in the care of Grandin, who becomes the Bishop of St. Albert.

1871 Sister Sara Riel and other Grey Nuns leave Fort Garry for Île à la Crosse.

1872 On 27 November, Sister Sara Riel becomes Sister Marguerite Marie after being saved from her deathbed by the Saint of the same name. Sara's lungs had begun to hemorrhage and she had received the last sacrament.

1874 A new hospital, St. Joseph Hôpital, is built to replace the Hôpital St. Bruno and serves as an orphanage and place for the poor.

1875 In May, a permanent mission is established at Green Lake.

1880-1881 Bishop Grandin visits Île à la Crosse.

1882 Father Chapeliere dies after his canoe capsizes on Lac Île à la Crosse. Chapeliere attempts to save the two children whom he was transporting, but they all die.

1883 Sister Sara Riel is on her deathbed.

1885 In April, Baptiste Charlot of Green Lake arrives to inform the people of Île à la Crosse of the Resistance in the Batoche area. He also tells them that the mission will be attacked by Louis Riel to avenge the death of his sister Sara because he believes her death was caused by mistreatment from the priests and sisters. All the missionaries, as well as orphans, boarders, residents, elderly women, and volunteers, at Île à la Crosse abandon their church and convent and hide for thirty-three days on a small island later called Holy Cross Island (Ile Ste-Croix). Mass and prayers are said everyday on the island.

1895 A permanent mission is built at Portage La Loche.

1901 The banks of Lac Île à la Crosse flood from early June to the end of October, when it finally freezes. The Sisters request permission to leave Île à la Crosse, but are denied.

1903 Lay brothers from Île à la Crosse open a saw mill on Lac La Plonge.

1905 The ten Sisters leave Île à la Crosse because of spring flooding that damages the school beyond repair. The Sisters decide to return to Montreal. The lay brothers at Lac La Plonge build a school at the site of their sawmill site, on the east bank of the Beaver River.

1906 Sisters of St. Joseph Lyon (the Black Nuns) provide teachers for the school at Beauval.

1909 Bishop Pascal of Prince Albert requests that the Grey Nuns return to the English River District. They agree, but they settle thirty-five miles south, at Lac La Plonge (now Beauval).

The Sisters of St. Joseph Lyon returned to France.

1917 In September, a new convent is finally built at Île à la Crosse. The people of the community mark the return of the Grey Nuns with a gun salute, a visit, and offers of assistance to make the nuns' lives easier.

1944 Île à la Crosse's grotto to Our Lady of Lourdes, the Marian Grotto, is built near the lakeshore and is designated as a place of pilgrimage for the vicarate of Keewatin.

Endnotes

[1]Data taken from Thérèse Castonguay, s.g.m., *A Leap in Faith: The Grey Nuns Ministries in Western and Northern Canada.* vol. 2 (Edmonton: Grey Nuns of Alberta, 1999); Kay Cronin, *Cross in the Wilderness* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1960); Martha McCarthy, *From the Great River to the Ends of the Earth: Oblate Missions to the Dene, 1847-1921* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1995); Gaston Carriére, OMI., "The Oblates and the Northwest, 1845 – 1861," *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* (1970), 35-66; Rev. P. Duchaussois, OMI., *Mid Snow and Ice: The Apostles of the North-West,* trans. Thomas Dawson (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd., 1923); Rev. P. Duchaussois, OMI., *The Grey Nuns in the Far North* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1919); Rev. P. Duchaussois, OMI., *Hidden Apostles: Our Lay Brother Missionaries* (Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 1937); Rev. A.G. Morice, OMI., *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada: From Lake Superior to the Pacific*, vols. 1 & 2 (Toronto: The Masson Book Co., 1910); Brian Owens and Claude M. Roberto, *The Diaries of Biship Vital Grandin, 1875-77*, vol. 1, trans. Alan D. Ridge (Edmonton: The Historical Society of Alberta, 1989); Raymond J. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and the Métis* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996); Frank J. Dolphin, *Indian Bishop of the West: Vital Justin Grandin, 1829 – 1902* (Ottawa: Novalis, 1986); Robert Choquette, *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995); Mary Jordon, *To Louis From Your Sister Who Loves You* (Toronto: Griffin House, 1974).

Appendix Q. Kippling Genealogy.